A GOTHIC ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

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Based on the third edition of
Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache
by Sigmund Feist

BY

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with bibliography prepared under the direction of
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Dedicated to E. Douglas Mitchell

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PREFACE

When the Brill publishing firm in conjunction with Sigmund Feist's daughter, Professor Elisabeth Hirsch, asked me to undertake an English edition of his *Gotisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I assumed as essential maintenance of its eminent characteristics. These are:

1. attention to Gothic textual data,
2. inclusion of cognates in the other Germanic languages,
3. inclusion of extra-Germanic cognates for native and borrowed words,
4. citation of important references and philological information.

Throughout Feist emphasized data, avoiding large numbers of reconstructed forms even when they could readily have been proposed. It was possible to maintain these characteristics, which had become increasingly prominent in successive editions, especially with the help of important publications since 1939, the date of the third edition.

Entries. Typically, each entry in the new edition consists of four paragraphs, as for **Al. aba, A3. abrs**, and many more. The first paragraph presents the Gothic data, with brief morphological classification, Greek originals, English glosses and one or more references to the sources. Such references are now readily determined through the valuable 'word-indices' of Tollenaere and Jones (1976). Their useful work makes it possible to locate easily all instances in which a form is used. Even more important, Gothic is the only major Indo-European language for which we can determine the attested forms and indicate hypothetical constructs. In keeping with this possibility, non-attested forms are indicated with an asterisk. Derived forms are generally included with the basic forms. The index of Gothic words permits their ready location in the dictionary.

In the second paragraph, citation of cognates from the other Germanic languages follows a specific order, ranging from Runic, through North Germanic, Old English, Old Frisian, Old Franconian, Old Saxon and Old High German. Different formations may require more than one sequence; gaps in attestation may bring about unfilled lists. Modern English reflexes, if closely related, are marked with a dagger (†); if less closely related, they are labeled NE. Following Feist's lead, few reconstructions are provided.

The third paragraph is devoted to non-Germanic cognates. If Indo-European, it typically begins with the root or base form given by Pokorny (1959), possibly with modified notation. While Pokorny's dictionary is widely conceded to be in need of revision, it provides the most recent comprehensive listing of related words in the Indo-European languages; in this way it permits access to further study. Cognates are cited in the sequence: Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Baltic, Slavic, Armenian, Albanian, Anatolian, Tocharian, with possible variation on the same grounds as those stated for the second paragraph. Reconstructed forms are indicated with an asterisk, unless the language designation is preceded by P, symbolizing a proto-language. A final reference is given to the relevant pages in Pokorny's dictionary, and to other pertinent works. For borrowed words similar procedures are followed.

The fourth paragraph, and possibly further paragraphs for words of special interest, such as **G117. *Gut-þiuda**, deals with disputed etymologies, as for **A1. aba**, or with linguistic and philological problems, as for **A4. ada**. By contrast, straightforward entries, like **A2. abba**, are briefly presented.

References. After two centuries and more of attention, the wealth of previous scholarship cannot be listed in its entirety. It is quite impossible to cite all treatments of a given word, even when as here the standard etymological dictionaries are often cited rather than separate studies. The bibliography, based on both the third and the present edition, may indicate by its extent the magnitude of the problem, and the difficulty of producing a compact dictionary like Feist's if one set out to incorporate all references and to maintain all of his commentary on them. To keep the dictionary within reasonable bounds much of the commentary given by Feist (1939) in reduced type has been omitted here.

In keeping with modern bibliographical procedures references consist of author, year and page—or to section for a few works, e.g. Meyer-Lübke 1935, Vendryès 1959-. More frequently noted commemorative volumes are cited by giving the name of the scholar honored, preceded by the letter *F*, even if they have a separate title, as indicated in the bibliography. Of major importance in following these procedures is ready location of every reference, through standard citations, in keeping with practices maintained and refined for the central bibliographical compilations: *Bibliographie Linguistique, The MLA International Bibliography*. A glance at their lists of journals will make it quite clear why formerly current abbreviations like *BB, KZ, PBB* can no longer be used. To maintain the practices of the far less complex nineteenth century scholarship leads to obscurantism or at best to disruption of communication. The current form of reference has the further advantage of providing in the text the date of a contribution, except when a work is long under way, like Mayrhofer's Sanskrit etymological dictionary, or when the standard mode of reference is to a compilation of articles and notes, like Wilhelm Schulze's of 1966.

Current etymological study. Advances in etymological studies, as Feist foresaw, have been greatly aided by improved knowledge of the culture of the speakers of Indo-European languages, knowledge achieved largely through advances in archeology. Advances have also resulted from improved knowledge of the languages, especially Anatolian and Mycenaean Greek, and from greater clarity regarding constructs once labeled Illyrian, and the like.

The contributions to our understanding of early periods will continue, as archeological techniques are further refined and more work is carried out. By one important contribution we now recognize groups speaking the same language as based on social and political alignments, not racial. Further, it is quite clear that the early home of the Indo-Europeans was in the area of the Caspian, not central Europe. A comprehensive summary of recent views is fortunately available in the important book by Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984). The full implications for Gothic studies are not yet determined, nor even the implications of archeological findings concerning northern Europe around the beginning of our era. The increasing information will no doubt continue to expand our understanding of linguistic problems.

Some difficulties have already been clarified by theories supported with data from the Anatolian languages and from the general conclusions summarized in typological studies. The laryngeal theory is now generally accepted, with differences on details. The glottalic theory has also attracted many. It has implications primarily for the early period of Proto-Germanic and contemporary languages, rather than for languages as late as Gothic. Other topics that have been widely discussed, such as the values of the Gothic spellings *ai, au*, do not affect the etymologies of

the words concerned. Many of the etymological procedures, and much of the entries included by Feist in the third edition have been maintained, a testimony to the validity of his work.

There have also been improvements in etymological procedures, as noted by Yakov Malkiel, *Etymological Dictionaries* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1976) and by others, for example, by contributors to *Das etymologische Wörterbuch*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger (Regensburg: Pustet, 1983). Among the most important requirements is a complete list of all references given in any work, in accordance with contemporary bibliographical principles.

Even an area as limited and specialized as Gothic etymology is virtually overwhelmed with the attention that has been given to the pertinent problems. Advances in dealing with some problems have been made in undertakings of such importance that these may be singled out here for mention. The 'Bibliographia Gotica', begun by Fernand Mossé *Medieval Studies* 12:249-324 (1950), continued in subsequent articles in the same journal by him (1953), by Marchand (1957) and by Ebbinghaus (1956, 1974), may be mentioned first. Of similar assistance is the survey of etymological research by Devlamminck and Jucquois (1977). For the principal texts we must still rely on the Streitberg edition (1919-28), though Bennett's treatment of *Skeireins* (1960) and Stearns's of Busbecq's lists (1978) are now fundamental for any concern with these texts. Since, however, other handbooks refer to the *Skeireins* in accordance with Streitberg's edition, his references are maintained, followed after a slash by references to Bennett (1960). For the last leaf of the Codex Argenteus, Scardigli's presentation is useful (1973). And the monograph on Latin loanwords by Corazza (1969) is equally essential. Any user of the dictionary will come to rely on these works, even without repeated specific references in the text, just as users of the previous edition relied on Grienberger (1900).

If the publications for Germanic have burgeoned, those for the Indo-European languages in general are almost overwhelming. Fortunately we now have comprehensive etymological dictionaries for all of the branches of the Indo-European family, some to be sure not yet complete. Attention to these provides users with access to much additional publication, as well as greater depth of information for the languages concerned. When one contemplates the admirable set of etymological dictionaries produced recently by: Mayrhofer for Sanskrit, Frisk and Chantraine for Greek, Walde/Hofmann and Ernout and Meillet for Latin, Vendryès for Old Irish, Fraenkel for Lithuanian and Toporov for Old Prussian, Vasmer and Trubachev for Slavic, Greppin for Armenian, Huld for Albanian, Tischler and Puhvel for Hittite, Windekens for Tocharian, with others underway, the recent period in linguistics may well come to be known for its work in etymology as much as for the attention to theory, which has been enjoying the limelight.

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

In general, the representations for reconstructed languages are phonemic. Like Meillet and many others, I recognize only palato-velar and labio-velar phonemes for Proto-Indo-European, but I may mark palatal allophones. Phonetic symbols may also be used for allophones of the resonants, rather than exclusively the phonemic /w y r l m n/. Notation of the vowels presents problems, largely because of the development of the vocalic system of Proto-Indo-European through various stages, as noted in *Proto-Indo-European Phonology* (1952). For ease of interpretation and reference to earlier handbooks I use a late system, with short and long /e a o/ for

Proto-Indo-European, as well as /ə/.

Forms from the various languages are given in standard transcription, though underlying rather than sandhi forms may be cited, as for the nominative singular of nouns in Sanskrit. Transcription close to the manuscripts is followed for Gothic, so that diacritics over vowel symbols are omitted. For transcription of Cyrillic a system similar to that of the Modern Language Association is used.

Typefaces distinguish items of the entries. Headwords are in boldface type, also when referred to outside their principal entries. Further Gothic forms are in italics, as are forms of other languages. Glosses are indicated by slanted roman type.

Reference is made in the indices to headwords, rather than to pages.

Occasionally it is useful to indicate the occurrence of words in pertinent materials of other languages, such as the Old English *Beowulf* or the Old High German *Hildebrandslied* or the Greek and Latin classics. The items so cited are taken as unproblematic, and accordingly any standard text may be consulted for additional consideration, such as Klaeber's edition of the *Beowulf*. Streitberg's edition of the Gothic texts has the further merit of including with bibliographical data the pertinent sections of late classical authors like Jordanes, Isidor of Seville and others who refer to the Goths. For classical texts, like Homer and Livy, users may consult their favorite editions. The less widely accessible texts, such as the early laws, find ready access in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Germanenrechte* and other important sources, as noted in handbooks like Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 I:xiii-xvi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Work towards the preparation of the dictionary got under way in 1978, when after some exploration F. C. Wieder, Jr., the Director of J. J. Brill at the time, asked me to undertake the fourth edition in English. I assented, with the provision that adequate support be available. From the start only a computerized project seemed desirable. The Research Institute of The University of Texas at Austin provided initial funding for bibliographical review, for which I am grateful to Dr. William S. Livingston, Vice President and Dean for Graduate Studies. Saul Migron carried out the review admirably, laying the groundwork for the procedures since followed. Subsequently Dr. Migron also wrote some entries.

Application for a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities was then rejected. In 1980 the endowment provided a matching grant. Dr. Livingston and Dr. Peter Flawn, at that time President of the University, were willing to provide the matching funds, but under the remarkable provision for research support in this country, state funds are not allowed to match federal grants. Matching funds were then assured by Dr. and the late Mrs. E. Douglas Mitchell. The preparation of the volume was made possible (in part) by a grant from the Program for Research Tools of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency. The project would have been impossible without the matching funds, and further funds from Dr. Mitchell, himself a brilliant teacher and scholar in the humanities. Supplemental funding was also provided by Dr. Robert D. King, Dean, College of Liberal Arts of the University. It is a pleasure to acknowledge support from two scholars who might themselves have carried out the project.

The funds were almost entirely used to support personnel, since the University continued to

provide research facilities, including computer time. For this assistance I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Gerhard J. Fonken, Executive Vice President and Provost of the University.

Among personnel contributing to the project were students supported by the admirable Work-Study Program underwritten with federal funds. This Program furthered the scholarly training of the appointees as they made their contributions, especially to the bibliography. They were: Michelle Marie Caillouet, Julie Ann DeWitt, Dannah Edwards, Stacey Gerken, Ileana Gonzales, Monica Gonzales, Tom Horn, Antonio Medeiros, Alejandra Molina, Carmen Principe, Patricia Rosales, Deborah Ann Wean, and especially Philip Andrew Libby and Deborah Holmes Bryson, who became admirable bibliographers. These students worked under the direction of Helen-Jo Jakusz Hewitt, who contributed the bibliography and also provided important editing for the text itself. As the title page indicates, Dr. Hewitt performed many roles of a co-author through skillful editing and other assistance in addition to preparation of the bibliography.

Scrutiny of the scholarship was undertaken initially by Dr. Linn Johnk. He also in conjunction with Dr. Sandra A. Eveland adapted a database, with the aim of developing a store that might be used for production of dictionaries of other Indo-European languages. Information was entered into the database by Dr. Johnk and Janet Johnson. The system, designed for handling business data, was unfortunately inadequate for the multiple items of linguistic study.

Programming thereupon used was produced initially by Andrew Biskin, and subsequently by Jennifer Oppenheim, whose skill in devising programs for the various tasks of storing the data, checking the stores, formatting the text, designing necessary symbols, was of major importance to the project.

Inputting of dictionary entries was performed by Molly Conway, Douglas Fix, Stanford Rappaport, and largely by Susan H. Chapman, whose care and skills deserve special recognition. An important part of the inputting involved painstaking entry of symbols which direct the production of special characters as well as other tasks, such as the preparation of the indices. That these, and the other requirements of the book were achieved so smoothly, is due to the devoted attention of Ms. Chapman and Ms. Oppenheim.

Entries for the letters M N O P Q R Þ, some T's and U's, were prepared by Dr. Carol Justus, the others by the major author, who reviewed all of the entries and is responsible for the final version of the work. For suggestions on it, I express thanks to Professors L. Zgusta and Edgar Polomé. I thank especially Professor Ernst A. Ebbinghaus for his careful reading of the text in its near-final form.

For coordination of activities, and also bibliographical work, I am grateful to Gail Roy, Administrative Assistant of the Center. The assistance of the many devoted members of the Linguistics Research Center, as well as those providing funds, and also the complexities of producing an etymological dictionary in a highly studied language raise my esteem of the scholars who have produced the handbooks and scholarship which have brought Indo-European studies to their currently high level.

Winfred P. Lehmann
15 May 1986

GRAMMATICAL TERMS

acc	accusative
act	active
adj	adjective, adjectival
adv	adverb, adverbial
aor	aorist
art	article
caus	causative
cf	compare
cmpd	compound
comp	comparative
conj	conjunction
cons	consonant
dat	dative
def	definite
dem	demonstrative
denom	denominative
dial	dialect, dialectal
dim	diminutive
du	dual
eg	for example
EN	ethnic name
encl	enclitic
f	feminine
fut	future
gen	genitive
gl	gloss
GN	geographic name
ie	that is
imp	imperative
ind	indicative
indecl	indeclinable
indef	indefinite
inf	infinitive
infl	inflected
instr	instrumental
interj	interjection
interrog	interrogative
intrans	intransitive
iter	iterative
loc	locative
m	masculine
n	neuter
nom	nominative
opt	optative
orig	original(ly)
papl	past participle
pass	passive
PeN	personal name
perf	perfect
pl	plural
PN	proper noun
ppl	participle, participial
ppn	postposition
prep	preposition
prn	pronoun
prpl	present participle
prs	present
prt	preterite
prt	preterite-present
ptc	particle
refl	reflexive
rel	relative
sg	singular
stf	strong feminine
stm	strong masculine
stn	strong neuter
stv	strong verb
subj	subjunctive
superl	superlative
trans	transitive
voc	vocative
wkf	weak feminine
wkm	weak masculine
wkn	weak neuter
wkv	weak verb
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
:	cognate with, related to
~	varies with

LANGUAGE NAMES

Abbreviations which may precede a language name:

E	East
H	High
L	Low
M	Middle
N	New
O	Old
P	Proto
U	Upper
W	West

Abbreviations for language names:

Aeol	Aeolic	Fris	Frisian
Akkad	Akkadian	G	German
Alb	Albanian	Gaul	Gaulish
Angl	Anglian	Gmc	Germanic
Ar	Arabic	Gk	Greek
Aram	Aramaic	Go	Gothic
Arm	Armenian	Gutn	Gutnish
Att	Attic	Heb	Hebrew
Av	Avestan	Hitt	Hittite
Bal	Baluchi	Hom	Homeric
Balt	Baltic	Hsch	Hesychius
Bas	Basque	Hung	Hungarian
Bret	Breton	Ice	Icelandic
Bulg	Bulgarian	IE	Indo-European
Burg	Burgundian	Ind	Indic
Celt	Celtic	Ion	Ionic
Corn	Cornish	Ir	Irish
CrimGo	Crimean Gothic	Iran	Iranian
Cz	Czech	It	Italian
Dan	Danish	Ital	Italic
Dor	Doric	Ken	Kentish
Du	Dutch	Kurd	Kurdish
E	English	LLat	Late Latin
Est	Estonian	Lang	Langobardic
Etr	Etruscan	Lat	Latin
F	Franconian	Lesb	Lesbian
Finn	Finnish	Lett	Lettish
Flem	Flemish	Lith	Lithuanian
Fr	French	Luw	Luwian

Lyc	Lycian	Serb	Serbian
Lyd	Lydian	SerbCr	Serbo Croatian
Myc	Mycenaean	Skt	Sanskrit
Nor	Norwegian	Sl	Slavic
Osc	Oscan	Slov	Slovenian
Oss	Ossetic	Sp	Spanish
Pal	Palaic	Sum	Sumerian
Pers	Persian	Sw	Swedish
Phryg	Phrygian	Syr	Syrian
Pol	Polish	Thrac	Thracian
Port	Portuguese	TochAB	Tocharian A & B
Prak	Prakrit	TochA	Tocharian A
Prov	Provençal	TochB	Tocharian B
Pruss	Prussian	Umbr	Umbrian
Rum	Rumanian	VLat	Vulgar Latin
Run	Runic	Ved	Vedic
Russ	Russian	Ven	Venetic
S	Saxon	Wel	Welsh

GOTHIC TEXTS

Col	Colossians	R	Romans
1C	I Corinthians	Sk	Skeireins
2C	II Corinthians	1Th	I Thessalonians
E	Ephesians	2Th	II Thessalonians
G	Galatians	Tit	Titus
J	John	1T	I Timothy
L	Luke	2T	II Timothy
M	Matthew	Cal	Gothic Calendar
Mk	Mark	DeA	Deed of Arezzo
Neh	Nehemiah	DeN	Deed of Naples
Phil	Philemon	Sal	Salzburg-Vienna Manuscript
Ph	Philippians	Ver	Veronese Manuscript

LIST OF SERIALS

AASFB	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae/Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Ser. B
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
AFAHB	*Annales de la Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AGI	*Archivio Glottologico Italiano*
AGWG	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse. N.F.
AIAVSG	Arbeiten aus dem Inst. für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, [Graz]
AinIF	*Anzeiger [in] Indogermanische Forschungen*
AinZDA	*Anzeiger [in] Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*
AION-SL	*Annali Istituto Univ. Orientale, Napoli, Sezione Linguistica*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ALLG	*Archiv für Lateinische Lexicologie und Grammatik*
ALPS	Alabama Linguistic and Philological Ser.
ALZ	*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*
ANF	*Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi/Archives for Scandinavian Philology*
Anglia	*Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*
ANOH	*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*
AnStud	*Anatolian Studies*
ANVAO	Avhandlinger utgiven av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademie i Oslo II, Hist.-Filos. Klass
AÖAW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
APS	*Acta Philologica Scandinavica: Tidsskrift for Nordisk Sprogforskning/ Journal of Scandinavian Philology*
Archiv	*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*
ArL	*Archivum Linguisticum*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akad. in Wien
ASGW	Abhandlungen der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft du Wissenschaften, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
ASNSP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore de Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*
ASPh	*Archiv für Slavische Philologie*
BAWS	Bayerische Akad. der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte
BBCS	*Bul. of the Board of Celtic Studies/Bweletin Bwrrd Gwybodau Celtaidd*
BBGS	*[Bayerische] Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen*
BDECU	*Bul. of the Dept. of English, Calcutta Univ.*
BGDSL	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (Halle)
BGDSL-T	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (Tübingen)
BGWL	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.* Philol.- Hist. Classe
BibA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BKIS	*Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen*
BSI	*Balto-slavjanskie Issledovanija*
BSLP	*Bul. de la Soc. Linguistique de Paris*
BSOAS	*Bul. of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

BSOS	*Bul. of the School of Oriental Studies*
BSt	*Boghazköi-Studien*
BzA	*Beiblatt zur Anglia*
CILT	Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of the Language Sciences: IV. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
ClassP	*Classical Philology*
ClassQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
ClassR	*Classical Review*
CLSLP	Collection Linguistique [Soc. de Ling. de Paris]
CRAIBL	*Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
DS	*Danske Studier*
EG	*Etudes Germaniques*
Emerita	*Emérita: Rivista de Lingüistica y Filologia Clásica*
EngS	*Englische Studien*
Eriu	*Ériu*
Ethnology	*Ethnology*
Etimol	*Etimologija* (Moscow)
FLiH	*Folia Linguistica Historica*
Fornv	*Fornvännen*
FUF	*Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen: Z. für Finnisch-Ugrische Sprach- und Volkskunde*
Germania	*Germania*
GerSl	*Germanoslavica* (Prague)
GGA	*Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen unter der Aufsicht der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*
GGP	Grundriß der Germanischen Philologie
GHA	Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift
GL	*General Linguistics*
Glotta	*Glotta: Zeitschrift für Griechische und Lateinische Sprache*
GR	*Germanic Review*
GRM	*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*
GVVSH	Göteborgs Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlinger
IAN	*Izvestija Akad. Nauk S.S.S.R., Ser. Literatury i Jazyka*
IBzK	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft
IBzS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
IJ	*Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*
ILRL	*Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di Scienze et Lettere. Rendiconti dell Classe di Lettere*
ISUI	Inst. für Sprachwissenschaft der Univ. Innsbruck
IZ	*International Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*
JanL	Janua Linguarum
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Soc.*
JAsiat	*Journal Asiatique*
JDECU	*Journal of the Dept. of English, Calcutta Univ.*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JIES	*Journal of Indo-European Studies*
JL	*Journal of Linguistics*
JSOR	*Journal of the Soc. for Oriental Research*

Kadmos	*Kadmos: Zeitschrift für Vor- und Frühgriechische Epigraphik*
KAF	*Kleinasiatische Forschungen*
KDVS	Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filos. Meddelelser
Klio	*Klio: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*
Kratylos	*Kratylos*
KVSL	*Korrespondenz-blatt des Vereins für Siebenburgische Landeskunde*
LangQ	*Language Quarterly*
LB	*Leuvense Bijdragen*
Lg	*Language*
LGRP	*Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie*
Lingua	*Lingua*
LP	*Lingua Posnaniensis*
LUA	Lunds Univ. Årsskrift, Avd. 1. N.f.
Mannus	*Mannus*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
Memnon	*Memnon*
MFSG	*Minneskrift Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg*
MGS	*Michigan Germanic Studies*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
MKNAL	*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akad., Afd. Letterkunde*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MM	*Maal og Minne*
MO	*Le Monde Oriental*
MP	*Modern Philology*
MSFO	Mémoires de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne
MSLP	*Mémoires de la Soc. Linguistique de Paris*
MSNH	*Mémoires de la Soc. Néophilologique de Helsinki*
MSzS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
NB	*Namn och Bygd*
Neophil	*Neophilologus*
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Philol.-hist. Klasse
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
NTF	*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*
NTS	*Norsk Tidsskrift för Sprogvidenskap*
NVAO	Norske Videnskaps-Akad. i Oslo. Hist.-Filol. Klasse
Ogam	*Ogam: Tradition Celtique*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*
Orbis	*Orbis: Bulletin International de Documentation Linguistique*
PANPJ	Polska Akad. Nauk. Komitet Językoznawstwa Prace Językoznawcze
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Assn. of America*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
PZ	*Praehistorische Zeitschrift*
PZKA	*Philologus: Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie*
QFSK	Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker
RANL	*Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche, e Filologiche, ser. 6
RBPH	*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*
RCHLit	*Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Litterature*

REAnc	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
REIE	*Revue des Etudes Indo-Européennes*
RELat	*Revue des Etudes Latines*
RESl	*Revue des Etudes Slaves*
RevCelt	*Revue Celtique*
RevGer	*Revue Germanique*
RevP	*Revue de Phonétique*
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*
RivF	*Rivista di Filologia*
RivIGI	*Rivista Indo-Greca-Italica*
RLin	*Revue de Linguistique*
RMP	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RPh	*Romance Philology*
Saga-Book	*Saga-Book*
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der ... [Preuss.] Akad. der Wissenschaften* (Berlin)
SBal	*Studi Baltici*
Semiotica	*Semiotica*
SEtr	*Studi Etruschi*
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. der Wissenschaft, Philos.-Hist. Klasse
SIW	Sammlung Indogermanischer Wörterbücher
SkGgD	Sammlung Kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialekte
SKHVSU	Skrifter utg. af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala
SL	*Studia Linguistica*
SLang	*Studies in Language*
Slavia	*Slavia*
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SN	*Studia Neophilologica*
SNF	*Studier i Nordisk Filologi*
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse
SO	*Symbolae Osloensis*
SovAA	*Soviet Archeology and Anthropology*
Sprache	*Die Sprache*
Sprachwiss	*Sprachwissenschaft*
SSAWL	Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig
SSN	*Scandinavian Studies and Notes*
SUVSL	Skrifter Utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund
TaalB	*Taalkundige Bijdragen*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Assn.*
Teuthon	*Teuthonista*
TNTL	*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Soc.*
UCPL	Univ. of California Publications in Linguistics
UUA	Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift
Vāk	*Vāk* (Deccan College, Poona)
VLang	*Visible Language*
VSS	Videnskaps-selskapets Skrifter, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse
WFWLG	Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, Rijksuniv. te Gent
Word	*Word*

WuS	*Wörter und Sachen*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
WZUG	*Wissenschaftliche Z. der Ernst Moritz Arndt-Univ. Greifswald*
Ymer	*Ymer*
ZAVA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZB	*Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*
ZDA	*Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur*
ZDM	*Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mundarten*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDP	*Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*
ZDS	*Zeitschrift für Deutsche Sprache*
ZDU	*Zeitschrift für den Deutschen Unterricht*
ZDW	*Zeitschrift für Deutsche Wortforschung*
ZEthn	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*
ZII	*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*
ZMF	*Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung*
ZÖG	*Zeitschrift für die Österreichischen Gymnasien*
ZOF	*Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*
ZRP	*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*
ZSoc	*Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*
ZSP	*Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*
ZSSR	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtgeschichte*, Germanistische Abteilung
ZVS	*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*
ZVV	*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*

NOTE FROM ELISABETH FEIST HIRSCH

It is with deep emotion that I welcome the fourth edition of my father's *Comparative Dictionary of the Gothic Language* which is being prepared in the United States. Although my father has written many books and articles, the *Dictionary* accompanied him throughout his mature life. My father's interest in the subject dated from his student years at the University of Strasbourg. His doctoral thesis was entitled *Outline of the Gothic Etymology* (Grundriss der gotischen Etymologie). It was published in 1880 when my father was 23 years old. In 1890 he published some supplements to it in a scholarly journal.

In 1906 my father, who grew up in the Rhineland, moved his family to Berlin. Three years later he was able to issue the first edition of the *Dictionary*. This was considerably enlarged in 1923. In 1939 at the age of 74 my father prepared the third edition of the *Dictionary* published by Brill in Leiden. He died four years later.

My father had many contacts with scholars in the United States among whom I had the pleasure of meeting Professors Prokosch and Sturtevant. In 1922 he published an article in an American journal. My father had great respect for the scholarship in his field in the United States. I am sure he would have felt greatly honored to have a scholar of Professor Lehmann's expertise take over the task of preparing the fourth edition.

I remember my father telling me that every fifteen years the *Dictionary* should be revised. Since 1939 three times that many years have gone by. Professor Lehmann faced a task of great magnitude. That he was willing to undertake it deserves my deepest gratitude. My thanks also go to his collaborators.

I should express my appreciation for the financial support granted by the University of Texas at Austin, the Endowment for the Humanities and by Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell. The continued interest in the *Dictionary* by the publishing house of Brill in Leiden likewise deserves my sincere thanks.

Elisabeth Feist Hirsch
May 1986

A

A1. aba irregular mn ἀνήρ *man, husband* R 7.2, gen pl *abne* 1C 11.3,4; dat pl *abnam* E 5.22,24.

Possibly to OI *afl* stn *power*, *afli* stm *gain, power*, OE *afol, abal* stn, OS *ăbal* stn *power*; OI *efla* wkv *perform*. OHG *avalōn* wkv *work*; also, OE *eafor draft horse*, *aferian* wkv *maintain draft horses* Holthausen 1930 IF 48: 262. Moreover, inscriptional CIL XIII:8157,8211 Lat (*Matronis*) *Aflims, Afliabus* for *goddesses performing magic* (OI *seiδ*), W Schulze 1966: 477-79; OE PeN's *Aba, Abba, Afa*, Zachrisson 1934:405; OHG PeN *Abo*, Förstemann 1900:11. Further, OI *efna*, OE *efnan* wkv *carry out*; OS *ōbean*, OHG *uoben* wkv *care for, celebrate*; *uobo* wkm *farmer*; *uobunga*, stf *religious activity*; Thyagaraju 1948 JEGP 47:179-81 compares relationship between PIE *pot-* as in Lat *posse be able to* and Skt *páti-*, Gk πόσις, Go **-faþs** *master, spouse* P 1959:842; Jucquois 1971 LB 60:199-203 skeptical. This derivation preferable to relationship with OI *afi* stm *man*, *afa-systir* stf *great-aunt*; ***awo**. *Aba* may be from a term in patriarchal law meaning 'possessor of power, family chief who had to carry out ritual activities'.

PIE *ŏp-* *be able to, bring about*: Skt *ápas*, Lat *opus work*; Lat *operārī be active*; Skt *ā́pas sacrificial act*. Av *hv-āpah doing good* Lidén 1897-99:73-74, Meringer 1904-05 IF 17:129, 1905-06 IF 18:208-09, 1909 WuS 1:174; not here Lith *apstùs abundant*, cf Fraenkel 1962-65:14.

Scarcely a nursery word for 'father' (Uhlenbeck 1897 BGDSL 22:188, 1902 BGDSL 27:113-14, 1906 TNTL 25:245; cf Etr *apa father, husband* Zimmermann 1905 BKIS 29: 272). Nor to **abrs**, and the dubious comparison by Bezzenberger 1896 BKIS 21:296 with Lith *úošvis father-in-law*; see Fraenkel 1962-65: 1168. Nor to Gk Ἀπόλλων, ἀπφά [an endearing manner of address], νηπελέω *be powerless*, cf Chantraine 1968-80:98,100,791.

P 1959:780.

A2. abba *father* only voc G 4.6 = Gk ἀββα, which is borrowed from Aram *abbā́ the father, my father* E Klein 1966-67:2.

A3. abrs adja ἰσχυρός *great*, only L 15. 14; adv *abraba* σφόδρα *very* M 27.54, ***bi-abrjan*** wkvI ἐκπλήσσεσθαι *be astonished*, only 3pl pret *-ridedun* M 7.28.

OI *afar-* *very*, cf *mikils abraba* = OI *afarmikill, afarligr huge, immense*, adv *afarliga very*; Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:253.

No certain cognates. Possibly OIr *abar-*, Wel *afr-* *very*, in OIr *afar-dall*, Wel *afr-ŏwl very dark*; Loth 1925 RevCelt 42:64 fn2; Vendryès 1959-:A-6-7 dubious. Mezger 1938 ZVS 65:122-23 relates *abrs* to **aba** through the meaning *force, defiance*; see however W Schulze 1966:398.

Not Cz *obr*, Slovak *obor giant* (cf OSl *obri Avars* Meillet 1902-05:183, Vondrák 1924-28 I: 109) unless one assumes that the tribal name came from a designation for strength, as possibly OI *purs* stm *giant* = Etr *turs*, W Schulze 1904:247,523; Schulten 1930 Klio 23:394, Umbr *turskum*, Gk Τυρσᾶνοί; Finn *tursas monster*, from Gmc; cf also MHG *hiune giant* = *Hun*; Stender-Petersen 1927:184-85 considers OSl *obrs* a loanword from Go; Machek 1951 Slavia 20:214-16 derives *abrs* from OSl *obrs*; rejected by Vaillant 1952 RESl 29:122, Vey 1952 RESl 29:223. Other older proposals to be rejected: as by L Meyer 1869:64 to Skt *ábhvas monstrous* ← pre-Skt ***a-bhu-as** non-being* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:43; or as by Kluge 1881 ZVS 25:312 to Skt *āprás*, a hapax of uncertain interpretation, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:76; or as by K Johansson 1894 IF 3:239ff to Skt *ambhṛ́ṇas powerful, ámbhas power* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I: 46. Further references in F 1939:2,577. Highly speculative, H Wagner 1958 ZVS 75:58-75, to Sum *áb₂ procreate, bear; ox, cattle, cow*, Ak-

kad *abārn be strong*, etc.

P 1959:2.

A4. ada CrimGo 'ovum' *egg*; reflex of nom sg **ad(d)i*, or more likely of its nom pl **addja*, Krause 1968:110.

OI *egg*, OE *æg*, pl *æg-ru*, OS, OHG *ei*, pl *eigir* stn **egg**†; Molz 1906 BGDSL 31:324-25, Stearns 1978:127.

PIE *ō(w)i-om* ← *oH(w)i-om* **egg**: Hsch ᾠόν; ὤιον (Sappho), ὤεον (Ibycus), ὤβεα (= *ωϝεα) τά ᾠά. Ἀργεῖοι; Lat *ōvum*; Wel *wy*, MCorn *uy*, OIr *og* (difficult; Vendryès 1959-:O-13), Arm *ju* **egg**. Also OSl *ajьce*, Serb *jáje* ← **jajě*, Russ *jajcó* ← **jajьcé* ← **(j)ajo* with dim suff **egg**. May be derived from PIE *awey- bird*: Skt *víḥ, véḥ bird*, Gk ἀετός **eagle** (← **aϝietos*), Lat *avis bird*; or *-w-* may have been added to PIE *ōy-* by association with *awey-*. See Schindler 1969 Sprache 15:144-67, with copious references.

Go *-ddj-*, NGmc *-ggj-* by Holtzmann's law; PIE *-y-* lengthened in Gmc when contiguous to reflex of laryngeal; thereupon cons increment in ENGmc. PIE *oHy-* → PGmc *ajj-*: Go **addj-*, NGmc **eggj*, WGmc **ejj-*. Cf also ***daddjan**, **iddja**, *twaddje* gen pl of **twai**, **-waddjus**. WP Lehmann 1952:36-46, Lindeman 1964:112-13, with references to earlier proposals.

P 1959:783-84,86.

A5. ael CrimGo 'lapis' *stone*; either Go *al* in accordance with Du spelling, or misprint for **all*. Possibly = ***hallus**, or from Tatar *aela rocky ridge*; Diefenbach 1846-51 II:520-21; also Much 1898 AinIF 9:199-200, Stearns 1978: 127-28.

A6. af prep ἀπό, ἐκ, παρά, ὑπό *from, from ... away, since* M 5.18 ← **aƀ*, cf **abu**, + interrog ptc **-u** J 18.34.

OI *af*, OE *æf*, *of*, OFris *of*, OS *af*, OHG *aba*, *ab from, from ... away*; G Schmidt 1962: 257-58.

PIE *apo-*: Skt *ápa* **away**, Av, OPers *apa*, Gk ἀπό (proclitic), ἄπο (in anastrophe) *from, away*; Lat *ab* (from **ap* before voiced consonants), but Umbr *ap-(ehtre), ab (extra) from* Frederik Muller 1926:37; Alb *prápë again*, Lith *apa-čià lower part* Brugmann 1904a:470. Not to Hitt *appan after*; cf Tischler 1983- I:41-43, Puhvel 1984-:94.

Apocopated PIE *po-* in Av *pa-zdayeiti frightens away*, (Lat *po-situs situated*); Lith *põ-*, *pa-*, OPruss *pa-*, *po-*, OSl *po-* (verbal prefix); not however in **barusnjan**.

Derivation: **afar**, **aftra**, ***aftuma**; on *af-* as prefix, see T Johannisson 1939:51-64,351.

P 1959:53-55.

A7. *af-agjan wkvI, nom pl m papl *af-agidai* πτυρόμενοι Ph 1.28, 3sg subj pass Go *af-agjaidau* σαίνεσθαι *be moved, frightened* 1Th 3.3; **in-agjan* wkvI, only 3sg prt *in-agida* ἐμβριμᾶσθαι *censure* M 9.30; *us-agjan* wkvI, only nom pl m papl *us-agidai* ἔκφοβοι *be afraid* Mk 9.6. See **agis**.

A8. af-aikan stvVII 3sg prs *af-aikiþ* M 10.33, 3sg prt *af-aiaik* ἀρνεῖσθαι, ἀπαρνεῖσθαι *deny* J 18.25; ἀναθεματίζειν *curse* ← *renounce*[?]; cf *af-qiþiþ renounce* L 14.33.

OHG *in-eih(h)an* = *in-sagēn* OHG Gl I.iii: 12; 621:51, *eihhōn vindicate, encourage, console*.

Etymology uncertain; possibly PIE *eyg- complain loudly*: Gk οἰκτος *waiting*, οἰκτρός *pitiable, mournful*; MIr *ēigid cries, īachtaid groans*, cf Go **aihtron** *request*; Fowkes 1943 JEGP 42:270, 1949:2-3. Older proposals in F 1939:3.

P 1959:298; but see Seebold 1970:72-73.

A9. afar prep μετά *after* M 8.1; adv in *afar-uh þan later* Sk 3.15 / IIIc.5.

OI *afar-*, *avar-* *very*, OHG *avar*, *abur again, a second time, on the other hand*; OI *aur-* ← **abur-* in *aur-falr* stm *lower socket of spear shaft*, PIE *apu-r* according to G Schmidt 1962:264-66.

PIE *ápo*, as in **af**, + PIE *-ero-*: Skt *aparám later*, n acc of Skt *áparas* = Av *aparam*, *aparō*, OPers *apara behind, following, other*; cf Hitt *appasiwatt- day(s) after* Puhvel 1984-:96-98. This suffix in comp; also in Gk ὕπερος *pestle*, ὑπέρᾱ *upper rope*, Lat *superus*, OE *uferra*

upper, Go *ufaro above* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:323; with PIE *-tero-*, as in **aftaro**: Gk ἀπο-τέρω *further removed*. Benveniste 1931 BSLP 32:[art]68ff rejects relationship with Lat *Aprilis*, which he derives instead from Etr **Aprun* ← Gk 'Αφρο-δίτη *month of Venus*. Specht 1944:23 relates Gk ἤπειρος *shore, mainland*, NHG *Ufer shore*; cf P 1959:53.

Cmpds: **afar-dags* ma ἡ ἑξῆς *the following day* L 7.11; *afar-gaggan* stvVII διώκειν, ἀκολουθεῖν *go after*; **afar-laistjan* ἀκολουθεῖν *follow after, strive after*; *afar-sabbate*, only gen pl in *þis dagis afar-sabbate* τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων *the first (day) after Sabbath* Mk 16.2.

P 1959:53-55.

A10. *afara mn *descendant*, only dat pl **afaram*, conjecture of Peters 1879:3-4 for L 1.5 *us afar Abijins* ἐξ ἐφημερίας 'Αβιά *of the priestly order of Abija* Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:253.

Grimm 1890:259 proposed **afr* (like *fadr* etc) as dat to nom *afar descent*. L Meyer 1869: 76,531 assumed a stem **afari-* f *division, class*, with dat *afar*. Bammesberger 1978 Sprache 24: 52-53, assuming dat *afar*[*a*] *Abijins* with *a* only once in the manuscript, posits an *n*-stem **afar progeny, descendants*.

PGmc *abara*: OE *eafora* wkm, OS *abaro* wkm *descendant*; Thyagaraju 1948 JEGP 47: 180 glosses these *son* and relates them to PIE *op-* as in **aba, abrs**; OI *afr* stm *thin beer made from oats*.

PIE *ápo*: Skt *ápara-*, Av *aparō later*; cf **afar**. Less likely G Schmidt 1962:164, PGmc *afera later*; cf Alb *épërm upper*, with origin in PIE *epi, opi near*.

P 1959:53-55,323-25.

A11. *af-blindnan wkvIV, only as marginal gloss *-dnodedun* in Cod A to *af-daubnodedun* ἐπωρώθη *became blind* 2C 3.14; **blinds**.

Concerning the present suffix Go *-na-* for the formation of Class IV weak verbs see Grimm 1878:166-70; Annerholm 1956; Delbrück 1893-1900 III:123 (expresses process); Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:53,311-12; Egge 1886 AJP 7: 38ff; M Jellinek 1926:172-73 (inchoative); Behaghel 1923-32 II:199 (chiefly medial, rarely passive); Kieckers 1928:247-50; Prokosch 1939: 156-57; B/E 1981:125-26 (entrance into a state; medio-passive). Go Class IV verbs do not correspond in function to PIE *nā-* verbs; may have origin in that suffix, as Kieckers 1928:249-50 states, but developed independently in Go, even in contrast with NGmc.

A12. *af-dauiþs wkvI (only nom pl *af-dauidai* M 9.36) ἐσκυλμένος *troubled, annoyed*, papl of inf **af-dojan*.

PIE *dhaw- throttle, press*: Av *dvaidī* 1du prs middle *we harass*; Phryg δάος· ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος (Hsch) *destroyer, wolf* Kretschmer 1896: 221; Lyd PeN Καν-δαύλης *dog-destroyer* Solmsen 1906 ZVS 39:77; OSl *daviti strangle* Vasmer 1953-58 I:326. Lith *dõvyti annoy, trouble* is borrowed from Slavic, Fraenkel 1962-65:100; see also Holthausen 1956 ZVS 73:101-02, who relates Gk θώς *jackal*; Chantraine 1968-80:450 is dubious.

Wood 1906 MLN 21:226-27 compares OI *das* stn *weariness*, Lat *fatigō grow weary* etc; but see Vries 1962:74 OI *dasast grow weary*; W/H 1938-56 I:451 also dubious. Probably not related to **dauþs** or ***diwan**.

P 1959:235.

A13. *af-dobnan wkvIV φιμώθητι *become silent*, only 2sg imp *af-dobn* L 4.35. With the same meaning, **af-dumbn(an)** πεφίμωσο *become still* Mk 4.39. according to Hirt 1921-37 I:200, II:75 they are related (with loss of nasal before *b* after long vowel); **dumbs**. Also Szemerényi 1954 Glotta 33:238.

Etymology unclear. Possibly to OI *dofna lose one's strength* and thereupon ***daufs** *deaf*; see Brugmann 1912 *F* Thomsen:6-7 on use of one word for several sense perceptions; also, Vries 1962:74. By this analysis, from PIE *dhew-* as in **dauns** *vapor*. Scarcely related to OI *dapr sad* etc, as by Wood 1906 MLN 21:227; see Vries 1962:73. Chantraine 1968-80:422 cites possible relationship to Gk θάμβος *stupor*,

τάφος *astonishment*; also P 1959:233, who posits PIE *dhăbh- be astonished, speechless.*

A14. af-drugkja mn *drunkard* μέθυσος 1C 5.11, οἰνοπότης M 11.19; *-drunkja* is a *ja*-derivative of **drugks*: OI *drykkr*, OE *dryncˌ* MLG *drunk*, OHG *trunk* stm *drink*†, related to **drigkan**, with pejorative prefix; different sense in ***af-guþs**, *af-haimeis.*

Cf OI *a/of-drykkja* wkf *excessive drinking*, with intensive prefix on OI *drykkr* stm *drink*; Bahder 1880:15ff, esp 31-32; Cahen 1921:23; Kluge 1926:61.

A15. af-etja mn φάγος *glutton* M 11. 19; *-ja*-derivative, from verbal adj **et-i*: OI *ætr* (stem **ātja-*) *edible*, with *af-*; A Sturtevant 1936 AJP 57:274-76 supersedes Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:192.

PGmc *ēta-* (simplex): OI *āt*, OE *æt*, OS *āt*, OHG *āz*, stn *food*. See also OE *æs*, OHG *ās* stn *carcass* (from PIE *ēd-to-* or *ēd-so-*, to the *es*-stem PIE *ēdes-*[?]). Prefixed noun in OI *a/of-āt* stn *gluttony*.

PIE *ed-*, as in **itan**: OSl *jadь food*, *sъnědь*, Lith *ėdis food*, OPruss *īdis meal.*

The same vocalism in Skt *ādyás edible* (= OI *ætr edible*), Lith *ėdžia glutton.*

P 1959:287-89.

A16. *af-gudei fn calque of Gk ἀσέβεια *ungodliness* R 11.26; from Go **af-guda-* (***af-guþs**) with *-ein-*, an extension of the PIE suffix *-iyā-*, *-ī-* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1: 211ff, esp 218) as in Skt *śámī exertion, work*, Gk φύζα (← **phugya*) *flight*, ἀλήθεια *truth*, Lat *aciēs sharpness*, Go **haiti promise*, Lith *-žinė, žinià knowledge.* Or, according to Kluge 1908-09 ZDW 10:64, 1926:61, reduced form of suffix as in Lat *-iōn-*; cf *ē-lātiō*, gen *ē-lātiōnis exaltation* beside *lātus raised*; Go ***baurþei** beside **baurþs* = Skt *bhṛtás borne* Kluge 1926: 61,66; Kieckers 1928:124-25.

Parallel development in Sacian *-īn-*, with *hvāhīn* f *breadth* beside *hvāha broad*, *hvaraṃcīn right side* beside *hvaraṃca right.*

A17. *af-guþs adj*a*; calque of Gk ἀσεβής *godless* Velten 1930 JEGP 29:338; Üçok 1938:33, dat pl Go *af-gudaim* ἀσεβέσι = *unsibjaim* as marginal gloss in Cod A at T 1.9 and f acc sg *af-gudon* Sk 4.26 / IVd.18; **guþ.**

Nor dial *av-gud* stm, WFlem *af-god* stm *godless person*; also OFris, OS, MLG *af-god* stm, OHG *ab-got* stm, OHG *ab-gudi* stn *idol.*

On the negative and pejorative use of OHG, MHG *ab-* see Bahder 1897 BGDSL 22: 525; Grimm 1878:707-09; Wilmanns 1899:574; Kluge 1913:233. Karg-Gasterstädt 1945 BGDSL 67:424-33 ascribes it to borrowing from Go, supporting this view by pointing to the multiplicity in morphology. Gothic missionaries would then have introduced the word and pejorative sense of *ab-* into OHG.

Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:253f compares Skt *ápa* in *ápa-śiras, ápa-śīrṣa(n) headless, ápa-śastras weaponless*, and also *ápa-vratas averse to vrata law, apa-mārga- byway*, etc.

A18. af-hamon wkvII ἐκδύσασθαι *get undressed*, only inf 2C 5.4; *ana-hamon* wkvII ἐπενδύσασθαι *get dressed*, only inf 2C 5. 4; **and-hamon* wkvII ἀπεκδύσασθαι *undress*, only prpl *-nds* Col 2.15; *ga-hamon* wkvII, ἐνδύσασθαι *get dressed*; *ufar-hamon* wkvII ἐπενδύσασθαι *put on*, only inf 2C 5.2.

OI *hamast* wkv *assume the shape of an animal, rage (like a berserk)* Uhlenbeck 1907 ZVS 40:555.

Not attested in Gmc, f **hamō*; but OI *hamr* ma *figure, covering*; OI *hams* (← **hamisa-*) mes *rind, covering* (Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:24); mn in OI *-hami*, OE, OFris *-hama*, OS, OHG *-hamo covering*; as second constituent of cmpd, OI *līk-ami* stm, OE *līc-homa, lic-uma*, OS *līk-hamo*, OHG *līh-hamo* wkm *body, corpse* (actually, 'covering of corpse' according to Güntert 1919:64); extension with Go *-iþja-* as in **aggwiþa**: OE *hemeþe*, OFris *hemethe*, OHG *hemidi* stn *shirt.*

Possibly from PIE *k̂em- cover*: this may be in Skt *śāmulyàm* acc sg (RV 10.85.29), *śāmūlam* n *bridal garment; shirt*[?] (Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:325 dubious).

Other relationships uncertain. Gaul-Lat

camĭs(i)a (source of OIr *caimmse*, OE *cemes* stf, It *camicia*, Fr *chemise* etc) is not related but probably borrowed from an unknown, non-IE source (not with Thurneysen 1884:51-52 from Gmc before the consonant shift). Cf with other accent: It *cámice*, OFr *chainse choir robe*; others in Meyer-Lübke 1935:1550. For further unaccepted speculation see F 1939:6.

P 1959:556-57, though with caution; Go **himins** possibly related.

A19. *af-hlaþan stvVI σεσωρευμένα *burdened*, only nom pl n papl *-þana* 2T 3.6.

OI *hlaða*, OHG *hladan*, and with grammatical change OE *hladan*, OFris *hlada*, OS *hladan* stvVI *load, load on*, cf NE *laden*; OE *hlæþ* stn *heap*; with *ō*: OE *hlōþ* stf *booty, troop*; OLF *to hlōthe* 'ad praedam' *for booty* (Gl Lips 578), if according to Sievers 1893 BGDSL 17:319, 1894 BGDSL 19:559-60 and K Johansson 1906 IF 19:116-17 from a base form with *-nþ-* like OI *hlenni* wkm, OE *hlōþere* wkm, OHG (Tatian) *landeri* wkm *robber*; MHG *luot* stf *burden, troop*; with IE *-to-*: OI *hlass* stm *burden*; with IE *-ti-*: OE *hlæst* stf, OFris *hlest* stf, OHG *(h)last* stf *burden* (← **klat-s-ti-*, Brugmann 1896 IF 6:103).

Possibly from PIE *klā-* *lay on*: Lith *klóti*, Latvian *klât spread out, cover*; Lith *klõtė layer, bed covering, ap-klõtas cover, klõtas floorboards*; with *d(h)*: OSl *kladǫ*, inf *klasti lay, place*; Lith *klõdas layer, paklõdė bed linen*, Fraenkel 1962-65:274-75.

P 1959:599; P Scherer 1941:21; Seebold 1970:258-59.

A20. *af-hrisjan wkvI ἀποτινάσσειν, ἀπομάσσεσθαι *shake off*, 1pl prs *-sjam* L 10.11, 2pl opt prs *-sjaiþ* L 9.5; **us-hrisjan* wkvI ἐκτινάσσειν *shake off*, only 2pl opt prs *-sjaiþ* M 6.11.

OE *hrissan shake*, OS *hrissian* wkvI *shake oneself, tremble*; OI, OE, OHG *hrīs* stn *twig, branch*.

PIE *(s)ker-* *turn, bend* + *-ey-* + *-s* *shake*: MIr *cressaim shake* (← **kristō*, Marstrander 1910 ZCP 7:412); Lat *crīnis hair* (← **cris-nis*; cf *crista crest on head of animals*) W/H 1938-56 I:292, though probably not *crisō move the haunches, as in coitus (of women)* W/H 1938-56 I:292-93; OPruss *cray-si stalk, crays hay*; probably not Skt *krīḍati dance, play* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:279.

With *-p-*: Lat *crispus curly, twisted*; MHG *rispen* wkv *curl*. Many other extended forms of PIE *(s)ker-*; cf P 1959:935-38. Trier 1952:58-62 sees development of meaning with regard to the copse, and weaving.

A21. af-ƕapjan wkvI συμπνίζειν, ἀποπνίζειν, σβεννύναι *choke, extinguish* Mk 4.7; **af-ƕapnan* wkvIV (ἀπο-, συμ-) πνίγεσθαι, σβέννυσθαι *choke* Mk 5.13 (= *drown*; according to W Schulze 1966:151, slavish translation of Gk text); **un-ƕapnands* prpl ἄσβεστος *inextinguishable* Mk 9.45.

NI *hvap* n *dropsical flesh*; MHG *verwepfen become fusty (of wine)*.

Difficult root, possibly PIE *kew-*; with *-e?-*extension + *-p-* (+ *-b-* only in Gmc): Hsch κάπος· ψυχή, πνεῦμα *spirit*, Gk καπνός *smoke*, καπύω *exhale*, cf Chantraine 1968-80:494-95; scarcely Lat *vapor steam, vapor*, rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:732-33; Lith *kvāpas breath*. From PIE *kwēp-*: Lith *kvĕpti breathe, kvepėti be fragrant*; Latvian *kvēpt, kvēpes* pl *smoke*. With zero grade, Skt *kúpyati is excited, angry*; Lat *cupiō desire*; OSl *kypěti*; Lith *kūpėti seethe*, Latvian *kūpēt smoke, steam*, OPruss *kupsins fog* Fraenkel 1962-65:325-26; older references in F 1939:7.

P 1959:596-97.

A22. *af-lageins *fi/ō* ἄφεσις *forgiveness*, only dat sg *-geinai* Mk 1.4; **ana-lageins* ἐπίθεσις *laying on* 2T 1.6; **faur-lageins* πρόθεσις *setting forth* L 6.4, made with *-eins*, as in ***ahmateins**, from *af-lagjan* θεῖναι, ἀποθέσθαι *put off*; **ana-lagjan* ἐπιθεῖναι *put on*; *faur-lagjan* παρατιθέναι *put forth*; ***ligan**.

A23. *af-leiþan stvI, 3sg prt *af-laiþ* M 27.5, 3sg opt prt *af-liþi* L 4.42, ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀπελθεῖν, πορεύεσθαι *go away*; **bi-leiþan*, 3pl prt *bi-liþun* Mk 12.22 ἀπολείπειν, ἀφιέναι, etc

leave; *ga-leiþan* ἔρχεσθαι, ἀπέρχεσθαι, etc *come, go* M 8.18; *hindar-leiþan* παρέρχεσθαι *come up, pass away* L 16.17; *inn-ga-leiþan* εἰσέρχεσθαι *go into* Sk 2.20 / IIc.20-21; **miþ-inn-ga-leiþan* συνεισέρχεσθαι *go along into* J 18.15; *þairh-leiþan* διέρχεσθαι, παράγειν *go through, go past* L 18.25; **ufar-leiþan* διαπεραν *go across* M 9.1; *us-leiþan* ἀπέρχεσθαι, παρέρχεσθαι, etc *go away, vanish* M 8.28.

OI *līðа*, OE *līþan*, OS *līðan*, OHG *līdan* *go, travel, vanish*.

Etymology uncertain, Seebold 1970:328-30; possibly PIE *leyt(h)-* *go away, die, go*: Av *raēθ-* *die*, prs *iriθyeiti* (F 1939:8 cites parallels in semantic development); TochA *lit-* *go away, fall down*. Feist also compares **liþus** *mu member* and suggests origin in PIE *ley-* *slip, vanish*, as in ***af-linnan**; cf P 1959:661-62 on these. -- Other suggestions less likely, as to Lat *lībra* *scale* ← **līþra*; cf discussion in W/H 1938-56 I:795-96. Similarly dubious, Trier 1951: 15 who relates Gk λιτή *prayer*, Lat *litāre* *sacrifice under favorable omens*, from PIE *ley-* *slimy, glide out* → *dance*; P 1959:662-63; cf W/H 1938-56 I:814. Older discussion in F 1939:8.

P 1959:661-62; Fowkes 1949:35-36.

A24. *af-linnan stvIII ἀποχωρεῖν *go away*, only 3sg prs *-niþ* L 9.39.

OI *linna* *desist from, rest*, OE *linnan* *cease*, OHG *bi-linnan* *give way*; OI *linr* *soft, yielding*, *lina* *relieve*, MHG *līn* *limp, tepid*.

Probably from PIE *ley-* *take away, disappear*, and not from PIE *ley-* *slimy, glide*; cf P 1959:662-64. Like **rinna-** from **ri-nw-o*, with *-nw-*, though Lühr 1976 MSzS 35:79 ascribes *-nn-* to PIE *-nh-*. Hsch λίναμαι· τρέπομαι *turn*, Gk λιάζομαι *bend, draw back* (Chantraine 1968-80:638); MIr *lían* ← **lei-no-* *gentle, lēine* *shirt*; Lith *láibas* *slender, leĩlas* *thin* Fraenkel 1962-65:329-30. Confusion of forms from each of these roots noted in F 1939: 8 and other treatments. Trier 1951:10-16 assumes origin in PIE *ley-* *slimy, clay* as *applied to half-timbered buildings*.

P 1959:661-62.

A25. *af-mauiþs wkvI, inf **af-mojan*, cf **af-dauiþs*, only nom pl m papl *af-mauidai* ἐκλυόμενος *weary* G 6.9.

OHG *muo(j)an* *oppress, disquiet*; OI *mōðr*, OE *mēþe*, OS *mōði*, OHG *muodi* *tired*.

Possibly from PIE *mō-* *exert oneself*: Gk μῶλος *exertion, battle*, μῶλυς *weakened*, and possibly μόλις *scarcely*; Lat *mōlēs* *trouble, labor*, *mŏlestus* *troublesome*; Russ *májatь* *wear out*, *majá* *great exertion* Chantraine 1968-80: 729; Vasmer 1953-58 II:108. Less likely proposals cited in F 1939:9.

P 1959:746.

A26. *af-sateins *fi/ō*, only in *bokos afsateinais* βιβλίον ἀποστασίου *divorce notice (letter of removal)* Mk 10.4; **ga-sateins* *fi/ō* καταβολή *foundation* E 1.4; **us-sateins* *fi/ō* *origin* (marginal gloss E 2.3, Cod A). Derived with suffix *-eins*, from stem in *af-satjan* ἀπολῦσαι *dismiss, remove*, *ga-satjan* θεῖναι etc *place*, **us-satjan* φυτεύειν etc *plant, generate*. Cmpds of ***satjan**, caus of **sitan**.

A27. *af-skiuban stvII ἀπώσασθαι *reject*, only 3sg prt *af-skauf* R 11.1 and nom pl m prpl *-bandans* 1T 1.19.

OE *sceofan*, OHG *scioban* *shove*; also, OI *skūfa*, OE *scūfan*, OFris *skūva*, MLG *schūven* *shove*†.

PIE *skewb(h)-* *throw, shove*: Lith *skùbti* *begin to hurry*, *skubùs*, *skubrùs* *hastily*, *skùbinti* *speed up*, *skubà* *haste* Fraenkel 1962-65:820, OSl *skubǫ* *pluck*. Older speculation in F 1939:9.

P 1959:955.

A28. *af-slauþjan wkvI, only papl *af-slauþiþs im* ἀποροῦμαι *am perplexed* G 4. 20; pl *-þidai* *perturb, frighten* 2C 4.8; *af-slauþnan* wkvIV θαμβεῖσθαι *be amazed* L 4.36.

Denom verb from Gmc *slauþa-*; weak grade in OI *sloðra* wkv *drag oneself ahead*, Du *sloddern*, MHG *slote(r)n* *flap, shake*; Dan *sludre* *chatter*; also in MHG *slūder* f *sling*, *slūdern* wkv *throw, sling, slūder-affe* m *idler*.

PIE *(s)lew-* *hang limply, limp*: Go

***slawan** *be silent*; Serb *lutati saunter*; OE *liepre useless*, MHG *liederlich scanty, slight*; MIr *lott whore* (possibly borrowed from German). Older suggestions in F 1939:9-10.

P 1959:962-63.

A29. af-stass *fi*, nom sg 2Th 2.3, gen sg *afstassais bokos* βιβλίον ἀποστασίου *notice of divorce* M 5.31, ἀποστάσιον; **twis-stass fi* διχοστασία *discord* G 5.20; *us-stass fi* ἀνάστασις *resurrection* L 14.14.

-stass from PIE *sthā-*, as in Go *standan*, + *-t-* and PIE *-ti-*, as in ***alds**; underlying form PIE *sthə-t-tis* (cf **sthə-tí-s*, underlying form of **staþs**).

Probably a calque of Gk ἀποστάσιον *abandonment, relinquishment.*

A30. *af-swaggwjan *cause to waver*[?] only nom pl m papl in *swaswe af-swaggwidai weseima* ὥστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν *so that we despaired of life itself* 2C 1.8 Cod A; Cod B has *swaswe skaimaidedeima uns so that we were wearied with* ..., which is also a marginal gloss in Cod A. If correctly transmitted (cf Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:255) Go *-swaggjan* (corresponding to OE *swengan strike*, OFris *swenga*, OHG *swenken swing*†) is probably a causative formation (with present suffix *-w-*[?]) to the stem in OE *swingan*, OFris *swinga*, OS, OHG *swingan* stvIII *swing*; further, OI *svangr*, MLG, MHG *swanc pliable, thin*, OE *swancor pliable*, OE *swanger slender.*

PIE *swe(n)k/g- bend, waver*, with possible relation to PIE *swe(y)- bend*, and to *sew-, sewə-, sū- bend, turn, drive on*: Lat *sucula reel, winch*; OIr *sōim*, Lith *sùkti*, OSl *sukati*, Russ *skatь turn* Froehde 1891 BKIS 17:318, 1896 BKIS 21:205.

Other unconvincing suggestions in F 1939: 10. Relation to Skt *váñcati moves crookedly* is dubious, in spite of K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:237.

P 1959:1047-48; also 914 and 1041-42.

A31. *af-swairban stvIII ἐξαλείφειν *wipe away*, only prpl *-bands* Col 2.14; **bi-swairban* ἐκμάσσειν *dry, wipe off*, only 3sg prt *bi-swarb* J 11.2.

OI *sverfa* stvIII *file, (poetic) whirl around*, OE *sweorfan wipe, rub*, OFris *swerfa wander*, OS *swerban*, OHG *swerban rub off, dry off*; also intrans: *move, whirl*, cf NE *swerve.*

PIE *swerbh- turn*: Wel *chwerfu whirling, turning* Much 1898 ZDA 42:169. Probably not related: Skt *śū́rpam winnowing basket*, Gk καρπός *wrist*; cf ***hwairban**. Possibly Latvian *svārpstīt bore* Fraenkel 1962-65:949-50, OSl *svrabz scabies.* Scarcely to Hitt *warp- wash, bathe.*

P 1959:1050-51.

A32. afta adv ὀπίσω *behind, past*, only Ph 3.14; Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:484 considered *afta* an erroneous reading for *aftra*, and was followed by F 1939:11; but G Schmidt 1962:88, 263 objects on the grounds that *aftra* never means *behind*; Schmidt derives *afta* from PGmc *af-tē/ō*, which he sees also in Run, Dan *aft, æft, auft, uft*, OI *at* ← **aft behind*, OE *æft* = NE *eft again, behind*, OFris *eft after*; Ebbinghaus 1981 GL 21:19-21, refers to the derivative OE *æftan behind* in Brunanburh 63a, cf NE *aft.*

A33. aftana adv ὄπισθεν *from behind*, only M 5.27.

OI *aptan*, OE *æftan*, OS *(at) aftan*, MHG *aften behind, later.*

Derived from PGmc prep *afta* with *-na* suffix (cf **hindana, innana, utana**, OHG *obana* etc) ← PIE *-nē*, as in Skt *ví-nā*, Khotanese Sacian *vina without*, Lat *super-nĕ* (shortened ending) *from above, infer-nĕ from below*, Osc *come-nei*, Umbr *kum-ne*[?] from *-no*[?], (loc sg, Frederik Muller 1926:100) 'in comitio' or 'in comitium', Poultney 1959:301; OSl *vъ-nĕ outside* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:270, II.2: 736 indicates development of nasal adv suffixes difficult to determine; W/H 1938-56 I:405 label as idle speculation the proposed relationship of PIE *nĕ indeed* with *nĕ, nei not*, further related by H Jensen 1930 IF 48:124 to *-na.* Many comments on suffix, as by J Schmidt 1885 ZVS 27:

291, Thurneysen 1890 ZVS 30:495.

PGmc *afta* is to be related to **af**, or to Gk ὀπι- in ὄπι-(σ)θεν *after* (ὀπι : ὀπ- = ἐνί : ἐν) ablauting with ἐπί (see ***iftuma**); Lat *op-* in *op-ācus shady*, *op-eriō* (from **op-verio*) *cover*, Lat *ob* (from **op*) before voiced sounds, Osc *úp*, *op because of* W Schulze 1966:71; cf **aftaro**. Comparison of suffix *-ta* in Go **afta* with Gk μετά *between*, κατά *beneath* Brugmann/Thumb 1913:506ff; Lat *i-ta so*; Av *i-þa so* W/H 1938-56 I:722, doubtful.

Hitt *appa* adv *later, back, again, appan* adv *behind*, related to Gk ὀπι as in ὄπι-σθεν, Lohmann 1933 IF 51:324f, Albrecht Götze and Pedersen 1934:49, Tischler 1983- I:41-43, Puhvel 1984-:93-94.

A34. aftaro (*a* ← PIE *e* in medial syllables before *r*; J Schmidt 1889:197f; Kieckers 1928:17) adv ὄπισθε *from behind* M 9.20, ὀπίσω *behind*. -- Regarding the adv ending *ō* see **aljaleiko**.

OI *eptir*, OE *æfter*, OHG *aftar after*†; LG *achter behind, after*.

Derived either from PIE *op-* : *ep-* (cf ***iftuma**) in Gk ὄπ-ι-(σ)θε(ν)* *from behind*, ὀπ-ί-σω (← **op-i-tyō*, cf Skt *ápatyam posterity*, Go **niþjis**) *backwards*, Gk ὀπ-ί-σατος *the last* W Schulze 1966:71, Hitt *appezzi- last*; Lat *op-ācus shady* (ie *located behind*), Osc *úp*, *op*, 'apud' *by*. Or, from PIE *apo* as in Go **af**, with the PIE suffix *-tero-* as in Skt *án-taras*, Av *antara-*; Lat *interior inner*; Gk ἔν-τερον *intestines*; OSl *jętro liver* based on PIE *en*, cf **in**; cf Gk ἀπωτέρω *farther*, based on ἀπό *away from*; Skt *apataram*, OPers *apa-taram farther* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:324ff; rejected by G Schmidt 1962:262 in favor of derivation from PIE *opi-*. See Benveniste 1935a:115-43 on discussion of PIE *-tero-* suffix as indicating separation and distinctness, esp with regard to space and time.

A35. *af-taurnan wkvIV, intrans σχίζειν *tear off*, only 3sg prs *af-taurnid* L 5.36; ***dis-taurnan** intrans ῥήγνυσθαι *tear apart*, only 3pl prs *-and* M 9.17; ***ga-taurnan** καταργεῖσθαι *vanish, cease* 1C 13.8. Formed with *-nan*, as in ***and-bundnan**, to root in ***dis-tairan**.

NDu *tornen depart*.

PIE *der-*: Skt *dṛṇā́ti bursts, tears, dṛṇīyā́t* (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa) *may he burst*; Hitt *tarna- leave*.

P 1959:206-11.

A36. aftra adv temporal, πάλιν, δεύτερον *again* M 5.33, local, εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω *backwards* L 9.62.

OI *aptr back, again*, OE *æfter*, OFris *efter*, OS, OHG *aftar behind, after*†. G Schmidt 1962:261-63 distinguishes the temporal adv [OI and Go] from the local [WGmc and Go], deriving the temporal from PIE *apo*, cf Gk ἄψ *anew*, + PIE *-tr-* and the local from PIE *op-ter*, cf Skt *apataram farther away*. Earlier treatments in Huth 1903 and Öhmann 1931 BGDSL 55:230ff. Derivation with *-tr-*, as in **wiþra**; differs from F 1939:12; he related PIE *-trā̆(d)* as in Skt *deva-trā́ among the gods*, Skt *á-tra there, at that time*; see his references. This suffix has reflexes in Go **alla-þro**, **hidre** and others.

P 1959:53-54. See also **af**, **afar**, **aftana**, **aftaro**.

A37. *aftuma adj ἔσχατος *last*, only nom pl *-mans* Mk 10.31; elative and intensive according to Szemerényi 1960:1-21, who compares ***auhuma** *higher*, **fruma** *first*, ***hleiduma** *left, left hand*, ***iftuma** *following*, **innuma** *interior*, ***miduma** *middle*. Szemerényi argues against the old view, as in F 1939:12, that words with this suffix were comparatives.

Formed with PIE *-tmmo-*suffix, as in ordinals: Skt *saptamá-s*, Lat *septimus*, OPruss *septmas seventh*, from PIE *op-*, PGmc *af-*, as in **aftaro**. Cf Lat *in-timus*, Skt *án-tamas nearest*, from PIE *en-* = Go **in**.

With superlative ending in *aftumists* ἔσχατος *last* Mk 9.35. Cf *auh(u)mists*, **frumists**, ***hindumists**, ***spedumists**, with PIE *-isto-* as in Skt *svā́diṣṭha-*, Gk ἥδιστος *sweetest* (Brugmann 1903 IF 14:5). Twofold

ending also in Skt *śréṣṭhatamas most splendid* (cf *śréṣṭhas*); Av *vahištōtəmo = vahīštō best*; OE, OFris *formest first* etc.

A38. *af-walwjan wkvI ἀποκυλίειν *roll* **away**, 3sg opt prs *-wjai* Mk 16.3, nom papl *-wiþs* Mk 16.4; ***at-walwjan** προσκυλίειν *roll* **against**, only 3sg prt *-wida* Mk 15.46; ***faur-walwjan** προσκυλίειν *roll* **to**, only prpl *-wjands* M 27.60; ***walwison** wkvII κυλίεσθαι *roll* **about** (derived from an *es*-stem PGmc *walwiz*), only 3sg prt *walwisoda* Mk 9.20.

OE *wielwan, wælwian roll, turn over*, cf NE *wallow*.

PIE *wel- turn, wind, roll*, with numerous extensions, *wel?-, welw-*, etc: Skt *valati turns* (though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:16; possibly a late development); Gk εἰλύω *wind, turn*; Lat *volvō roll*; OIr *fillid* (← **weln-*) *bend*; Lith *vélti beat, full (cloth)*; OSl *valati roll*, Arm *gelum wind*. Extended with *-n-*, Gk εἰλέω ← **ϝελνεω roll*; OHG *wellan roll*; OHG *wella*, Lith *vilnìs*, OSl *vlsna wave*. Fraenkel 1962-65: 1121; Chantraine 1968-80:319-21.

See also ***walus** *staff*. P 1959:1140-44.

A39. *-agan prt-prsVI in 1sg *og* L 18. 4, negative prpl *un-agands* ἀφόβως *fearless* 1C 16.10; *-agei* fn in **un-agei*, only adv dat *un-agein* ἀφόβως *fearless* L 1.74; **-agjan* wkvI in ***af-agjan** wkvI *worry*; **in-agjan* ἐμβριμᾶσθαι *sternly exhort* M 9.30; **us-agiþs* papl ἔκφοβος *frightened*. Also, **agis**. Seebold 1970:362.

A40. *-agga in **hals-aggan**; conjecture of Gabelentz and Loebe 1848:1245,1315 for ***balsagga** τράχηλος *neck* Mk 9.42; Puhvel 1984-:222 sees parallel for semantics in Hitt *asusa- ring*.

A41. aggilus *mu/i* = ἄγγελος *angel* J 12.29; ***arkaggilus** *mu/i* = ἀρχάγγελος *archangel* 1Th 4.16.

OI *engill*, OE *engel*, OFris *angel*, OS *engil*, OHG *angel, engil* stm *angel*.

Loanword in all Gmc dialects; among the oldest stratum taken from Lat. Lat *angelus*, in turn from Gk ἄγγελος *messenger*; Bréal 1892 MSLP 7:139, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:135.

A42. aggwiþa fō θλῖψις, στενοχωρία *distress* (actually, 'constriction') R 8.35; *ga-aggwei* fn Sk 1.27 E / Id.24 *enforcement*.

OI *øngd*, OHG *angitha, engida* stf *narrowness, distress*; OE *engu*, OHG *engi* stf *distress*.

Derived from stem in ***aggwus** (without *-u-*; cf **kauriþa* : ***kaurus**) with PIE *-etā* (beside *-otā*), as in Skt *pūrṇatā abundance* to *pūrṇás full*; Lat *anxietās anxiety* to *anxius anxious*; OS *fullitha*, OHG *fullida* stf *abundance* to **fulls** *full*; MWel *du(h)et black coloring* (PIE *-s-etā*) to MWel *du*, Ir *dub* (PCelt *dubus*) *black* etc. Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:416-20.

A43. *-aggwjan wkvI in Go **ga-aggwjan*, only nom pl m papl *ga-aggwidai* στενοχωρούμενοι *oppress* 2C 4.8; based on stem in ***aggwus**.

OI *øngva, øngja make narrow*, OE *ge-enged anxious*, MLG *engen*, OHG *anken* wkv *make narrow*.

PIE *anĝh-*: Av *ązanhē oppress*, Gk ἄγχω *bind together*, Lat *angō make narrow*, OSl *ǫziti oppress, ǫzilište prison*.

P 1959:42.

A44. *aggwus adju στενός *narrow* (*w* arose from oblique cases), only nom sg n *aggwu* M 7.13,14.

OI *øngr* (*w*-stem), *ǫngr*; OE *enge*, OS *engi*, OHG *angi, engi* (*ja*-stem; Behaghel 1878 Germania 23:275) *narrow*.

PIE *anĝh- narrow; compress*: *u*-stem in Skt *aṁhú- narrow* Feist 1891 BGDSL 15:545; OIr *cum-ung*, Wel *cyf-ung*, Bret *enk* (← **engo-* or **engu-*) *narrow* Stokes 1894:14-15, Reichelt 1914 ZVS 46:311; + *-k-* in Oss *ungäg*; OSl *ązzkz narrow*, Arm *anju-k, ancu-k*. Cons stem in Gk ἆσσον (← **αγχ-ιον*) *nearer*, adv ἀγχί, ἀγχοῦ *near*. *-t-* in Lith *añkštas narrow* (for **anz-t-as* with *-k-*) Fraenkel 1962-65:11. *-es*-stem in Skt *áṁhas*, Av *ązō need, anxiety*; probably also in Lat *angor* m **anguish**, Lat *anxius* (← **anĝhes-yos*) *fearful, angus-tus narrow, angustiae narrowness*, **anguish**; OI *angr displeasure* (cf NE *anger*), MLG *angest*,

OHG *angust fear*. Cf **aggwiþa**, ***-aggwjan**, *ga-aggwei*.

P 1959:42-43.

A45. agis (gen *agis-is*) n*a* φόβος *fear, terror* L 1.12.

Orig an *es*-stem like OE *ege* (← ***agiz*) m *sorrow*; OHG *egis-lih terrible*, Gk ἄχος *pain, sorrow*; extended form in Nor *egse* n *agitation*, OE *eg(e)sa*, OS *egiso*, OHG *agiso, egiso* m, *egisa* f *terror*; *i*-stem (cf *un-agein* adv dat ἀφόβως *fearlessly* L 1.74) in OHG *aki, egi* f *terror*; *n*-stem in OI *agi* m *terror* Vries 1962:3.

PIE *agh- suffer in spirit*: Gk ἄχομαι, ἄχνυμαι *am troubled, mourn*; OIr *ad-āgor fear, āigthiu terror, āl* ← ***āg-lo- fearful* Vendryès 1959-:A-23,58. Cf ***af-agjan, og**.

Plassmann 1961:93-135 examines at length the possible relationship between *agi-* and PGmc *agiz- snake, dragon* ← PIE *og^{w}hi-*; Skt *áhiṣ*, Gk ὄις *snake*. Possible convergence in OI *ægishjālmr fearful helmet (which transformed Fafnir into a dragon)*; also in Lang PeN's *Agi-, Agil-, Agin-* (snakes played a special role in the cult and mythology of the Langobards). Plassmann cites archeological, historical, mythological as well as linguistic evidence for the convergence.

P 1959:7-8.

A46. aglaitei f*n* M 7.22 and ***aglaiti** n*ia* 2C 12.21 ἀσέλγια *licentiousness*.

Unclear relationship with OHG *agaleizī* stf, *agaleizi* stn, MHG *agaleize* stf *diligence, zeal*; OS adj *ag(a)lēto diligent*; OHG adj *agaleizi importunate*, adv *agaleizo diligently, zealously*. Scardigli 1973:227-28, following Aufderhaar 1933:28-31, tentatively proposes these as loanwords from Go.

Formation and origin obscure; possible connection with ***agls**, but then *-ait-* is unexplained (see *-aiƀ-* of **arbaiþs**). Many conjectures in F 1939:14. Mezger 1946 Word 2:66-71 rejects relationship with *agla-*, proposing instead earlier ***ag-laik-***; cf OE *aglǣc* stn *oppression, distress*. *ag-* then an intensifier related to **agis**, prefixed to *-laik play, dance* as in ***laikan**. Mezger finds support in cmpds such as OE *wīflāc* stn *cohabitation*. OHG *hileich* stm *marriage, sexual intercourse*; OE *aglāc* stn *oppression, aglǣca* wkm *monster* eg Grendel, have same elements as *aglaitei* but are formed independently.

A47. aglait-gastalds adj*a* αἰσχροκέρδης *eager to seek gain* Tit 1.7; cmpd of *aglaita-*, cf **aglaitei**, and *ga-staldan gain* (cf also **and-stald**). Calque of Gk, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:341.

A48. *aglaiti-waurdei f*n* αἰσχρολογία *filthy talk* E 5.4; derived with **-ei**, as in ***af-gudei**, from ****aglaiti-waurds***, calque of Gk αἰσχρολόγος (Velten 1930 JEGP 29:341-42).

A49. *agls (only n sg *agl* 1C 11.6) adj*a*-stem, though Mezger 1946 Word 2:67 considers it a noun meaning *punishment*, αἰσχρός *disgraceful*; ****agliþa*** (only acc pl *winnan agliþos* θλίβεσθαι 1Th 3.4) f*ō suffer tribulations*; *aglo* f*n* θλῖψις *tribulation* Mk 4.17; simplex ****agljan*** wkvI occurs only as 3sg opt prs *agljai* Mk 16.18, in Trier page of Cod A, βλάπτειν *harm* Stutz 1971 ZVS 85:93 and others; ****us-agljan***, only 3sg opt prs *us-agljai* L 18.5, ὑπωπιάζειν *bother*.

OE *eg(e)le* adj *disagreeable, offensive*; *eglan* wkv *inflict pain*, *eglian* wkv *grieve*; also [?] Nor *egla* wkv *molest, offend* Torp 1919:84.

PIE *agh-(lo-) disagreeable*; Skt *aghás* (also *aghalás*, a late form according to Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:19), Av *agō- evil, agavant- full of evil*; MIr *ālad* n *wound*, MWel *aelet pain* Vendryès 1959-:A-59. Not Gk ἀχλύς *darkness, fog*, OPruss *aglo* n *rain*, etc; Chantraine 1968-80:151, Toporov 1975- I:58-59.

P 1959:8 (and also 680 on the Celtic forms); probably related to PIE *agh-* as in **agis**.

A50. *aglus adj*u* δύσκολος *difficult*, only nom sg n Mk 10.24; adv *agluba* δυσκόλως *with difficulty* L 18.24, Mk 10.23.

Probably related to ***agls**. Not to Gk ἀχλύς *darkness*, OPruss *aglo rain*, nor to Gk

ὄχλος *multitude, trouble.* Chantraine 1968-80: 151,844-45, Toporov 1975- I:58-59, P 1959:8.

A51. *Agustus [Roman emperor 27 BC - 14 AD]; in *fram Kaisara Agustau* παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου L 2.1. Based on VLat *Agustus*. M Jellinek 1926:179,185, E Schwarz 1951:40-43, Corazza 1969:38-39.

A52. aha *mn* νοῦς *mind, understanding* Tit 1.15; ***ahjan*** wkvI νομίζειν *think* M 10.34; **ahma** *mn* πνεῦμα *spirit*; ***ahmeins*** adj*a spiritual*; ***ahmateins*** f*i/ō inspiration*; ***in-ahs*** adj*a* φρόνιμος *wise* R 12.16; ***in-ahei*** f*n* σωφροσύνη *sobriety* 1T 2.4, *in-* here intensive.

OE *eaht* stf, OFris *achte* stf, OHG *ahta* stf *consideration*; OE *eahtean* wkv, OS, OHG *ahtōn* wkv *consider*; OI *ætla* ← ***ahtilōn*** wkv *think*.

Etymology unknown. Scarcely from PIE *ok^{w}- see*, with loss of labial before *-y-*, as proposed by Osthoff 1910 IF 27:175; E Zupitza 1896:72; see **augo**. Relation to Gk ὄκνος *hesitation* (obscure origin, Chantraine 1968-80: 790) also dubious, in spite of P 1959:774. Not to Gk ὠκύς *fast* Loewenthal 1916 ANF 32:287.

A53. ahaks (*i*-stem; unknown gender) περιστερά *tame white dove (sacrificial dove; also symbol of the Holy Spirit)* L 2.24; contrasts with ***-dubo*** πέλεια *dark-colored dove* (in ***hraiwa-dubo**). Hehn 1911:341-54,613-14. According to Nielsen 1922:392 the dove was a sacred bird and symbol of the mother-goddess among the northern Semites and neighboring people.

Formerly derived from **aha** + ***-k-***, as in other bird names, eg OI *haukr* ← ****kṛ̥bukz***, OE *hafoc*, OHG *habuk* stm *hawk*† Kluge 1926:32-33; PIE *-go-* as in Skt *pataṅgás flying, bird*, Gk τέτραξ [name of a bird, possibly the hazel-grouse], Lith *vãnagas*, Latvian *vanags hawk* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:510-11. Cf Grimm 1871-90: 446-47; Franz Schröder 1927 BGDSL 51:27-28, *bird of the spirit*. Other conjectures in F 1939: 16. Not related to Lat *accipiter hawk* (probably ← ***acu-peter** rapidly flying*) W/H 1938-56 I:6. Nor to Oss *axsinak, äxsinäg wild dove* = Iran ***axsinak*** : Av *axšaɜna-*, OPers *axšaina-* (Benveniste 1929 BSLP 30:[art]61) *blue-black*. More likely, Ebbinghaus 1976 GL 16:187-90 follows a suggestion of Solmsen 1901: 149fn deriving it from PIE *aḱ- sharp* and relating it to OE *agu*, OHG *aga magpie*.

P 1959:18-19.

A54. ahana f*ō* ἄχυρον *chaff*, only acc sg L 3.17.

OI *ṓgn* stf, OE *egenu*, pl *ægnan* stf, OHG *agana* stf *chaff*; PGmc *ahanō* : *aganō* ← PIE *akonā, akənā* with changing accent. -- Finn, Votnian *akana*, Livonian *agān*, Est *hagan*, Thomsen 1870:129.

PIE *aḱ- sharp, stone*: with *-n-*, Skt *áśáni thunderbolt, tip of missile*; Gk ἄκων *throwing spear*, ἀκόνη *whetstone*, ἄκονος *thistle*; Lat *agna* ← ***acnā** ear of grain*; Lith dial *ašnìs blade*, OPruss *ackone ear of grain*. Toporov 1975- I:70-71; Chantraine 1968-80:43-45. On doubtful relationship of Hitt *aku- stone* see Puhvel 1984-:24. See also **ahs**.

P 1959:18-22.

A55. ahma *mn* πνεῦμα *spirit* J 6.63.

Based on root in **aha** with PGmc *-man-* ← PIE *-me/on-*, as in Skt *áśman-*, Av, OPers *asman- stone, sky*; Gk ἄκμων *anvil, thunderbolt*; OSl *kamy*, gen *-ene*; Lith *akmuõ*, gen *-eñs stone* and in others, Gdr 1897-1916 II. 1:232-41; Kluge 1926:81.

Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:137 related Gaul ***ogmos knowledge***, a conjecture based on Gaul *Ogmios* [name for Hercules], OIr *Ogma* [supposed inventor of OIr *ogum ogham*], Vendryès 1959-:O-13-14; yet its source is unclear. While deriving Go *ahma* from *ah-* Lutze 1960:134-36 assumes influence from ***anan** breathe*, in ***uz-anan** exhale*.

A56. *ahmateins f*i/ō*, only gen sg in *all boko gudiskaizos ahmateinais* πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος 2T 3.16 *all writing of divine inspiration*. Abstract noun made as calque from non-attested Go ***ahmatjan*** wkvI *inspire*[?], derived from *ahma* (cf **aha**) with *-atjan* as in ***lauhatjan**.

Go *-eini-* ← PGmc *-īni-* ← *-iyini-* is built on IE *-ni-* (as in Skt *varta-ní-ṣ course*; Lith *bar-nì-s quarrel*, etc) added to stems of Gmc verbs in *-jan*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:289-90; Kluge 1926:77-78.

A57. *ahmeins adja. Calque of Gk πνευματικός *spiritual* R 7.14.

Based on *ahma* (see **aha**) with PGmc *-īna-*, which may derive from PIE *-īno-* or *-eino-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:273-79. Distinction clear in other dialects, eg *-īno-* in Gk κορακῖνος *raven-black seafish*, Osc *deivinā-* and presumably Lat *dīvīnus divine*, PIE *-eino-* in Av *zaranaēna- golden*; Lat *ferīna*, Lith *žverienà*, OSl *zvěrina venison*; Ir *cuil-ēn young of animal*. PIE *-eino-* certain in Go **meins** *my*, **þeins** *thy*, ***seins** *his, her*. Suffix productive in Gmc, as in Go **airþeins**, OHG *irdīn earthy*; Go ***aiweins**, OHG *ēwīn eternal*; also in nouns, as in Go **gaitein**, OHG *geizīn she-goat* vs Go ****gaiteins*, OHG *geizīn pertaining to goats*. Kluge 1926:98-100.

A58. ahs na στάχυς *ear (of grain)* Mk 4.28.

OI *ax* stn (Sommerfelt 1924:51 on form), OE *ēar* (← ****ahur* ← ****ahuz*), OHG *ahir*, *ehir* (← ****ahir* ← ****ahiz*); Fris *eher* ear† (Siebs 1901: 1347); OS adj *aharīn*.

PIE *aḱos es*-stem: Cypriot ἀκοσ-τή ← ****akos-tā barley* Chantraine 1968-80:50; Lat *acus*, gen *aceris* ← ****akez-es chaff*.

Based on PIE *aḱ- sharp*, as are also: Skt *áśriṣ sharp edge*, Av *ašnō stone for sling, rock*; Gk ἄκαινα *tip*, ἄκρος *sharp*, ἀκόνη *whetstone*, ἀκ-αχ-μένος *pointed*; Lat *ācer sharp*, *acuō sharpen*; OIr *ēr* (← ****akros*) *high*, cf Gaul *Axrotalus with high forehead*; TochA *āk*, B *āke end*; with *-t-*: OSl *ostrъ*, Lith *aštrùs* (also *ašrùs*) *sharp*; Arm *aseln needle*.

Cf also OI *egg*, OE *ecg*, OS *eggia*, OHG *ecka* stf ← PGmc *agjō tip, edge*†; Sw *agg* m *prick, resentment*, *agga* wkv *incite, prick*. Further, OE *egl* stm *splinter*. Concerning the suffixes see Petersson 1921b:24-25.

With *o*-vowel: Gk ὄκρις *peak of mountain*; OLat *ocris rocky mountain* (dial; Ernout 1909: 205-06), *mediocris (at mid height), mediocre*; Umbr *ukar*, *ocar mountain* Frederik Muller 1926:295; OIr *ochair edge* Vendryès 1959-:O-6, Latvian *akrims stone* Endzelin 1911 ZVS 44: 65.

P 1959:18-22.

A59. ahtau indecl numeral ὀκτώ *eight* only L 2.21, 9.28; ***ahtuda** ὄγδοος *eighth*, only dat sg *-din* L 1.59; *ahtau-dogs* adja *lasting eight days*, only Ph 3.5 (see also **dags**); *ahtautehund* (only L 2.37, 16.7) ὀγδοήκοντα *eighty*; reformed on pattern of **sibuntehund**, Szemerényi 1960:34-35.

CrimGo *athe*, OI *ātta*, OE *eahta*, OFris *achta*, OS, OHG *ahto eight*†; OE *eahtoþa*, OS, OHG *ahtodo eighth*†.

PIE *oḱtōw*: Skt *aṣṭaú*, *aṣṭā́*, Av *ašta*, Gk ὀκτώ, Lat *octō*, OIr *ocht*, OSl *osmь*, Lith *aštuonì*, Arm *ut'*, Alb *tetë*, TochA *okät*, B *okt*, *ok-* (in cmpds, Meillet 1911-12 MSLP 17:288).

Much speculation on origin of PIE *oḱtōw*; du of *oḱt-* proposed on basis of Av *ašti- four fingers' breadth, palm* W Henning 1948 TPS 1948:69; Ebbinghaus 1950 BGDSL 72:319-20 also comments on du, Szemerényi 1964:399-400 on *-ḱ-*; see also P 1959:22,775. -- Jones 1958 Lg 34:35-36 assumes Gmc *-ō* as source of Go *-au*, which he takes to be a monophthong on the basis of *ahtudin*; for Szemerényi 1960:89, *ahtudin* reflects ****ahtodin*; see also Hiersche 1980 ZVS 94:202-03. Others compare *-u-* elsewhere, as in Gaul *oxtumeto(s)* (La Graufesenque inscription): Ir *ochtmad*; Lith *aštuñtas* ← ****aštutas eighth* Trautmann 1923:15; see also Meillet 1929 BSLP 29:[art]32. -- Toch also has a *t*-suffix in the ordinals; TochA *oktänt*, B *oktante eighth* Meillet 1911-12 MSLP 17:288-89.

P 1959:22,775.

A60. alva fō ποταμός *river, waters* L 6. 48.

PGmc *ahwō*: OI *ǫ*, OE *ēa*, OFris *ā*, *ē*, OS, OHG *aha*, MHG *ahe* stf *river*. With *-yā-*, PGmc *a(g)wjō*: OI *ey*, gen *eyjar*, OE *-ieg*, *-ēg*,

-īg, MLG *ōge, ōch, ou(we), ō*, MHG *ouwe* stf *meadow, peninsula, river*. Here possibly GN *Oium* (= Go **aujom* [?]) in Jordanes 60,15, 61, 1; also the river-name *Auha*, Jordanes 83,16. Underlying form **-awia* (: OHG *-ouwa, -awa*) in *Scadinavia* (Müllenhoff 1876 ZDA 20:27, 1890-1920 II:357ff; = OE *Sceden-īg*, Beowulf 1686; cf *Scede-land*, Beowulf 16); OSw *Skān-øy*, Sw *Skåne* (A Kock 1918 ANF 34:71ff; Noreen 1918 *F* Tegnér:43ff; **Skāþin-aujō very productive peninsula*; Prokosch 1939:26, however, proposes **skaþō(n)-awī*, Latinized to *-avia Perilous Shores*). Alternate form *Scandinavia* Kretschmer 1929 Glotta 17:148ff. Lindroth 1915 NB 3:10-28, 1918 NB 6:104-28, 1919 ANF 35:29-47, 1932 NB 20:124-27 connects both forms, *Skaden-awia* for the entire peninsula; *Skēn-awia* for the southern part. *-awia* also in GN like *Act-avia, Auster-avia*. Cf also OSw *agh-borre, ā-borre (river)bass*; OI *ægir* stm *sea, sea-god* ← variant of **ēkwyó-*, Noreen 1894:59.

Lat *aqua* **water** the only clear cognate. Much speculation on further possibly related forms, esp in river-names: Lith *Akelė*, Ven Ἀκυλις, Illyrian *Aquilo*, Ven GN *Aquileia*; also Russ river-name *Oká*, Porzig 1954:205-07. H Wagner 1958 ZVS 75:67 related *aha* to PIE *e$\hat{k}^w$os* (**alhatundī*) on the grounds that *e$\hat{k}^w$os* orig designated the divine stud imagined as dwelling in the waters; he cites the feminine gender as evidence for non-material designation. This is dubious, like the proposed relationship to Gk ὠκεανός *ocean-river* with reference to OI *ægir*; the Gk form is more likely a non-IE borrowing, Frisk 1960-72 II: 1145; Chantraine 1968-80:1299.

Further speculation on Celto-Gmc *-apa* in Gmc river-names like NLG *Geld-apa*, NHG *Asc-affa*, Förstemann 1913-16:170-71; probably of Celtic origin; Müllenhoff 1890-1920 II: 227ff; Stokes 1894:5; Karsten 1928:90, with biblioğraphy; Vendryès 1959-:A-4-5, under OIr *ab* f *river*; Hamp 1979 ZCP 37:169-70 with earlier references. Possibly also Skt *ápas* pl *waters, ápa-vant- moist, ábdas cloud*; Lith *ùpė*, OPruss *ape river, apus fountain*, extensive discussion and references in Toporov 1975- I:97-98,99-100; Fraenkel 1962-65:1169. In many GNs, eg Gk Ἀπία [designation of the Pelopponese]; Lat *Apulia* **area in lower Italy**. Porzig 1954:100-01,205-07, summarizing the various points of view, proposes PIE *ak^{w}ā* as an innovation in a central area where it replaced PIE *ăp-*. Bonfante 1934 IF 52:225 ascribed Lat *aqua* : Go *aha* to the oldest layer of PIE, Go **wato** to the later layers; F 1939:19 objected, pointing to the archaic inflection of *wato*, and to the feminine gender of Lat *aqua*, Go *aha* which indicate late formation. H Wagner 1958 ZVS 75:67 on the other hand posits non-IE *ap- river* → Celt *ab*, with reference to Sum *áb$_2$ cow* and Semitic forms, and also to other views. See also Hitt *hap(a)- river* Tischler 1983- I:159-60.

Further possible relationship to Hitt *eku-, aku- drink*, TochAB *yok drink, yoktsi* a *drink*; Tischler 1983- I:11,103-05 favors relationship, with many references; Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art]142 opposes, on grounds that verbal forms occur only here, as does Puhvel 1984-:268.

Continued speculation likely; entry illustrates the complexities involved in terms referring to water, esp as components of names.

P 1959:1,23,51-52.

A61. aibr δῶρον *offering*, only M 5.23 Cod A. according to Ettmüller 1838 ALZ 3:579 and Grimm 1893:63 to be emended to ***tibr**; accepted by Vries 1958 BGDSL-T 80:28.

Among attempts to account for *aibr*, Ebbinghaus 1963 JEGP 62:718-21, derives it from PIE *ay- give*, as in Hitt *pai-*, TochA *e-*, B *ai- give*; Av *aeta*, Gk αἶσα *portion, lot*, Osc *aittiúm* gen pl *of portions*; *-bh-* and *-ro-* were suffixed, yielding PIE *aybhro-* → Go *aibr*; ingenious but difficult to uphold, like older attempts in F 1939:19 and Bouman 1951 Neophil 35:238-39. Reconstructing PIE *oy(e)bh-ro-m*

phallus Bouman relates Skt *yábhati*, Gk οἴφω ***make love***; this was supposedly modified to 'offering' in Gmc phallus worship, as described in Güntert 1923:92-93. All such proposals weakened by lack of cognates. -- Other textual proposals even less likely, such as Wrede 1904 AinZDA 29:337 to Go *giba þeina* and Scardigli 1961 Sprache 7:138-39, 1973:161 to **taibr*. See P 1959:10-11,298 for supposed cognates.

A62. aiffaþa = Gk ἐφφαθά Mk 7.34 ***ephphatha***; based on Aram *ethpattaḥ*; interpreted as Gk διανοίχθητι, Go ***uslukn be opened***. E Klein 1966-67:530.

A63. *aigan prt-prsI (1sg *aih*, 1pl *aigum*, *aihum*, prt *aihta*) ἔχειν ***have*** L 3.8; *fair-aihan* μετέχειν ***partake of***, only inf 1C 10. 21; **aigin** *na* ***property***; **ga-aiginon* wkvII πλεονεκτεῖν ***get better of*** 2C 2.11; ***aihts** *fi* ***property***. Only example of *h* : *g* in Go verb; see also **filhan**, ***þaurban** for grammatical change.

OI *eiga*, OE *āgan*, OFris *āga*, OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan* prt-prsI ***possess***; OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan* stn ***property, possessions***; OI *eiginn*, OE *āgen*, *ǣgen*, OFris *ē(g)in*, OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan* adj ***own***†; OE *ǣht*, OHG *ēht* stf ***property***; OI *ætt*, *āttr* stf ***race*** (: Ir *icht descendants, race*[?]); OI *eigna* (= Go *-aiginon*) wkv ***dedicate***, OE *āgnian* wkv ***possess, acquire***, OHG *eiginēn* wkv ***take possession of***.

PIE *eyḱ-* (or *ēyḱ-*, as in P 1959:298-99) ***possess, have ability to*** (assured reflexes only in Indo-Iran and Gmc): Skt *īśe*, *īṣṭe* ***owns, possesses***, *īśānás* ***ruler***; ***rich***, *īśvarás* ***rich***; Av *ise* ***have power over***, *īsvan-* ***rich***, *īšti-* (: ***aihts**) ***property, riches***; note use of root in perfect verb forms in Indo-Iran. -- Possibly also OSl *istŭ* ***true, genuine*** Stang 1949 NTS 15: 343ff; but see Vasmer 1953-58 I:491. Pedersen 1925:30-31 relates TochB *aiśaumye* ***learned person***, based on *aik-*, *aiś-* ***know***. Collinder 1932-33 APS 7:193ff reconstructs from Lapp *āitâr* ***owner*** (: Skt *īśitar-* ***commander***) PGmc *aihtēr* ***owner***.

Mezger 1956-57 WZUG 6:218-20 explains these words in the context of Gmc law. The concept 'master' pertained to the family; PGmc *aigan* indicated what belonged to him. Mezger supports this assumption by pointing to the twofold meaning of PGmc *aihti-*, on the one hand in Go ***aihts possessions***, on the other in OI ***ætt family, race***. Moreover, Go **aigin** refers to ***collective ownership*** as opposed to swes as ***belonging to individuals***.

Attempts to derive PGmc *aig-* through PGmc *ih-* ← *enh-* ← PIE *eneḱ-* ***attain*** P 1959: 316-18, to be rejected; references in F 1939:20. P 1959:298-99.

A64. aigin *na* τὰ ὑπάρχοντα L 16.1, οὐσία ***property***. Participial formation to **aigan**. On suffix PGmc *-ina* in Gmc ppl formations see A Kock 1898 BGDSL 23:484,497-98; differing, Walde 1900:94-95. See also Kluge 1913:175-76, 1926:110-11.

A65. aihtron wkvII προσαιτεῖν ***beg*** L 18.35, αἰτεῖσθαι ***request for oneself***, προσεύχεσθαι ***pray***; ***aihtrons** *fi* προσευχή ***prayer*** E 6.18.

Possibly from PIE *eyg-* ***lament loudly, request fervently***: OIr *ēigid cries*, *ēigem* f *a cry*, *to*-formation *ïachtaid groans, cries*. P 1959:298 also relates Gk οἶκτος ***pity***, οἰκτρός ***pitiful***, though Chantraine 1968-80:782-83 proposes their origin in the interjection οἴ. P 1959:298 takes Go *aihtron* as denom from n **oiktrom*; K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:223, as a desiderative to ***aihtna***, based on **aigan**. All these proposals doubtful.

Üçok 1938:51-53 defines ***aihtrons*** as a ***prayer consisting of repeated requests, as by a beggar***, in contrast with **bida** ***request in general***, and ***liteins** as a ***prayer reflecting piety***.

A66. *aihts *fi* ***property***, only acc pl *allos aihtins* πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα 1C 13.3, and *izwaros aihtins* τὰ ὑμῶν 2C 12.14; cf **aigan**, with IE *-ti-* as in **alds**.

OI *āttr*, *ǣttr* ***family, race, direction***; OE *ǣht*, OHG *ēht* stf ***property***.

Av *īšti-* ***property, riches***; dubious, Ir *icht*

race, descendants.

P 1959:298-99.

A67. *aihvatundi fiō βάτος *bramble, prickly bush*, only dat sg *-djai* L 6.44, 20.34; Mk 12.26 (in L 6.44 possibly the wild plum, Prunus spinosa; in the two other occurrences the burning bush of Moses).

A cmpd with *aihva- horse*; OI *jōr*, OE *eoh* stm, OS *ehu-* (in *ehu-scalc* stm *horse-servant*). Meaning of cmpd then *horse-thorn*, but see Marstrander 1924:20 fn1. On PGmc *ehwa-* as first element, also of PeN see Krause 1932 ANF 48:160ff; cognate also common in Gk as first element in plant names, Chantraine 1968-80:467-68.

PIE *ék̑wos*: Skt *áśvas*, Av *aspō*, OPers *aspa-* (frequent in proper nouns); Gk ἵππος (difficult because of initial aspirate, *i*-vocalism and *-pp-*; cf Lejeune 1955:72), dial ἵκκος; Lat *equus horse*; Gaul *epo-*, as in *Epo-redo-rīx master of the horse cart, Epona horse goddess*, OIr *ech- horse*, Wel *ebol foal*. Phonological difficulties may point to borrowing, introduced when the horse became known to the Indo-Europeans through an unidentified steppe people. -- Cf also Skt *áśvā*, Lat *equa*, Lith *ašvà* f *mare*. For Güntert 1930:7-8, like Curtius 1879:422, derived in spite of difficulties in vocalism from PIE *ōḱu- : əḱu- fast*, in Skt *āśúḥ*, Av *āsuš*, Gk ὠκύς *fast*, Lat *ōcior faster, acu-pedius quick-footed*, dubious.

**-tundi point*, assumed like **tunþus tooth* to be from PIE *ʔed- eat* (cf Bavarian topographical name *zunna* for a *field ending in a point* [in Schöllschitz near Brünn]; also Cz *bodláh thistle* : *bůsti, bodati prick*); according to Grewolds 1934 ZVS 61:165 fn4 with stress on final, and also in other dialects, as in Skt *phāla-datī plow-toothed* J Wackernagel and Debrunner 1896-1954 II.1:95. According to Marstrander 1924:20 a verbal abstract to Go **tundjan* : OHG *zunten* (see **tundnan*) *ignite*; related to OI *-tundr* stn, OE *tynder* stf, OHG *zuntera* stf, MLG *tunder* stf *tinder*†.

See also **þaurnus* ἄκανθα *thorn-bush*, which may refer more specifically than does **aihva-tundi* to 'thorny shrubs'.

P 1959:301-02,289, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:544-45, 553-55.

A68. aikklesjo *fn* = ἐκκλησία *congregation* 1C 14.23 (ie the convened assembly); *house of God* (in Cal *aikklesjons fullaizos*). Not in other Gmc dialects; loanword before time of Wulfila (assumed from accent on the first syllable and representation of accented Gk ι with *j*). From Gk ἐκκλησία, source also of Lat *ecclesia* and a translation of Heb *qəhəl* (KL Schmidt 1927:258ff, Bartoli 1931:425), also Corazza 1969:93-94. Apparently did not mean 'church building', as did Lat *ecclesia* after the 3rd century AD.

See also **gud-hus* *n* *ἱερόν *house of God (the Jewish temple)*.

Final *-o* was probably taken from Go **kiriko* (see the borrowed Sl **cьrky*, OSl *crъky* etc, Mikkola 1924 MSNH 7:270-71 ← Gk *κυρικόν = κυριακόν; cf Behaghel 1928:11); already assumed by Walafrid Strabo in "De exordiis et incrementis ecclesiasticarum rerum I: Quomodo theodisce domus Dei dicatur" 'What the house of God is called in the vernacular' (Wrede 1924 ZDM 19:270ff, Kretschmer 1906 ZVS 39:540, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:125ff, Wessén 1928 ANF 44:93ff, M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:132). The WGmc dialects did not take Gk *κυρική from Go but rather from the Trier and Rhineland area, Frings 1932:38; cf NGk κερεκή on Rhodes, which to be sure means *Sunday* except in an attestation from the 11th century according to Mikkola 1924 MSNH 7: 272, OE *cirice*, OFris *kerke*, OS *kirika*, OHG *kirihha* wkf *church*†. Braune 1918 BGDSL 43: 424ff questions whether the Goths ever adopted Gk κυριακόν; in agreement, Keiser 1919:191.

On the MGk form κυριακόν *house of God*, see Kretschmer 1906 ZVS 39:541 and in detail Pompeen 1929 *F* Schrijnen:516ff, with extensive references on the history of the Gmc borrowing. On Sl *cьrky* as assumed to be borrowed

from Go see Berneker 1908-14:132, E Klein 1966-67:286; differing, Knutsson 1929:59ff assumes borrowing from OHG, Gk or Romance.

A69. ailoe = Gk ἐλωί from Aram *'elō'ī* = Heb *'ēlī my God* Mk 15.34.

A70. *aina-baur mi, only dat sg *-ra* Sk 5.21 / Vd.1; calque of Gk μονογενής *only-born*, under influence of Lat *ūnicus*, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:339.

Cmpd of *aina-*, **ains**, and ***baur**; cf *fruma-baur* mi πρωτοτόκος *first-born*.

A71. ainaha, f *ainoho* (for *ainaho* L 8.42, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:125) adj μονογενής *only* L 7.12.

Derived from *aina-*, **ains**, with Gmc *-ha-* ← PIE *-ko-* as in Skt *ékas*, *e-ka-kás one*; Lat *ūnicus only*; OSl *ino-ks monk, wild boar* (Solmsen 1902 BGDSL 27:356; Brugmann 1907: 35, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:493,498-99; Kluge 1926: 100-01). Final accent on suffix indicated through OI *einga*, OE *ānga*, OS *ēnag*, OHG *einac only*; cf Skt forms above.

Rather than a scribal error, Kluge 1926: 101 proposes origin in PIE suffix *-āko-*, which is attested only here in Gmc; prominent in Celt, as in OIr *oenach assemblage, market*, the suffix is also found in Skt *asmā́kas our*, *yuṣmā́kas your*; Lith *vienokas of one type*, OSl *inaks of another type*, and in other words indicating type, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:498-501. Unlikely for Go, in spite of Fraenkel 1962-65:1242.

A72. *ainakls (adj) μεμονωμένος *standing alone*, only nom sg f *-la* 1T 5.5.

OSw m *ænkill widower*; Sw, Du, LG *enkel simple, single*; without *-l-* OI *einka*, MDu (Gloss Bern) *eineker saken*, Du *ēnec alone*; OI *ekkja* f *widow*.

From *aina-*, **ains**, with *-(n)-k-la*, a cmpd suffix difficult to interpret; based on IE dim suffix *-go-* → Gmc *-ka-* (***ajak-duþs**, **alakjo**) and *-lo-* (Brugmann 1904a:372-73; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:509; Kluge 1926:33-34) like Lat *singulus one each* from PIE *sem- one* (W/H 1938-56 II:544). Without *-lo-*, OSl *inogz single* Berneker 1908-14:432; possibly also Hsch ἴγγια· εἷς. Πάφιοι from *ἔν-για (W Schulze 1966:74-75). On the formation of **ainakls* compare also NAryan *-ṣṣaa* (as in *gyasta-ṣṣaa son of a god*) from PIE *-k-lo-* (E Leumann 1930 ZVS 57: 199-200) and Lat *homun-cu-lus manikin* (cf *homō human*, **guma**) with PIE *-ko-* and *-lo-*suffixes, Brugmann 1904a:338.

Other proposals less likely, eg Grienberger 1900:14, *ain-ak-ls traveling alone* to OI *aka travel in a wagon*, like OHG *ein-fara traveling alone*.

A73. aina-mundiþa fō ἑνότης *unanimity* E 4.3; derived with *-iþa-* as in **aggwiþa** from **aina-munds unanimous* (**ains**, **1. *munan**); *-munds* ← PIE *mn̥tós*: Skt *matás*, Lith *miñtas assumed*; Gk αὐτό-ματος *(assumed by self) on one's own initiative* Chantraine 1968-80:143; Lat *com-mentus devised*; OIr *der-met* n *forgetting*, *taid-met memory*, OSl *pa-mętь recollection*.

Skt *eka-matíṣ unanimous*.

A74. *ain-falþs adja ἁπλοῦς *simple* M 6.22; adv *ain-falþaba simply*, only Sk 3.18 / IIIc.16-17; **ain-falþei* fn ἁπλότης *simplicity* (*-ei* as in ***af-gudei**); cmpd of **ains** and *-falþs*.

OI *einfaldr*, OE *ānfeald*, OFris *ēnfald*, OHG *einfalt simple, stupid*; OHG *einfaltī simplicity* Carr 1939:64-65.

PGmc *-falþa-*, *-falda-* (***falþan**) may be compared with Gk -παλτος in δί-παλτος, also δι-πλάσιος *double* (← **pl̥tyo-*); without *-t-* (Persson 1912:564,750) PIE *-plo-* in Gk ἁ-πλός, Lat *sim-plus simple*, Gk δι-πλός *double*; also Go ***tweifls** *doubt*, OHG *zwī-fal doubtful*. Beside these, Gk -πλοος (← **ploios*) according to Brugmann 1917-20 IF 38:128ff in ἁ-πλοῦς *simple*, δι-πλοῦς *double*, etc; see also Chantraine 1968-80:97.

P 1959:802-03.

A75. ain-ƕarjiz-uh pron εἷς ἕκαστος *each one* R 12.5; n *ain-ƕarjatoh* ἕκαστον *each*; cmpd of **ains**, **ƕarjis**, **-uh**.

A76. *ain-ƕaþar-uh (only dat sg *ainƕaþarammeh* Sk 3.5 / IIIa.16-17) pron *each of two*; cmpd of **ains**, **ƕaþar**, **-uh**.

A77. *ainlif *eleven*, only dat *ainlibim* Mk 16.14, 1C 15.5.

OI *ellifo*, OE *endleofan*, OFris *andlova*, OS *elleƀan*, OHG *einlif eleven*†; OI *ellefti*, OE *endlyfta*, OFris *ellefta*, OS *ellifto*, OHG *einlifto eleventh*†; see Helten 1905-06 IF 18: 106ff on forms; also **ains, leihwan.**

In view of ONor *œllugu eleven, øllykti eleventh*, W/P 1927-32 II:397 derive Gmc *-lif* from PIE *-lik^{w}-* → PGmc *-lig^{w}-*. Noreen 1923: 187 and Krogmann 1933 ZVS 60:53 on the other hand assert that *f/ƀ* → *g*; to be rejected, like Persson 1912:503-04 fn1, who proposed root variation, also in ***bi-leiban** : **leihwan**. PGmc *-lig^{w}-* → *-lif-* first in **twa-lif** through influence of preceding *w* as in **wulfs**, and then was carried over to ****ainlif***; see also Lane 1939 JEGP 38:194; Sommer 1951:62-63; Porzig 1954:146; Hamp 1973 IF 78:141-42.

Relationship to Lith *-lika* in *vienúo-lika eleven, dvý-lika twelve*, etc, and to Lith *likti remain* generally recognized, Grimm 1856 Germania 1:19; 1878:946-47; Mahlow 1879:49; J Schmidt 1890:24 fn1; Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:26-28; P Scherer 1941:43. After thorough analysis and scrutiny of bibliography on the Baltic formations Senn 1935-36 SBal 5:69-84 pointed to similar formation of teen numerals in Winnebago. Gmc and Lith pattern (one left over) reflects restructuring when the IE numeral system was changed from the OV (10 + 1) to the VO (1 + 10) type, WP Lehmann 1975:54-56, 1978:39-40.

P 1959:669-70, though analysis is wrong.

A78. ains εἷς *one, anyone* M 5 18.

OI *einn*, OE *ān*, OFris *ān, ēn*, OS *ēn*, OHG *ein one*†.

PIE *oy-no- sole, alone; one* in It, Celt, Balt, Gmc: Gk f οἴνη *one (on dice)*; OLat *oino(m)* acc m (Scipio inscription), Lat *ūnus*; OIr *ōe/in one*; OPruss *ains* (PIE *oi-*), Lith *viénas*, Latvian *viêns* (PIE *ey-*) *one, alone* Fraenkel 1962-65:1239-40, Toporov 1975- I:62-64; also on *v-*, Brugmann 1904b:110; OSl *inz, ino- one, other*; also in *jed-ins one* Wijk 1912 IF 30:382-83, and in *ino-rogz unicorn, ino-čędz only-born*; Arm ptc *-in* (eg in *so-in the one here*); see also Meillet 1930 RevGer 21:39 on meaning 'one'.

With other suffixes: Skt *ékas*, Mitanni *aika- one* Tischler 1983- I:6; Av *aēvă-*, OPers *aiva- one, alone*; Gk οἶος, Cypriot οἰϝος *alone* (cf Skt *evám thus*). On Hom ἴα f *the one/same*, ἰός *that one* see Chantraine 1968-80:466. See also Gonda 1953:75ff.

P 1959:281-86, extended forms of PIE *e-, ey- that one, he*, as in **is.**

A79. ains-hun indef pron *no one*, only with *ni-* J 6.65; fem *ain(n)o-hun* L 10.19; according to Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:300 from ****ainano-hun*** through dissimilation; similarly Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:206, who proposes loss of short vowel *a* between two like consonants. Compare Skt *ná ékaś caná no one.*

G Schmidt 1962:111-17 related OI *einn-gi, ein-ginn*, proposing PGmc *aina- one* + indef ptc *-hun, -gi* ← PIE *k^{w}e/o-* (interrog + *-ne*; *-hun* from zero grade, *-gi* ← ****-gin*** ← *-hin* from e-grade); further, that WGmc indefinites replaced the related element by *-ǐga-*, as in OE *ænig*, OFris *ēnig*, OHG *einīg, eining someone*; see also Kluge 1926:103.

A Kock 1923 ANF 39:275-77 ascribes dat *ainummehun* to secondary stress on *-me-* leading to *-nu-* from *-na-*; M Jellinek 1926:53. Cf **ains, -hun.**

A80. *aipiskaupei fn = Gk ἐπισκοπή *office of bishop* 1T 3.1; only gen sg Go *-eins*; *-ku-* in Cod B a post-Wulfila scribal variant according to Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:33; **-ei** as in ***af-gudei**.

A81. aipiskaupus mu = Lat *episcopus*, Gk ἐπίσκοπος *bishop* 1T 3.2.

A82. aipistaule f (various declensions) = Gk ἐπιστολή *letter* 2C 3.2; acc pl Go *aipistulans* Neh 6.17,19 shows influence of Lat *epistula*. For the dominant Gk influence on ecclesiastical borrowings see W Schulze 1966:510-11; disputed by E Schwarz 1951:36-37, who finds in initial *ai-* evidence for borrow-

ing from Lat, circa 350 AD.

A83. air adv πρωί *early*, in *air þis dagis afarsabbate* πρωὶ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων *early on the day after the Sabbath* Mk 16.2, *air uhtwon* πρωὶ λίαν ἔννυχον *long before daylight* Mk 1.35. According to Neckel 1922 ZVS 50:218 = *earlier than dawn*; supported by W Horn 1924 *F* Behaghel:64 (*-iz* lost because of lack of function[?]). Go *airis* adv comp πάλαι *long ago* M 11.21, L 10.13 (according to Osthoff 1910b:277 → **airiaz*; as in *wairs*, but without *-i-*; differently, Kluge 1913:247: *i-* restored from **airiza*). Go **airiza* comp *older* (only gen pl *-zane* τῶν ἀρχαίων L 9.8,19; dat pl *-zam* τοῖς ἀρχαίοις *ancestors* M 5.21,33; *-iza* as in ***batiza**).

OI *ār* adv *early*; OE *ǣr*, OS *ēr*, OHG *ēr* *previously, before*, NE *ere* (archaic); comp OE *ǣrra*, OFris *ērra*, OHG *ēriro elderly person, ancestor*; superl OE *ǣrest*, OS, OHG *ērist first*, NE *erstwhile*.

PIE loc *ay-eri* of *r/n*-stem, as in Av *ayarə*, gen *ayąn* n *day*: Gk ἦρι ← *αιερ-ι *early*; derivatives, Hom ἠέριος *early*; Gk ἄριστον *breakfast*, ← *αιερ-ι + εδ- as in **itan**, Brugmann 1899 IF 10:88, Chantraine 1968-80:109, Arm *ayg daybreak* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:282.

Not related, OIr *an-air from before* (*-air* ← **pare/i*, PIE *per-*; cf Gaul *Are-moricus located near the sea* Vendryès 1959-:A-37-38, 70), nor to **ǰer** *year* (in spite of Noreen 1894: 89).

P 1959:12.

A84. airkniþa fō τὸ γνήσιον *genuineness*, only acc sg 2C 8.8, derived with *-iþa* as in **aggwiþa** from **airkns* adj ὅσιος *holy* (conjecture for *airknis* 1T 3.3 Cod B); **un-airkns* adj ἀνόσιος *unholy* 2T 3.2.

OHG *erchan genuine, right*. Also OI *jartegn omen* (for **iark-tegn* according to Lidén as reported by Noreen 1923:214; Vries 1962:291).

PIE *ar(e)-ĝ- shining, white*, though Gmc *er-*: Skt *árjunas bright, pure*; Gk ἀργός ← *ἀργρός *bright*, ἀργής *white, gleaming*; Lat *arguō make clear, disclose*. Also Skt *rajatám*, Av *ərəzatam silver-colored*; cf Av *arəzǫh brightness*; OPers *(a)rdata*; Lat *argentum*; OIr *argat, airget*; Arm *arcat' silver, coin* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:313, TochA *ārkyant silver*. Further, Gk ἄργυρος *silver [white/bright (metal)]*. With *-i-*, Hitt *harkis*, TochA *ārki*, B *ārkwi white*; Hom ἀργι-κέραυνος *with bright lightning* Tischler 1983- I:177. Lacy 1979 JIES 7:287-96, deriving it from PIE *er-*, as in *Erminiricus*, + PIE *gno-s* from *gen-*, proposes PGmc *er-kno- having a good birth* → 'noble, pure, holy'; speculative.

May be a cross-cultural term taken over in late PIE, which lacked a word for silver: Ipsen 1921 IF 39:235-36, 1924 *F1* Streitberg:228; Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:393-94. Possibly here also OI *jarkna-steinn*, OE *eorchan-stān* stm *jewel*, a borrowing ultimately from Aram *jarkā' yellow jewel* Sievers 1887 BGDSL 12: 182, or Vries 1962:290, from Chaldean *jarkān*. Üçok 1938:36-37 distinguishes **airkns* as having religious force, from ***walisa** having legal force.

P 1959:64-65.

A85. airþa fō γῆ *earth* M 5.18; ***airþa-kunds** adj *of earthly descent*; *airþeins* adj ἐπίγαιος, χοικός *earthly*, ὀστράκινος *earthen* 2C 4.7, with *-eins* as in ***ahmeins**.

OI *jǫrð*, OE *eorþ(e)*, OFris *irthe*, OS *erðа*, OHG *erda* stf *earth*†; OHG *irdīn earthen*†.

PGmc *erþō*, an extension of PGmc *erō* in the OHG hapax *ero* (Wessobrunner Gebet; Bremer 1887 ZDA 31:205-06) stf *earth*; Gk ἔρᾱ *earth*, Hom ἔρα-ζε *earthward* Chantraine 1968-80:363. With *-w-*: OI *jǫrfi* stm *sandy field, sand*; Wel *erw field*, OBret *ero furrow*. Also, Arm *erkir earth* Pedersen 1905 ZVS 38:197.

Relationship with OI *Iǫrovalla*, gen pl of poetic name in Vǫlospā 14, rejected by F 1939: 26 but accepted by Vries 1962:295.

P 1959:332.

A86. *airþa-kunds adj *of earthly descent*, only acc sg m *-dana* Sk 4.16 / IVc.5-6. New formation on pattern of ***himina-kunds**

godly; cf OI *regin-kunnr of godly origin, goð-kyndr related to the gods* (Go **guda-kunds* not attested; Cahen 1924 *F* Andler:85ff). Calque of Lat *terrigona* m *of earthly origin* Carr 1939:88.

Cmpd of **airþa** and *-kunds*, which almost became a suffix, W Schulze 1966:70; also in **goda-kunds** εὐγενής *noble*, **guma-kunds* ἄρσην *manly*, ***himina-kunds** ἐουράνιος *heavenly*, **inna-kunds* οἰκιακός *belonging to the house*, **gina-kunds* θῆλυς *female*, **ufar-himina-kunds* ἐπουράνιος *heavenly*.

Run *ragina-ku(n)do originating from the powers, divine* (Noleby, circa 500 AD, Krause 1966 I:149-51), OI *regin-kunnr* (Antonsen 1975: 55-56), *ās-kunnr* (*nn* ← *np*) *related to the gods*; OE *heofon-cund heavenly*; OI *kundr* stm *son*, OS, OHG *kind* (← PIE *ĝentom*) stn *child*; (with PIE *-ti-*) OHG *ki-kund* 'natura'; MHG *kunder* (PIE *-tro-*) stn *creature, being, animal*.

-kunds ← PIE *gn²-to-s*, papl of PIE *ĝen-²- beget*, as in **kuni**; Skt *jātás*, Av *zātō born*, Gk κασί-γνητος *sibling*, OLat *gnātos*, Lat *nātus*, Gaul *-gnātos born*, eg PeN *Cintu-gnātus first-born*; cf ***knoþs**. Scardigli 1973:224-25 objects, relating with cultural arguments *-kunds* to **kunnan**; the two participles may have influenced each other, as in OI *kunnr known, related*.

P 1959:373-75.

A87. *airus mu ἄγγελος *messenger* L 7.24, πρεσβεία L 14.32 *embassy*; **airinon* wkvII πρεσβεύειν *be a messenger, negotiate* 2C 5.20.

OI *ārr*, pl *ærir*, *ārar*, OE *ār*, OS pl *ēri* stm *messenger*; in OI *ārna be a messenger*, *ā* may correspond to Go *ai* (Noreen 1923:50), but also to PGmc *ē* in OE *ærende*, OS *ārundi*, OLG *ērundi-*, OHG *ārunti* stn (= *gotspel gospel*); MHG *ārant* stm *message*. With short stem vowel, OI *erendi*, *ørendi*, MHG *erande*, *erende* stn *message*. The alternation *ā* : *ă* may have arisen before middle syllable with secondary stress on the basis of sentence intonation: cf ***aurali** and Roethe 1919 SAW 1919:790.

Etymology unclear. Scarcely from PIE *ēri-* with reference to the alternate OI *eyrindi* stn *message* and OI *īra(st) be rumored abroad* Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:258; Holthausen 1942 BGDSL 66:267. Guntermann 1910 ZDP 42: 397ff takes OHG *ārunti* as a loanword from OE; objection by Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:393 fn1: OE *ærende* would have yielded OHG **arinti*. Grienberger 1900:15 and others separate *airus* from OHG *ārunti* etc. Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:569, 1913:233 ascribes *-r-* in OE *ærende* etc to *-z-*, comparing OHG *mezzirahs* : *sahs knife*, and derives PGmc *ārunti* from *ā-* + *send- send*, as in **sandjan**, ***sinþs** *way*. Not credible.

Relationships elsewhere are lacking. Possibly a cross-cultural term related to LLat *arrenda* 'census annuus', *ar(r)endare* 'ad censum dare', Sp *arrendar*, Rum *arîndéz let on lease*. Berneker 1908-14:30; but see Meyer-Lübke 1935:7141, who derives the Romance words from Lat *reddere give back*, with Rumanian forms based on Slavic, eg Russ *arenda pact*. Bugge 1899 BGDSL 24:430ff proposes relationship with OI, OE *ār* stf *rudder* which founders because Finn *airo*, Lith *aĩras rudder* reflect PGmc *airō rudder*. Other conjectures unlikely, such as Wood 1898 MLN 13:41 from PIE *ey- go*. Üçok 1938:58-59 contrasts Go *aggilus* as *celestial messenger* with **airus terrestial messenger*.

A88. *airzeis adj *ia* only nom pl m *airzjai* πλανώμενοι *deceived, in error* 2T 3.13, *airzjai wisan* Mk 12.24,27. *wairþan* πλανᾶσθαι *be mistaken* G 6.7; **airzei* fn πλάνη *heresy* E 4.14, *-ei* as in ***af-gudei**, and *airziþa* fō πλάνη *heresy* M 27.64, *-iþa* as in *aggwiþa*; **airzjan* wkvI *mislead* J 7.12, prpl *airzjands* m πλάνος *imposter* M 27.63; *af-airzjan* wkvI ἀποπλανᾶν *deceive, pass*, (ἀπο-)πλανᾶσθαι *be misled, stray*.

OHG *irri perplexed*; OS *irrean*, OHG *irran* wkv *confuse*, *irrōn* wkv *be confused*; MHG *irre* stf; OHG *irrida* wkm *error, sin*. With other meanings: OE *eorre*, *ierre*, OFris *irre*, OS *irri angry, embittered*, cf NE *ire*; OE *eorsian*, *yrsian* wkv *make angry* Kretschmer

1892 ZVS 31:384.

PIE *eres- flow, be excited*. Lat *errō* ← **erzō go astray, error* ← **erzor error*; Arm *erʿam* ← **ersā-yō seethe, be disquieted* (Lidén 1906:83ff). Variant, PIE *eres-*: Skt *irasyáti be angry, īrṣyā envy, irasyá ill will*; Av *arəšyant- envious, aras-ka-, ərəsi- envy*; possibly Hom ἀρεή ← **ərəsyā threatenings* Froehde 1894 BKIS 20:186; doubted by Chantraine 1968-80: 106; Arm *herʿ anger*; Hitt *arsanai- envy, grow angry, arsanattallas envier, ill wisher* Puhvel 1984-:172-73; TochA *ārṣal poisonous reptile*, B *arṣāklai* (oblique) *snake*. Not Lith *aršùs vehement* Fraenkel 1962-65:16-17, and probably not OSl *jarz angry, bold* Vasmer 1953-58 III:494-95 in spite of Osten-Sacken 1908-09 IF 23:380-81.

P 1959:336-37; Tischler 1983- I:67-68.

A89. *aistan **ga-aistan* poss wkvIII ἐντρέπεσθαί τινα *fear, respect* L 18.4 (attested only in prs).

Extended with *-t-* from PGmc *aiz-ō-* in OI *eir grace, generosity*, OE *ār(e) kindness, honor*, OFris *ēre*, OS, OHG *ēra* stf *honor*.

PIE *ays- honor*: Gk αἴδομαι *fear, respect*, αἰδώς *respect* ← PIE *ayzd-*, Solmsen 1902-03 IF 13:137, tentatively accepted by Frisk 1960-72 I: 34-35, Chantraine 1968-80:32; Skt *īṭṭe* ← PIE *izd- venerate*. Not OLat *aes-t-umō*, Lat *aes-t-imō judge, honor, respect* W/H 1938-56 I:20-21,419,844; older conjectures in F 1939:28.

P 1959:16.

A90. aiþei fn μήτηρ *mother* M 27.56. *-in-* also in OHG *fōtar-eidi* stf *nurse*; *-ōn-* in OI *eiδa*, MHG *eide* wkf *mother*. Gmc word for woman given by legal process to a man; carries implication that children of *aiþei* would inherit in contrast with those of concubine, Mezger 1960 ZVS 76:85-86. See also OE *āþum*, OFris *āthom*, OHG *eidum, eidam* stm *son-in-law* F Kauffmann 1910 ZDP 42:129-53; also ***aiþs**, ***aiws**, ***bruþs**.

Like other kinship terms (**atta, magus**) replaced PIE term: PIE *māter-* as in OI *mōδr*, OE *mōdor*, OHG *muoter* stf; Skt *mā́tār*, Av *mātar*, Dor μάτηρ, Att μήτηρ, Lat *māter*, OIr *máthir*, Gaul Ματρεβο dat pl, Lith *mótė* (usually *woman, wife*), Latvian *māte*, OPruss *mūti*, OSl *mati*, Arm *mair*, Alb *motër* (= *sister*), TochA *mācar*, B nom *mācer*, oblique *mātār mother*† (P 1959:700-01; also Benveniste 1973:171-72; Fraenkel 1962-65:466 points to Lat *mātrimōnium marriage*; cf possible similarity with Go **aiws* : *aiþei*).

Parallel form in Finn *äiti*, Est *eit, eideke mother* borrowed from Go, Thomsen 1870:185, Fromm 1957-58 ZDA 88:85,214; also Ojansuu 1918 NM 19,vii/viii:58ff. Feist 1929 BGDSL 53: 397ff assumes borrowing from Venetic. Earlier derivations, from Illyrian, Krahe 1933 BGDSL 57:426-28, or from nursery word as in Bas *aita father* Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:115, rendered obsolete by Mezger's etymology.

A91. *aiþs ma ὅρκος *oath* L 1.73; **uf-aiþeis* adjia ἔνορκος *bound by oath*, only nom pl m *-þjai* Neh 6.18.

OI *eiδr*, OE *āþ*, OFris *ēth*, OS *ēð*, OHG *eid* stm *oath*†; OE *ǣþe qualified to swear an oath, ge-ǣþed sworn*.

Possibly a borrowing from Celtic, like other expressions of political and social life, in view of like meaning with OIr *ōeth* ← PIE *oito-oath*, MWel *an-udon perjury* Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:292, 1889-94 II:335,344-45; Porzig 1954:121; cf **andbahts, arbi, *dulgs, freis, reiks**. Scardigli 1973:53-54, however, finds no grounds for assigning priority to Celts; Polomé 1983 JIES 11:281-98 is also now hesitant about crediting Celts with cultural supremacy over Gmc speakers.

PIE *oy-to-*: Gk οἶτος *course, fate*; meaning specialized in Celt and Gmc because oath-giver walked between pieces of slaughtered animals, Porzig 1954:121; cf Sw *ed-gång way of oath* Krahe 1954:134-35, Polomé 1954 Ogam 6:159-60. See also OI *eiδafullting* stn, OE *āþfultum* stn *oath help, performed by oath helper who swears that oath is true and properly sworn*; Lang *aido*, OE *ǣwda(man)*, OHG *gieide guarantor, surety*; Mincoff 1934 AinZDA 53:

233, Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:167-69. Cf **aiþei, *aiws**. Older discussion in F 1939:29.

P 1959:293-97, esp 295.

A92. aiþþau (*ai* = [ɛ]) conj ἤ *or* M 5. 17, εἰ δὲ μήγε *otherwise, if* M 6.1, ἀλλάγε *but if* 1C 9.2.

OI *eða, eðr*, OE *eþþa*, OS *eddo or*; OHG *eddes-hwelih*, MHG *ete(s)lich anyone*; with different stem vowel, OE *oþþe*, OHG *odo*, MHG *oder or*; also MLG *ader, eder or*. Further OFris *ieftha, ioftha*, OS *efðo, efða*; OHG *erdo or*.

Grienberger 1900:17 proposed origin in Go **aif-þau*; cf OI *ef*, OE *gif if*; extended in Go **ibai**, *iba*. Similarly G Schmidt 1962:85-95, Gmc **eft-þau*; *-ftþ-* → *-fþþ-* → *-fþ-/-þþ-*; *-o-* and *-r-* introduced by analogy. Schmidt's full explication more credible than older proposals in F 1939:29. W Bennett 1967 Lg 43:663-64, however, sees source in PGmc *eþ* → Go **iþ** *but* + **þau** *or*; also Bezzenberger 1873:93-94; [ɛ] maintained with internal open juncture. Grienberger's explanation more credible for variety of forms. Older proposals in F 1939:29. See now Cercignani 1984 JIES 12:315-44, who after a long survey, ibid 329-34, ascribes *ai-* to earlier following *-h*.

P 1959:284,(113),285.

A93. *aiwaggeli n*ia* εὐαγγέλιον *gospel* 1C 9.23.

From VLat *evangelio* with loss of *-o* (kept in **aiwaggelio**). Go *-e-*, as opposed to Gk *-ɛ-*, reflects popular usage, and also influence of accent in borrowings from VLat; such lengthening not infrequent in Gk names borrowed into Lat after imperial period. According to W Schulze 1966:513, the Go *-e-* and the ending of **aiwaggelista** demonstrate that Roman influence preceded that of Gk in Go, and that the first missionaries or evangelists among the Goths were Romans; see also **aggilus, *alew, apaustaulus**. Also Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:59, Corazza 1969:91-92.

A94. aiwaggelista m*n* εὐαγγελιστής *evangelist* Sk 3.3 / IIIa.8-9. Borrowed from Lat *evangelista*. A Sturtevant 1945 JEGP 44:376 explains recourse to Lat through position of accent; final Gk accent was contrary to Gmc rule, and accordingly the Lat form was adopted. By contrast, for **praufetes**, Gk προφήτης, Lat *prophēta*, the Gk accent did not interfere. Further, Go *-lista* may have been compounded with the second element of Go cmpds like **fulla-wita* and **ufar-swara*.

A95. *aiwaggeljan wkvI εὐαγγελίζεσθαι *spread the gospel* G 4.13. Go formation modeled on Gk or Lat vb.

A96. aiwaggeljo f*n* εὐαγγέλιον *gospel* Mk 14.9. VLat *evangelio* = Lat *evangelium*, adapted as wkf; or, on grounds of representation of Gk ι as Go *j*, taken directly from Gk εὐαγγέλιον prior to Wulfila, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:159, M Jellinek 1926:188. Go *e* for Gk ε reflects popular pronunciation, W Schulze 1966:513, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:59; see also Corazza 1969:49-50,91-92.

A97. *aiwiski n*ia* αἰσχύνη *shame* 1C 15.34; **un-aiwisks* adj*a* ἀνεπαίσχυντος *without shame* 2T 2.15; **aiwiskon* wkvII αἰσχημονεῖν *treat shamefully*, only 3sg prs *-koþ* 1C 15.5; **ga-aiwiskon* wkvII *make ashamed, abuse* R 9.33.

OE *ǣwisce* stn *shame, insult, ǣwisc-mōd* adj *shamed, ǣwisnes* stf *obscenity, īewan, ǣwan* ← **aiwjan* wkv *despise* Wood 1901 MLN 16:309; MHG *eisch ugly, detestable*, NLG *eisk, aisch repulsive, disgusting*; OE *un-ǣwisc modest*.

aiwiski* is formed with one of the three suffixes deriving abstracts from adj: Go *-i* ← PIE *-yo-m*, primarily in prefixed cmpd and bisyllabic adjs with heavy second syllable; cf *anda-launi*; also *-ei* as in ***af-gudei and *-iþa/-ida* as in **aggwiþa**. Seebold 1968 BGDSL-T 90:1-15.

A frequentative from PGmc *aiwa-, aiwilōn*: MLG *eichelen, echelen, egelen*, NLG *aicheln, early* NHG (Luther) *eckeln*, NHG *ekeln*, H Schröder 1904 BGDSL 29:557, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:258, 1906 TNTL 25:249.

Etymology disputed. Possibly from PIE

ayg^{w}h- like Gk αἶσχος ← PIE *aig^{w}h-s-ko-s disgrace*; P 1959:14; Seebold 1967 ZVS 81:123 hesitant; Chantraine 1968-80:40 dubious. Differently, Mezger 1965 ZVS 79:38-41 associates **aiwiski* with pre-OE *āwi*, cf ****aiws** marriage, law*, on grounds that living together outside marriage, Go **aiwiska-*, was considered disgraceful, leading to meaning of **aiwiski*; so also Puhvel 1978 IF 83:138. Older references in F 1939:30.

A98. *aiwlaugia (only Gk acc sg *aiwlaugian* 2C 9.5) mn = Gk εὐλογία ***blessing, gift*** (f → m).

A99. *aiws m*a/i* αἰών ***time, eternity*** L 16.8; acc sg as adv ***aiw ever, always***, only in negative clauses ***ni ... aiw*** οὐδέποτε ***never*** M 9. 33; **halis-aiw** adv μόγις ***hardly ever***, only L 9. 39; ***suns-aiw*** adv εὐθέως ***at once*** L 4.39; ****aiweins*** adj*a* αἰώνιος ***eternal*** J 17.2; possibly also ****us-aiwjan*** wkvI ***exert oneself, strive always***, only 1sg prt ***-wida*** ἐκοπίασα 1C 15.10.

OI ***æ*vi, æfi** stf (← *i*-stem ****aiwi-, *āwi*** according to Pipping 1917 SNF 8:69) ***life, age***, OHG ***ēwin*** stf ***eternity***, OHG ***ēwa*** st/wkf ***eternity, law***. Also, OE ***ǣ(w)*** stf ← ****āwi-***, Brunner/Sievers 1965:116, ***law, marriage***, OFris ***ēwe*** wkf (*n*-decl), OFris ***ē***, OS ***ēo, ēu*** stm ***law***, OHG ***ēwa, ēwī*** st/wkf ***law, religious decree, marriage***.

PIE ***ay-*** ← ***zéy-*** + ***-w-*** (Benveniste 1935a: 157), ***āyu- vital power, life force, age of vigor***: Skt ***āyu- life, life force***; TochA ***āym- spirit, life***. (Benveniste 1937 BSLP 38:[art]103-12 -- to Skt ***yúvan-***, Go ****juggs young*** -- Mezger 1965 ZVS 79:39-40; Chantraine 1968-80:42-43); cf ****aiwiski, *aJuk-duþs***.

With further suffixes: PIE ***ay-wo-***: OI ***æ, ei***, OE ***ā, ō***, OHG ***io*** adv ***always, aye***†; OE ***nā***, OHG ***neo, nio never***; OS (Gl Lips) ***ēwitha*** stf, OHG ***ēwida*** stf ***eternity***; OFris, OS, OHG ***ēwīg***, OS ***ēwan eternal***; OI ***lang-ǣr*** = Lat ***long-aevus long-lived***; Gk δην-αι(ϝ)ός ***long-lived***, OLat ***aeuom***, Lat ***aevum, aevus a long time, an age***; ***aeternus*** (← ****aewiternus***) ***eternal***.

PIE ***ay-wen-***: Ved ***āyuni*** instr, ***āyunā*** loc ***life***; Gk αἰών ***lifetime***, αἰέν ***always***; PIE ***ăy-wes-*** in Gk αἰ[ϝ]ές, ἀ(ι)εί ← ****ăywesi always***. J Schmidt 1889:142, 1905 ZVS 38:49 assumes IE declension: nom ***ăywos***, gen ***ayus-es***; also f pl ***āywṓs*** used as sg: Gk acc αἰῶ, loc αἰϝεί, subsequently *n*-stem forms.

In Gmc, meaning developed towards religious and legal spheres, W Vogt 1934 BGDSL 58:1-66; Üçok 1938:12-13 sees this esp in Go, under Christian influence and association of Go ****aiweins*** with ***libains*** to designate 'eternal life'.

P 1959:17-18.

A100. *aiwxaristia = Gk εὐχαριστία ***thanksgiving***, only Gk acc sg ***-tian*** 2C 9.11.

A101. aiz n*a* χαλκός ***money, metal coin***, only acc sg Mk 6.8.

OI ***eir*** stn ***copper***, OE ***ār, ǣr***, OS ***ēr***, OHG ***ēr*** stn ***ore***†.

PIE ***ayos- metal***: Skt ***áyas-***, Av ***ayah- metal, iron***; Lat ***aes***, gen ***aeris*** ← ****aezis ore***, Osc ***eisernim ore pit***; Lat ***aēnus***, Umbr ***ahesnes*** dat pl ← ****ayes-no of bronze***; OE ***ǣren***, OS, OHG ***ērin of bronze***.

Already in PIE (Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:237,663-68) and not a cross-cultural term, as according to F Kauffmann 1899 ZDP 31:395, 1913-23 I:62 fn1. Krahe 1954:122 points out that reflexes are found in Gmc and Ital but not in Celt, whereas Gaul ***isarno-***, Go ****eisarn*** ***iron*** have no cognates in Ital; this situation reflects periods of contact. -- Earlier efforts to relate PIE ***ayos-*** to ***Alašja*** [the old name of Cyprus] or to other such names are no longer credible in view of the location of the Indo-Europeans north of the Caspian and Black Seas, and of current knowledge of the origins of metallurgy. Derivation from PIE ***ay- gleam, burn*** more likely.

P 1959:15-16, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:709-10.

A102. aiza-smiþa mn χαλκεύς ***coppersmith***, only 2T 4.14, ****ga-smiþon*** wkvII κατεργάζεσθαι ***produce***, only 3sg prs ***ga-smiþoþ***

2C 7.10.

Cmpd of **aiz** and PGmc *smiþa-*; *n*-stem as second constituent of cmpd; cf OI *lik-ami* : *hamr* under **af-hamon**. Carr 1939:70 points to OE *ār-smiþ* and OHG *ērsmid coppersmith*, which were modeled on Lat *faber aerarius*.

OI *smiðr* stm *smith, handworker, artist dealing with wood and metal*, OE *smiþ*, OFris *smith*, OHG *smid* stm *smith*†. PGmc *smiþaz*, like Lat *faber*, orig meant 'worker, artist' in the broadest sense; cf OI *ljōða-smiðr poet*, OE *wīg-smiþ warrior*, OHG *urteil-smid judge*, etc. Further, OI *smīð* stf pl *artistic work*, OS *smīdi* stn, MHG *gesmīde* stn *jewelry*; OHG *smīda* stf *metal ornament*, *smeidar* stm *metal-worker*; OE *smiþian* wkv, OHG *smidōn* wkv *forge, smithy*†.

PIE *smey- work creatively with a sharp tool* + *-t-* in PGmc *smiþ*, Brugmann 1896 IF 6: 93, also Gk σμίλη *knife*, σμινύη, σμινύς *mattock, hoe* Chantraine 1968-80:1027-28. Not Lat *mīca crumb* W/H 1938-56 II:85. Possibly Lith *smailùs sharp, pointed*; Latvian *smaile tip* Fraenkel 1962-65:838-39. Possibly also OSl *mĕde copper* Vasmer 1953-58 II:111-12. Without movable *s-* in **maitan** *hew, cut* P 1959: 697.

P 1959:968.

A103. *ajukduþs *fi eternity*, only acc sg *in ajukduþ* εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα J 6.51,58, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας L 1.33.

Suffix *-duþs* with **ajuki-* = OE *ēce* (← *ejece*) *eternal*; **ajuki-* in turn is a suffixed form of Go **aiwo-* as in ***aiws** with PGmc *-k-* (← PIE *-go-* as in Skt *árbhagas* beside *árbhas youthful*, OHG *altih* beside *alt old*; see ***ainakls, alakjo, anaks, *ibuks**), *-duþs* ← PIE *-tūti-* as in Av *gaδō-tūš robbery*; Lat *juventus*, gen *juven-tūti-s* = OIr *oītiu* (← **yowin-tūts*) *youth* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:453-54; Kluge 1926:69; Bréal 1892 MSLP 7:140-41 on the other hand held that *-duþs* was borrowed from Lat.

Benveniste 1961 BSLP 56:[art]43-45 ascribed to *-dūþs* a subjective quality as opposed to *-ei* which indicates an objective state; the contrast is proposed on the basis of pairs like **gamainei* : *gamainduþs community*, **mikilei* : *mikilduþs greatness*, *managei* : *managduþs multitude, abundance*. For **ajukduþs* the contrast is with *du aiwa eternally (in an objective sense)* while **ajukduþs* is *eternity (as a feature of existence)*, an attribute of Jesus and his followers; see also Üçok 1938:13-14, who contrasts the word with **aiws*.

A104. ak conj ἀλλά, δέ, γάρ *but* (22nd in frequency in our texts) M 5.15; *ak-ei* ἀλλά, δέ *but* M 9.18; *akei nih* ἀλλ' οὐδέ *but not* G 2. 3.

OE *ac*, OS *ak*, OHG *oh but, but rather*.

No sure etymology. Holthausen 1904-05 IF 17:458-59 relates *ak* to Gk ἄγε, Lat *age now then*, in spite of the semantic problem. Brugmann 1904a:606 derives *ak* from **akk* = *aþ-* (in **aþ-þan**) + *ke (ko)*; *-ke* ← PIE *-ge* as in *mik*; but the assimilation *-þk-* → *-kk-* is not found in Go; Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:249 opposes this proposal. A Sturtevant 1951 GR 26:57 assumed PGmc *ah- sharp, pointed*, as in Gk ἀκ-μή, Lat *ac-er*, Go **ahs** *ear of grain*. The proposed development *ak* ← **akk* ← **akke* ← **ahke* requires simplification of geminated consonant when final and not under accent. The meaning of adversative force arose from sharp contrast with preceding clause. This proposal is labored.

P 1959:70-71.

A105. *aket, **akeit* n (decl unknown) ὄξος *vinegar*, only gen sg *aketis* M 27.48, *akeitis* Mk 15.36.

Borrowed from Lat *acētum wine-vinegar* with length of secondarily stressed middle syllable maintained in contrast with OE *eced*, OS *ecid*, Swiss *echiss*; reversal of *c* and *t* in MLG *ettic*, OHG *ezzih*, NHG Bavarian *ezzeih* = OHG **ezzīh*; MLG *edec* (*d* for *t*). According to Stender-Petersen 1927:369, cross of Lat *acētum* and *acidum sour*; cf OSl *ocьtz vinegar* Vasmer 1953-58 II:294-95; also M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:129.

E Schwarz 1951:38-43 posits early borrowing, 1st-3rd century, because of non-palatalized *-c-*; possibly earlier than Gothic migration to south Russia, Scardigli 1973:80-81, Corazza 1969:13-14,72-73. Borrowing may have come through Gothic soldiers serving in the Roman army.

A106. akran na καρπός *fruit, results* M 7.19; also transferred meaning, *akrana uswaurhtais* τὰ γενήματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης *harvest* 2C 9.10; Go *akrana-laus* adj ἄκαρπος *unfruitful*, only nom sg n Mk 4.19; see **laus**.

OI *akarn* stn *fruit of trees in wild*, OE *æcern* stn, MLG *aker* stn, NLG dial *ecker* stn, MHG *ackeran* stm/n, Swiss *acheram*, Bavarian *akram acorn*†, NHG *Buchecker beech-nut*. Generally taken as denom to **akrs** = *wild fruit* Torp and Falk, eds 1909:7; cf Gk ἄγριος, Lat *agrestis wild* Uhlenbeck 1900:9, 1906 TNTL 25:249. Go *akran* : *akrs* = *þiudans* : *þiuda*. On the suffix of *akr-an*, **akr-in* (= *ecker*) see Much 1909 ZDW 11:215-16.

PIE *ōg- grow, fruit, berry*: OIr *āirne* ← **ag-rīn-ya sloe*, Wel *aeron fruits, berries, eirinen*, Corn *aeran plum* Zimmer in E Zupitza 1896:213, Vendryès 1959-:A-48; Lith *úoga*, Latvian *uôga*, OSl *(j)agoda berry* Fraenkel 1962-65:1165. Doubtfully Lat *ūva* ← **ūg^{w}ā bunch of grapes*, according to W/H 1938-56 II:849; cf *-g^{w}-* versus *-g-*. Lat *ūva* rather related to Gk ὄα, ὄ(ι)η *rowan*, both from PIE *oiwā berry*, according to Lidén 1905-06 IF 18:500ff; also Lith *ievà*, Latvian *ieva black alder*, Arm *aigi vine*; OI *ȳr*, OE *īw*, *ēow* stm, OHG *iwa* stf *yew*† Chantraine 1968-80:770-71; probably also Hitt *e(y)a(n)- an evergreen tree* Puhvel 1984-:253-57.

P 1959:773; also 297; P Friedrich 1970: 121-25.

A107. akrs ma ἀγρός *field* M 27.8.

OI *akrs*, OE *æcer*, OFris *ekker*, OS *akkar*, OHG *achar*, *ackar* stm *field*, cf NE *acre*.

PIE *aĝros pasture* (though this meaning is not attested in historical periods, Hirt 1902-03 AinIF 13:10); Skt *ájras plain, flatland*; Gk ἀγρός, Lat *ager*, Arm *art* (← *atsro-*, *atro-*, Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:352) *field*.

If *pasture*, based on PIE *aĝ- drive*: Skt *ájati*, Av *azaiti drive*; Gk ἄγω, Lat *agō lead*; OIr *ag- conduct* (Vendryès 1959-:A-22); Arm *acem*; TochAB *āk- lead*; cf also OI *aka lead*. Yet Brugmann 1905-06 IF 18:132 fn1, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:354 proposes source in PIE *aĝ- take possession of*, as in Av **azrā hunt* in *azrō-daiδim pursuing a hunt, going out for prey*; Hom ἄγρη *catch, hunt*; OIr *ār slaughter* Vendryès 1959-:A-82; possibly the same root. F 1939:33 states that the meaning of Gk ἄγριος, Lat *agrestis wild*, speaks against this view. Trier 1945 BGDSL 67:126 points to practice of putting hedges around fields; yet scarcely to Gk ἀγείρω *assemble*, as in Vries 1962:4-5; with reference to ἀγορά *market-place*; its origin uncertain, Chantraine 1968-80:9,12-13. Derivation from PIE *aĝ-* most credible.

P 1959:4,6.

A108. *alabastraun (only Cod A L 7.37 *alabalstraun*, scribal error according to Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:5. Differently W Horn 1929 Archiv 155:249, who suggests a folk etymological form, possibly under the influence of **balsan** *salve*, recalling also ME, NE dial *alablaster*) = Gk ἀλάβαστρον *alabaster flask*. See Onions 1966:22.

A109. *ala-brunsts *fi burnt offering*, only dat pl *-tim* Mk 12.33, calque of Gk ὁλοκαύτωμα.

Cmpd of *ala-*, alternate form of *alla-*, **alls**, also in **ala-k-jo**, **ala-þarba** etc: OI *al-* in *al-vita all-knowing*, OE *æl-* in *æl-mihtig almighty*†, OS, OHG *ala-* in OS *ala-jung very young*, *ala-hwīt quite white*, OHG *ala-wāri quite true*: OI *ǫl-værr friendly*, MHG *al-wære*, NHG *albern simple*. Also in Celt names of Matrons such as *Ala-teivia*, *Ala-ferhuiae*, *Ala-gabiae*, *Ala-tervae*. Not Gk ἀλα- in ἀλά-στορος etc, Chantraine 1968-80:54-55, nor Lith *al-vienas*, *aliái vienas each* Fraenkel 1962-65:7.

-brunsts = OHG *brunst* stf *conflagration*; ***brinnan** *burn*. With PIE *-s-ti-* as in Skt

śruṣtiẹ obedience, Av *a-srušti- disobedience*: OI, OS *hlust*, OE *hlyst* stf *hearing, ear*, constructed from base-final *-s-* (PIE *ḱlews-*; **hliuma**) and PIE *-ti-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:437-38; Kluge 1926:68-69; Streitberg 1916 *F* E Kuhn:267; Helten 1909 BGDSL 35:302-03. Langenhove 1936:73-94 examines the Gmc development of PGmc *-sti* in great detail, ascribing religious and juridical significance to its early use, as also in *-listi-*, *-lusti-*, *-nesti-*, etc; see also Krahe 1949 BGDSL 71:239, Meid 1965 Sprache 11:122-30, 1965 ZVS 79:291-93.

A110. alakjo adv *all* L 4.22, ἅπαν (*allai alakjo* πάντες, ἅπαντες): with Go *-ka-* as in **ahaks**, ***ainakls**, etc from *ala-* as in ***ala-brunsts**. G Schmidt 1962:374-75,385-87, however, proposes PGmc *alak-igō* from a contamination of **alak* and **aligō* (cf OHG *alluka in all* ← PGmc *alug-ē*); *-igō* ← PIE *ek^{w}-ōd* → Go *-jo* through *-igo* (unaccented short *i* weakened while *-g-* was still a fricative and *-ig-* → *-j-*). Labored.

With a different suffix OHG *alang* adv *completely*; also adj, as in OFris *along*, OS *alung complete, eternal*. Conflated with OE *eall*, **alls**, to OE *eallu/inga, completely*.

A111. *alamans m cons stem *totality of human beings* (only dat pl in *in allaim alamannam* Sk 8.12 / VIIIb.16-17).

EN Gk Ἀλα-μανοί, Lat *Ala-manni*, OHG *Alamanni*; OI *almanna*, MDu, MLG *alman*; Schönfeld 1911:6-8, also on Gk *-ν-* versus Lat *-nn-*. Cmpd of Go *ala-* as in ***ala-brunst** and **1. manna**, Carr 1939:56. Üçok 1938:6-7 contrasts meaning with that of **mana-seþs**, which for him applies to a closed group, not all humankind.

A112. *Alamods (only dat sg in *miþ diakuna Alamoda unsaramma* and *þus 'dkn' Alamoda*) [PeN of a deacon in DeN and DeA].

Cmpd of *ala-* as in ***ala-brunsts** and *moda-*, ***moþs**.

A113. *alan stvVI *grow*, only in nom sg prpl *alands* ἐντρεφόμενος *nourished* 1T 4.6. Cf ***aldomo**, ***alds**, **alls**, **alþeis**, ***fram-aldrs**, ***us-alþans**.

OI *ala beget*, OE *alan* stv *nourish*.

PIE *al- grow, nourish*: Gk νεᾱλής ← νεο- + αλ- *fresh, strong*; Lat *alō nourish*, *alēscere flourish*; OIr *alim nourish, bring up*. Forms of root only in western dialects, with Gk restricted to cmpds; Skt *an-alas fire, god of fire* from *insatiable* rather of Dravidian source than from root as by W Schulze 1966:215-16, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:33.

P 1959:26-27.

A114. Alaricus, Ἀλάριχος [Visigothic PeN] cmpd of *ala-* as in ***ala-brunsts** and **reiks**; see Schönfeld 1911:9.

A115. ala-þarba wkadj, only in *dugann ala-þarba wairþan* ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖσθαι *he began to be in want of everything* L 15.14.

Cmpd of *ala-* as in ***ala-brunsts** and **þarb-** as in ***þarfs**; on the weak declension of **þarba*, cf OI *þarfi*, OE *þearfa needy*; also predicative, see Behaghel 1918 BGDSL 43:153-55.

A116. *aldomo m or n γῆρας *old age*, only dat sg *in aldomin seinamma* L 1.36, Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:324.

According to K Johansson 1904 *F* Noreen: 457, cmpd of ***alds** and *-doman-* = OI **-dōme* stm, cf OHG *alt-tuom*, *alt-duam* stm/n *old age*; **aldi-dōma* → *aldōma* by haplology; Kluge 1926:81 compares Lat *cert-āmen quarrel*, *certō I quarrel*, and others. Grienberger 1900:18 takes Go *aldomin* as scribal error for **aldumin*, a superlative based on ***alan**. Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:320ff modified this to wkn superl of **alδa-* : **alδuma*, with *-o-* as scribal error; cf ***aftuma**.

OE *eal(d)dōm* stm/n, OHG *alt-tuom* stm/n *old age* made with *-dōm*, like OI *vīsdōmr*, OE *wīsdōm*, OHG *wīstuom wisdom*†, etc, Kluge 1926:85-86, Benveniste 1961 BSLP 56:[art]21-26. PGmc *alδaz*, papl of *al-*, ***alan**: OE *ald*, *eald*, OFris, OS *ald*, OHG *alt old*†.

PIE *altós*: possibly Gk ἄν-αλτος *insatiable*; Lat *altus high*, *ad-ultus grown*; OIr *alt height*,

bank Vendryès 1959-:A-63-64; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:394-413.

P 1959:26-27.

A117. *alds fi αἰών, γενεά, βίος *generation, age* E 2.2.

OI *ǫld* fi, *aldr* ma, *elli* (*ll* ← *lþ*) f, OE *ield(o), ylde* stf, OS *eldi* stf, OHG *altī, elti* stf *age*; see W Vogt 1934 BGDSL 58:11-18 on meaning. OI *ver-ǫld* (loanword[?]), OE, OS *wer-old*, OHG *wer-alt* stf *era, world*†. See also Helten 1908-09 ZDW 10:193, Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:310-24 on meaning; according to Üçok 1938:14, *alds* in contrast with ***aiws** *eternity* always indicates a limited period such as a lifetime or an era.

PIE *al-* + *-ti-* as in Skt *dâti-*, Av *dāiti-*, Dor Gk δῶσις, Att δόσις, Lat *dōs*, gen *dōtis*, OSl *-datь gift*, and in many other words. Benveniste 1948:63-112 takes the function of PIE *-ti-* in contrast with PIE *-tu-*, as in ***auhjodus**, to indicate an objective action, realized outside the subject by a completed activity, whereas *-tu-* indicates a subjective action. Besides surviving in Indo-Iran and Gk, the contrast is maintained in Go, as in ***gakusts** 2C 9.13 *test (required by a service)* as opposed to ***kustus** 2C 2.9 *test carried out by the Corinthian Christians*, esp Benveniste 1948:105-08. In a subsequent study (Benveniste 1960 Sprache 6: 166-71) he points out that in Go, **-ti-*abstracts with prefixes correspond to verbs having the same prefix (**af-stass** : ***af-standan**), and those from simple verbs are non-prefixed nouns (***aihts** : *aih*). Five of the ten abstracts with simple verbs are based on preterite-presents.

For other derivatives of PIE *al-* see ***alan**. Chantraine 1968-80:65 is skeptical about the proposed relation of Gk Ἄλτις *the sacred grove at Olympia* or ἄλσος *grove* with PIE *al-*.

P 1959:26-27.

A118. aleina fō πῆχυς *ell (distance from elbow to finger tips)*, only acc sg M 6.27.

With short middle vowel: OI *ǫln, āln, alin*, ONor *alun*, Noreen 1894 IF 4:321, OE *eln*, OFris *elne*, OLF *elina*, MDu *elne*, OHG *elina* stf *ell*†. Go *ei* is not a scribal error for *-i-*, according to Kluge 1883 ZVS 26:101; cf **akeit** versus OE *eced*, etc. Roethe 1919 SAW 1919: 793 proposed vowel shortening on loss of secondary stress.

PIE *olĭnā elbow*: with long middle vowel also OIr *uilen corner*, Wel, MCorn *elin*, Bret *e/ilin, elbow* ← *olīnā*; with short, Gk ὠλένη, Lat *ulna elbow*, Arm *oln spine* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:271. With other suffixes: Skt *aratnís*, Av *arəþna- elbow, fi-ārāþniš ell* Szemerényi 1966 Sprache 12:199; Lith *alkūnė*, Latvian *ẽlkuons*, OPruss *alkunis elbow*, Lith *uolektìs*, Latvian *uôlekts*; OSl *lakstь ell*.

P 1959:307-08, based on *el- bend*; see **liþus**.

A119. *alew na ἔλαιον *oil* L 16.6; *alewa-bagms* ma ἐλαία *olive tree* R 11.17; see **bagms**; **alewja* wk adj *olive; oil*, only in *at fairgunja alewjin at the Mount of Olives* L 19. 29 and Mk 11.1.

The source of this loanword is unclear, esp its transmission. It was not taken directly from Lat as in the other Gmc dialects; OE *ele* stm, OS, OHG *oli* stn (Tatian) *oil*† ← VLat *oleo-* (trisyllabic according to Meyer-Lübke 1935: 6054) or OHG *olei* (Otfrid), OS *olig* stn ← VLat **olejo* (influenced by Gk ἔλαιον[?] = Lat *ŏlĕum oil*). Go *a-*, rather than *o-* (*au-*), and *-e-*, rather than *-i-*, must be accounted for.

Older attempts at explanation propose substitutions, such as Go *e* for *i*, Grienberger 1900:19. More recent attempts seek a route of transmission which would have yielded a form Go **alewa-* ← Lat **olēvom* as source. Such a route Polomé 1985 *F* Knobloch:309-11 sees through the Roman province of Rhaetia, where inscriptions indicate *-ă-* for *-ŏ-*. OLat **olēvom* ← **oleivom*, taken to this area before the change of OLat *ē* → *ī* (cir 150 BC) would have provided the etymon **alewa-*. By an older assumption the route of borrowing was through Celt **olēvom* ← Lat **olēvom*, Untermann 1955 BGDSL 76:390-99. The attested Celt forms: OIr *ole*, Wel *olew*, Bret *oleo* point to VLat

**olĕvo*, E Zupitza 1897 BGDSL 22:574-75; Polomé points to lack of evidence for the posited continental Celt form with *-ē-*, but there is also no evidence for a Rhaetic form. Earlier hypotheses on transmission through Illyrian, as in F 1939:35-36 and Kretschmer 1951 ZVS 69:25 among others, are highly unlikely. See also Polomé 1981:508-09, 1983 JIES 11: 287, Corazza 1969:14-15.

The Go forms furnish great interest, both in illuminating the complex history of relations between Gmc peoples and the Mediterranean world, and in illustrating scholarly attempts to determine these, as in E Schwarz 1951:22-29, Hoops 1944:71-74, among others.

A120. alhs f cons stem ναός, ἱερόν *temple* M27.51; see **gud-hus* J 18.20, which is also used for the Jewish temple.

OE *ealh* stm, OS *alah temple*; also OE *ealgian* wkv *protect* ← **algōjan*; hence, a *protected place*.

Förstemann 1913-16:671-72 proposes *alah-* as basis for placenames such as *Alsheim* ← *Alahes-heim*. It is probably also in OSw *Alir*, Sw *Ale-häräd, Norr-, Söder-ala-, Göt-ala-häräd*, OSw *Frö(y)al* = Sw *Fryele*, Nor *Uller-aal* (Wessén 1922 NB 10:109-10, Jungner 1922: 257ff; see Olsen 1915:265ff for Nor placenames. Grimm 1854:57 related the divine name PGmc *Alci/es* cited in Tacitus, Germania 43; see Olsen 1915:247ff; disputed by Krappe 1933 BGDSL 57:226ff); see also Birkhan 1970:449.

Possibly from PIE *alk- protect*: Skt *rákṣati protects*; Gk ἀλέξω, ἀλ-αλκεῖν, ἀλκάθειν *ward off* (Chantraine 1968-80:58). Also Lith *alkas holy grove* from *place on hill where sacrifices were made*; Latvian *ẽlka kalns temple hill* (Fraenkel 1962-65:7,24-25; Šturms 1946 lists 224 *alk-* sites in Lithuania, of which 150 are on mounds or hills). This etymology preferable to relationship with **alan**, Rooth 1926:10-11, though see possible PIE derivation noted below; relation to Run *alu* rejected by Marstrander 1937 NTS 8:496.

Probably then, following F 1939:36-37, originally a *protected, holy grove*, as noted by Tacitus, Germania 9: "lucos ac nemora consecrant" '[the Gmc peoples] consecrate woods and groves'. Cf Sw name of forest *Tiveden* = OIr *dēfid, deid sacred wood* Marstrander 1913 *F* Torp:239-40. Older references in F 1939:36-37; cf **hails**.

P 1959:32 and Chantraine 1968-80:58; if PIE *al-* ← *H_2el-* is the root for the theme *al-k-*, *H_2l-ek-*, it may ultimately be the same as *al-nourish* P 1959:26-27; cf Gk ἄλμα *sacred grove*.

A121. alja conj εἰ μή, ἀλλά *but* J 6. 22. Possibly also prep with dat in *alja imma* πλὴν αὐτοῦ *other than he* Mk 12.32; A Sturtevant 1931 GR 6:67-68, however, views this construction as a comparison with standard in dat.

OI *ella*, OE *elles otherwise, else*†.

Gk ἀλλά *but*, Arm *ail but (rather)*; from nom pl n. Frisk 1960-72 I:76-77.

P 1959:24-26.

A122. alja-kuns adj*i/ja* ἀλλογενής *of foreign origin, contrary to nature* R 11.24.

Cmpd of ***aljis** and *-kuni-*, as in ***samakuns** *related*; *-ja-* in ***inkunja** m*n* *countryman* 1Th 2.14; see **kuni**.

PIE *gen?- beget*: cf Av *ā-zna- innate, natural*; Gk νεο-γνός *newborn*; Celt *-agnos* ← **a(p)o-gnos* in ogham PeN gen *Coim-agni*, etc; Stokes 1894:111. See also **niu-klahs**, if dissimilated from **niu-kna-ha-*.

On loss of stem-final *-i-* after short vowel with secondary accent see Streitberg 1910 IF 27:157.

A123. alja-leiko (only *alja-leiko laisjai* Cod B ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ 1T 6.3), Go *alja-leikos* in 1T 6.3 Cod A is comp as in Ph 3.15, adv ἑτέρως, ἄλλως *otherwise*; from adj **alja-leiks* ← *alja-*, cf ***aljis** and *-leiks*; OI *-līk*, adv *līka*, OE *līc*, adv *līce*, OS *līc*, adv *līco*, OHG *līh body*, adv *līhho like*; see **leik** and *ga-leiks*.

OI *elligar, ellar, ella*, OE *ellicor, elcor*, OS *elcor otherwise*, OHG *ellichōr further*.

Gmc adv *-ō* ← PIE *-ōd*, with ablative

meaning; cf Skt *adharāt from beneath*; Gk οὕτως (*-s* added from other advs, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:737-38), Gk ὧ-δε *thus* (OLat *sō-c*); OLat *meritōd according to merit, certō certainly*; Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:699-70, Kieckers 1928:166; G Schmidt 1962:364-67. Not from PGmc *-ōn*, pre-Gmc *-ām*, as in Lat *cōram face to face, perperam wrongly*, as Osthoff 1877 ZVS 23:90 proposed. Beside *-ō* cf adv *-ē*, ← PIE *-ēd* with ablative force in **sware** *in vain*, also Lat *certē certainly* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:165.

A124. *alja-leikoþs papl ἀλληγορούμενος *with a different meaning*, ie *allegorical*; only nom pl **alja-leikodos*, a conjecture for *alja-leikaidos* G 4.24 Cod B. Calque of Gk based on **alja-leiko** Velten 1930 JEGP 29:342.

A125. 1. *aljan wkvI σιτεύειν *fatten*, only acc sg m *alidan* from papl **aliþs* σιτευτός L 15.23,27,30. Caus to ***alan**.

Nor dial *elja fatten*.

Cf Lat *ad-olēscō, ad-olēvī* ← PIE *al- grow up*.

A126. 2. aljan na ζῆλος *zeal* R 10.2; *aljanon* wkvII ζηλοῦν, ζηλοῦσθαι *strive for* G 4.8; **in-aljanon* wkvII παραζηλοῦν *anger, provoke* 1C 10.22.

OI *eljan* stn(f) *strength*, OE *ellen*, OFris *ellinge*, OS *ellian, ellen*, OHG *ell(i)an* stn *zeal, courage*; OHG *ellenōn* wkv *strive for*.

Possibly to Lat *alăcer lively, excited* Fick 1873:302, Osthoff 1875-76 I:63ff, W/H 1938-56 I:25-26. Further possibly to PIE *al- burn*; Skt *alātam* n *firebrand, coal*, Lat *altāre altar for burnt offering* K Johansson 1899 ZDP 31:298, *ad-oleō burn up*; OI *eldr fire*. While tentative, in view of lack of Gk etymology, Chantraine 1968-80:66, P 1959:27 fn2, this proposal is preferable to others, such as to Gk ἀλύω *be active* Collitz 1925 SSN 8:1-13. Other proposals in F 1939:38.

P 1959:28.

A127. aljar adv *elsewhere*, only *aljar wisan* ἀπεῖναι 2C 10.1,11.

OE *ellor*, OS *ellicor elsewhere*.

Based on *alja-*, cf ***aljis**, like *jainar* beside **jains**, with loc PGmc *-r*, which is added to pronominal stems; also in **her** *here*, **ƕar** *where*, **þar** *there*. Cf Skt *kár-hi when, tár-hi at that time, then*; OLat *quōr*, Lat *cūr why*; Lith *kur̃*; Arm *ur where* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:735-36.

On the other hand G Schmidt 1962:70 derives *aljar* from PGmc *aljōr* taking the agreement with *-ar* in Go *þar* as a coincidence, which as in *ƕar* is from PGmc *-ar*; beside it is PGmc *-ēr*, source of OFris *thēr, hwēr*, OHG *dār, hwār*.

A128. aljaþ adv, only *aflaiþ aljaþ* ἀπεδήμησεν *elsewhere, to another place* M 12.1.

Based on *alja-*, cf ***aljis**; cf **ƕaþ**, *ƕad where to*, beside *ƕas who*; *-þ-* also in *dalaþ downward*, cf ***dals**, **samaþ** *together*, **jaind** *thither*, **þad-ei** *where to*.

G Schmidt 1962:21-24 compares Av *anyadā*, Gk ἄλλο-θι *elsewhere* ← PIE *alyo-* + *-dh-*; similarly Lat *alibi elsewhere*, with loss of *-o-* and addition of *-bi* as in Lat *ibi there*. Rejects derivation from PIE *-te*, as in Gk πόσε ← *ποτε *where to*, ὁμόσε *together*, cf **samaþ**; Gk πότε *when*, as proposed by Grienberger 1900:20-21, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:731.

A129. aljaþro adv ἀλλαχόθεν *by another way* J 10.1.

Based on *alja-*, cf ***aljis**, + *-þro* ← PIE *-trōd* ablative of *-tro*; cf **alja-leiko**. Also in **ƕaþro** *whence*, **jainþro** *from there*, **þaþro** *from there*; with final accent in **sundro** *especially*; with PIE *-ēd* in **hidre** *to here*, **ƕaþre** *whither?* **jaindre** *thither*.

Suffix also in Skt *anyátra elsewhere*, Lat *alter*, Osc *alttram other*; with further suffix in Gk ἀλλότριος *stranger*, though not OIr *ailither pilgrim* Vendryès 1959-:A-33. From PIE *-t(e)ro-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:326; G Schmidt 1962:40-50 posits instead PIE *-tre* + *-ad*.

A130. *aljis (nom sg not attested) adj*ja* ἄλλος, ἕτερος *other* G 5.10.

OI *elligar, ellor, ella otherwise*; OE *elles*, OHG *alles, elles* adv *otherwise*, cf NE *else*, NHG *als as, than*; also OE *ellicor, elcor*, OS

elcor otherwise, OHG *elihhor further*; elsewhere in WGmc only in cmpds, such as OE *ele-lende*, OS *eli-lende*, OHG *ali-lante*, *eli-lenti exiled*; as stn *exile*.

PIE *alyos other*; Gk ἄλλος, Lat *alius*, OIr *aile*, Arm *ayl*, TochA *alya-k*, B *alye-k other*. According to Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:164 based on PIE *ali-* + *-o-*, as in Lat *aliter otherwise*; this also in Skt *aríḥ stranger*, *aryás hospitable lord* (Thieme 1938). Skt *anyás other*, either from PIE *ani*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:164, or a parallel form; cf also Bartoli 1942 AGI 34:66-75.

Also in **alja-(leiko)**, **aljar**, **aljaþ**, **aljaþro**.

A131. all-andjo adv, only 1Th 5.23; calque of Gk ὁλοτελεῖς (adj) *completely*.

Cmpd of *alla-*, see **alls**, and *-andjo*, adv of an adj **all-andjis*; cf **andeis**; *-o* as in **aljaleiko**.

A132. alla-þro adv πάντοθεν, πανταχόθεν *from all sides* L 19.43. Cf **alls**, and *-þro* under **aljaþro**.

A133. *alla-werei *fn* ἁπλότης *simplicity*, *sincerity*, only dat sg *in alla-werein* ἐν ἁπλότητι R 12.8 in Cod A; *a* as cmpd element quite clear to Braun in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:241; no *s* visible. Hence the old reading **all-swerei* must be given up; Friesen 1927: 15 agrees.

Cmpd of *alla-*, cf **alls**, and *-werei fn*; *-ei*, as in ***af-gudei**, beside **-wers*; cf **tuz-werjan*.

OI *al-vara* stf *seriousness*, *good will*, *ǫl-værr sincere*, *kind*, MDu *aelwarich stupid*, OHG *ala-wāri totally truthful*, MHG *al-wære simple*, NHG *albern foolish*; Carr 1939:62. On Go *ala-* besides *alla-* see ***ala-brunsts**.

A134. allis adv, gen of **alls**, ὅλως *in general*, γάρ *for*; always in second position, except in *allis þan* ὅταν γάρ *for* Mk 12.25.

OE *ealles*, OS *alles*, OHG *allis wholly*.

A135. alls stadj πᾶς, ἅπας, ὅλος *all*, *every*, *whole* J 9.34.

OI *allr*, OE *eall*, OFris, OS, OHG *all all*†, *every*.

PIE *ol-no-s*, based on pron stem *al-*, *ol-* + *-no-*; OLat *ollus* 'ille' *that one*; OIr *oll large*; P Ramat 1963 Sprache 9:32-33; Vendryès 1959-:-O-21 dubious, also U-17-18. Not Lith *al-vienas each*, according to Fraenkel 1962-65:7, who objects to older proposals. W/H 1938-56 I:28,II: 206-07 also dubious. Untermann 1958 IF 63: 241-43 accepts relationship with Osc *allo entire*. Form *ala-*, as in ***ala-brunst**, from PIE *al-en-* according to P Ramat 1963 Sprache 9:23-34, who compares **mana-seþs** beside **1. manna**; simple forms in cmpds. Older proposals in F 1939:40,579.

P 1959:25.

A136. all-waldands *mnd* prpl παντοκράτωρ *Almighty*, only 2C 6.18.

OI *allvaldr*, *allsvaldandi*, OE *ealwealdend*, *ealwealda*, OS *alawaldand*, *alawaldo*, OHG *alawaltenti* adj, *alewalto* wkm *Almighty*, *ruler*. Possibly a calque in Go on Gk παντοκράτωρ, in NWGmc on Lat *omnipotens*. Yet pre-Christian OI texts include *allvaldr* for *earthly ruler*; *allsvaldandi* is a purely Christian term. Further, OE *ealwealda* is found only in poetry; OHG *alwalto* is used for Augustus (Tatian); **all-waldand-* may then be PGmc, Carr 1939: 57, an extended form of **all-walds*, Seebold 1968 ZVS 82:79.

Oldest OHG Bavarian confession, with *alles uualtantio truhtin* in contrast with usual OHG *al(a)mahtig*, may reflect Go mission in SE Germany, Eggers 1954 ZMF 22:132-36.

See **alls**, **waldan**, *garda-waldands*.

A137. alþeis adj*ia* γέρων *old* Sk 2.10 / IIb.12; comp *sa alþiza* ὁ πρεσβύτερος *the older* L 15.25 (for **-iza** see ***batiza**).

Differs in suffix from CrimGo *alt* 'senex' *old*, cf Stearns 1978:128; OE *eald*, OFris, OS *ald*, OHG *alt old*† ← PIE *al-tó-s*; Go *alþeis* may have *-ja-* from **niujis**, and *-þ-* from comp. Also with accent on stem, comp *alþiza*, OI *ellri*, *ællri* (cf *jūhiza*, ***juggs**); but OI comp *ældri* has *-d-* from **aldrs* (replaced first by *aldinn* = Go **alþans*, then by OI *gamall*) like OE *ieldra*, OHG *altiro older*†.

PIE *al-* *grow* + *-to-*; Gk ἄν-αλτος

insatiable, Lat *altus high, ad-ultus adult*; OIr *al bank, altae adult* (also with PIE *-yo-*, Marstrander 1924:47); cf ***alan**.

Gmc meaning accounted for by Mastrelli 1961 AGI 46:139-47 through Gmc practice of killing aged, on which he follows Devoto 1956 I: 93-99. Evidence from loss of PIE *mer- die*, except for caus Go **maurþrjan* wkvI, OE *formyrþrian* wkv *kill, murder*, which influenced meaning of **maurþr** *murder*†, in contrast with Lat *mors*, Lith *mirtìs death*. The practice affected the words for the aged; the adj from PIE *sen- old* was lost, except in derivations, eg Go **sineigs** *old*, OF *sini-skalkus oldest servant*, Burg *sinistus senior priest*; also possibly OI *sina old grass of winter* Vries 1962:476. And reflexes of PIE *alt(y)os* shifted in meaning from 'adult' to 'aged'. Highly speculative. See also Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:310-24, Vendryès 1959-:A-57,63-64. See ***alds**, ***us-alþans**.

A138. amen from Gk ἀμήν, identical to Heb *'āmēn* M 5.18.

A139. *ams *ma* or **amsa* *mn* ὦμος *shoulder*, only acc pl *amsans* L 15.15.

OI *āss* stm *mountain ridge*, see E Lewy 1907 BGDSL 32:136-38 on frequent use of designations for parts of the body for phenomena of nature; OI *āss* stm *beam* may be a further development, Vries 1962:16.

PIE *omsos shoulder*: Skt *áṁsas*, Gk ὦμος, Lat *umerus*, Arm *us*, TochA *es*, B *āntse shoulder*, W/H 1938-56 II:815.

P 1959:778.

A140. an interrog ptc indicating uncertainty of speaker, *an ƕas* καὶ τίς *and who (is he)?* J 9.36; *an nuh* οὐκοῦν *are (you a king) or not?* J 18.37; *an ƕa* τί οὖν *what then (shall we do)?* L 3.10.

Lat *an*, ptc indicating alternative answers, W/H 1938-56 I:44. Not related to Gk ἄν, a modal ptc; this rather from εἰ κάν ← κεν, wrongly divided as εἰκ ἄν; similarly, Hom οὐκ ἄν ← *ου καν, Chantraine 1968-80:82.

P 1959:37, which requires modification for Gk ἄν, like many other earlier handbooks.

A141. ana prep ἐπί, εἰς *at, on* M 5.15; also adv *on it* M 27.7.

OI *ā-* *over*, in cmpds, *ā-mattr overwhelming*, like Go **ana-mahts fi superior force, insult*; OE *on*, OFris, OS *an*, *ana*, OHG *an(a) at, on*†, *over*.

PIE *an*, *anu*; Av *ana*, OPers *anā on, over*; Gk ἀνά *on*; Lat *an- on, to*, as probably in *anhēlāre breathe out, wheeze* W/H 1938-56 I:43-44,49; Lith *nuõ*, Latvian *nùo*, OPruss *no, na away from*; possibly Arm *am- up* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:798-99, Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141: 276.

According to G Schmidt 1962:203-07, Gmc monosyllabic forms = Av *ana*; the bisyllabic are from PGmc *anē*, remodeled after **fanē* → OS *fana*, OHG *fana*, *fona* beside PGmc *fana* → OFris *fon*, OS *fan from*. See Durante 1974: 15-19,29-31.

P 1959:39-40.

A142. *ana-biudan stvII διατάσσειν, παραγγέλλειν, *order, command*, 1sg prt *ana-bauþ* Neh 1.2, 1pl prt *ana-budum* 2Th 4.11, nom sg n papl *ana-budan* L 17.9; ***faurbiudan** ἐπιτάσσειν, παραγγέλλειν *forbid* L 8. 25.

OE *on-bēodan*, OS *an-biodan*, OHG *inbiotan* stvII *order, proclaim*; OE *forbēodan*, OHG *far-biotan* stvII *forbid*†. Simplex in OI *bjṓðа* stv, OE *bēodan* stv, OFris *biada* stv, OS *biodan* stv, OHG *biotan* stv *bid*†, *order, offer*.

PGmc *beuð-* corresponds in form to PIE *bhewdh- awake, observe*, though not in meaning. Porzig 1954:122 assumes a development of meaning from PIE 'awake, observe' to Gmc and Celt 'point out, warn' and then 'order'. Other considerable meaning changes are found in ***dugan**, **filhan**.

PIE *bhewdh- awake, observe*; Skt *bódhati wake, observe, understand*, Av *baoδayeiti indicate*, Gk πεύθομαι, πυνθάνομαι *examine, experience*; OIr *as-boind refuse, ro-bud warning, advice*; Lith *bùdinti awaken, budĕ̃ti wake*, OSl *bljudǫ observe, bъdĕti wake*; possibly TochA *pot-*, B *paut- honor, flatter*.

P 1959:150-52, Watkins 1985:8.

A143. ana-busns *fi* ἐντολή *command* J 15.12.

OI *bȳsn* stf *wonder, portent*; OE *bȳsen, bīsn* stf *example*; OS pl *am-būsni* stf *commands*.

PGmc *būsni-* ← PIE *bhudh-s-ni-*, Gdr 1897-1916 I:705; *-ū-* probably by compensatory lengthening, as in ***gud-hus**.

PIE *bhewdh-* as in ***ana-biudan** with PGmc *-s-ni-*suffix; also in **ga-rehsns**, ***us-beisns**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:285-90, Kluge 1926: 77.

A144. anaks adv ἐξαίφνης, ἐξάπινα *suddenly* L 2.13.

Based on **ana** + *-k-* as in ***aȷuk(duþs)** and ***ibuks** and comp *s*-suffix (Grienberger 1900:22 points to **mins, suns**); see also Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:507, A Sturtevant 1952 GR 27: 52-53, and G Schmidt 1962:211. Kieckers 1928: 172 takes *-s* as nom m ending, used in adv function as in Gk εὐθύς *directly*, Lat *versus (turned) against*; but A Sturtevant 1952 GR 27: 52-53 rejects this source as unknown elsewhere in Gmc. Semantic development from '(starting) up' to 'suddenly' has parallel in Lat adv *subitō suddenly*, adj *subit-us sudden*, papl of *sub-īre come up from beneath*. Older proposals in F 1939:42.

P 1959:40.

A145. ana-kumbjan wkvI ἀνακεῖσθαι, ἀνακλίνεσθαι *recline at table* J 6. 10.

Calque of Lat *accumbere*; see ***kubitus**. E Schwarz 1951:42-43 assumes word was adopted by mercenaries in Roman army during 3rd century; affirmed by Scardigli 1973:80-81. Høst 1954 NTS 17:428-38 discusses at length implications of the form and its adoption, as does Corazza 1969:24-26.

Gmc peoples most likely sat rather than reclined while eating; the calque of *accumbere* would reflect the different style of eating. For their own practice the durative may have been **sitan**, the ingressive *ga-sitan*. The prefix was remodeled, as also in ***anda-bauhts**; *at-* might have been expected. But according to Høst 22 of 28 examples of *ana-kumbjan* translate Gk cmpd vbs with ἀνα-; moreover, Gmc words meaning 'lie down, place, sit down' are found with **ana**.

A146. *ana-kunnains *fi* only dat sg *-unnai* 2C 3.14. Calque of Gk ἀνάγνωσις *reading*, like Go *ana-kunnan* of Gk ἀναγινώσκειν *read*; cf **kunnan**.

A147. *ana-laugnei *fn* (only dat sg *in -nein* ἐν κρυπτῷ J 7.4) *concealment, secret*, abstract formation with *-ein*-suffix as in ***af-gudei** from **ana-laugns* κρυπτός, ἀπόκρυφος *hidden*; also adv *ana-laugniba* ἐν κρυπτῷ *secretly* J 7.10.

See ***laugnjan** *deny*, *ga-laugnjan remain hidden*, denom of PGmc *laugna-*; **2. *liugan** *tell a lie*.

OI *laun* stf ← PGmc *laugnō concealment, secret*, OI *leynd* stf ← PGmc *laugniþō secret*, OHG *lougen* stm, *lougna* stf *denial, disavowal*.

P 1959:686-87.

A148. ana-leiko adv ὁμοίως *in the same way* Sk 7.4 / VIIa.13. Based on adj **ana-leiks* = OHG *ane-līh*; adv *ane-līche similar*; adv *-o* as in **alja-leiko**.

A149. *ana-nanþjan wkvI τολμᾶν *take courage* M 15.43; ***ga-nanþjan** wkvI παύεσθαι *stop*, only 3sg prt *gananþida* L 5.4.

OI *nenna strive, have a heart for*, OE *nēþan*, OS *nāðian*, MLG *nēden*, OHG *nendan* wkv *dare, strive*, factitive formation of simplex in OHG **(gi)-nindan* stvIII, only prt *gi-nand have courage*, MHG *(ge)-nenden dare*; OI *nenninn active, striving*, MLG *met ghenint with strength (haste)*, MHG *ge-nende(c) zealous*; OE *nōþ* stf, OHG *nant* stm *boldness*. Schubert 1968:69 by contrast takes *-nanþjan* as a denom, based on PGmc *nanþa-* or *nanþi-*, comparing names like Go *Nanduin*.

OIr *nē(i)t* (← **nanti-*[?]) *battle*; TochA *nati might, strength* Windekens 1941:71. No clear etymology; see Vendryès 1959-:N-7, Birkhan 1970:515.

P 1959:755.

A150. *ana-praggan θλίβειν *trouble, oppress*, only nom pl m papl *ana-pragganai* θλιβόμενοι 2C 7.5.

Derived from PGmc **pragga- narrowing*, as in OSw *prang narrow street*, ME *prange narrowing*, NE *prong forked instrument, tine of a fork*, MLG *prange pinching instrument*, MHG *phrange* stf *narrowing, blockade*; ME *prengen*, MLG *prangen press*, MHG *phrengen* wkv *(op)press*; LG *prengel cudgel*; without *-n-*; OHG *pfragina* f *barrier*. Non-nasal forms also in Fris (East) *prakken press*; MLG *pracker* m *miser, beggar*.

Possible cognates only in Balt, Grienberger 1900:23; Lith *brañ(k)tas part of harness for a horse* Fraenkel 1962-65:54, Latvian *brankti* adv *adjacent*; not Lith *brangà narrowing in a boat*, ibid:53. PIE etymon unlikely because of rarety of initial *b*; earlier attempts to relate Gk βρόγχος *throat* (as well as OSl *progŭ yoke*) to be rejected, Frisk 1960-72 I:269-70. Older references in F 1939:43. P Scherer 1941:29 simply relates Balt forms; Fowkes 1949:4-5 suggests cognates in Scots Gaelic *brang horse's collar* and Russ *brazdá rain*; dubious.

P 1959:103.

A151. *ana-qal m or n[?] (only acc sg *bi-arbaidjan anaqal* φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν *aspire to live quietly* Cod B 1Th 4. 11) *rest, quiet*[?]. Concerning the reading of Castiglione, see Braun in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:399 (opposed to Uppström, who read Go **ana-sal*, prt of ***ana-silan**).

If correct, verbal noun of **(ana-)qilan go to rest*, OE *cwelan die*, OHG *quelan* stvIV *suffer*; OI *kvǫl suffering*, OE *cwalu violent death*, OS *qualu* stf *torment*; OHG *chelī, quelī torment, quāla* f *suffering, misery*; Du *kwaal fatal illness*; OI *kveld* stn, OE *cwyld-tīd evening* from 'vanishing of day' (Vries 1962:337), OHG *chwilti-werk* stn *evening work*; F 1939:43-44 sees development of meaning in OI *kveld* from 'time of rest'.

PIE *g^{w}el- prick, (stinging) pain, death*; Lat *vallessit* 'perierit' *perish*, in Paulus/Festus ← **g^{w}aln-* (W/H 1938-56 II:729-30), OIr *atbaill dies*, MWel *(a)ballu perish*; Lith *gélti prick, gėlà severe pain, gãlas end, gìltinė death*; OPruss *gallan death*; OSl *žęlo prick, žalь pain* Fraenkel 1962-65:145-46, Arm *kełem torture* Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:165.

P 1959:470-71.

A152. ana-qiss fi βλασφημία *blasphemy* Col 3.8; *ga-qiss* fi τὸ σύμφωνον *agreement* 1C 7.5; *missaqiss* fi σχίσμα *division (of opinion)* J 7.43; **sama-qiss* fi συμφώνησις *agreement* 2C 6.15,16; **þiuþi-qiss* fi εὐλογία *blessing* 1C 10.16; **us-qiss* fi κατηγορία *accusation* Tit 1.6; *waila-qiss* fi εὐλογία *blessing, bounty* 2C 9.5.

Cf OE *and-cwiss* stf *answer*; Go *-qiss* ← PIE *g^{w}et-ti-, g^{w}et- speak*, as in **qiþan** + suffix PIE *-ti-*, as in ***alds**.

A Sturtevant 1936 AJP 57:277-79 takes *ana-qiss* and **ana-qiþan* as pre-Wulfilian in contrast with F Kauffmann 1920 ZDP 48:196, who sees them as partial calques of Gk ἀνάθεμα and ἀναθεματίζειν *curse*; parallels to βλασφημία and βλασφημεῖν *slander, abuse*, however, are ***waja-merei** and *waja-merjan*. According to Sturtevant *ana- towards* acquired within Go the pejorative meaning *against*; **ana-qiþan* then is parallel to OI *ā-mæla* wkv *speak against, blame*, with *ā* ← **ana-*, as also in OI *ā-fœra reproach, ā-kæra* f *a charge against, complaint, ā-minna* wkv *remind one of* to *warn against, admonish*. A similar development of meaning is found in the Lat prefixes *ad-* and *ob-*, as in *ad-monēre warn against, admonish, of-fendere strike against* to *offend*. Sturtevant's proposal gains credence from the careful use of Go *-qiss* cmpds to translate εὐλογία, as in **þiuþi-qiss* for 1C 10. 16 *blessing* but *waila-qiss* for 2C 9.5 *bounty*.

A153. ana-qiujan wkvI ἀναζωπυρεῖν *rekindle*, only inf 2T 1.6; ***ga-qiujan** ζωοποιεῖν *give life* 2C 3.6; **miþ-ga-qiujan* συζωοποιῆσαι *raise up with* E 2.5; **ga-qiunan* wkvIV 3sg prt *-unoda* ἀναζῆν *be*

(made) alive R 7.9. Caus to **qius**.

OE *ā-cwician*, OS *a-quikōn*, OHG *ar-quicchan* wkv *make alive again*; OHG *ga-quihhan* wkv *make alive*; OI *kvikna* wkv *become alive*.

A154. *ana-silan wkvIII κοπάζειν *cease, grow calm*, only 3sg prt *ana-silaida* Mk 4.39.

According to Grienberger 1900:23, to OI *sil* n *slowly flowing water* (improbable, Vries 1962:475), OFris *sil*, MLG *sīl dam, sluice*, OHG *Sil-aha* stf *the Sihl river*; OE *sioloþ* stm *sea*; ablaut variant OE *sālnes* stf *calm* Holthausen 1909 IF 25:147. Latvian *sêla weakness*.

PIE *silēy- be silent* based on *si-lo-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:361, also in Lat *silēre be silent, silentia silence*. Derived from PIE *sē(y)-, sī- send, release; quiet*, as in **saian**; see also ***sainjan**, ***seiþus**.

P 1959:889-91; W/H 1938-56 II:535-36.

A155. *ana-siuns adj*i/ja visible*, only n sg *ana-siun* or *ana-siunjo* Sk 2.23,26 / IId.9,21; *un-ana-siuniba* adv *invisibly* Sk 8.2 / VIIIa.4-5.

PGmc *siuni-* fī; OI *sjǫn view, eye, sjǫn appearance, face, view*, OE *an-sȳn, on-sīen, on-sēon face, view, figure*, OS *siun eye, sight, ability to see*.

With *-j-* in OS, OHG *gi-siuni* stf *sight, eye*. Other ablaut grades; OI *-sȳnn visible*, as in *sann-sȳnn upright*; OE *ge-sīene*, Angl *ge-sēne* (*ē* ← *ēa* ← PGmc *au*) *visible*, MLG *sūne clear*; OHG *auc-siuni* (Tatian 88.12), *ac-siuni* ; OE *ēag-sȳnes evident*.

PGmc *seuni-* ← *seg^{w}ni-* ← PIE *sek^{w}ni-*; on PGmc *-ni-* of verbal abstracts see Kluge 1926:77 and Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:195-96 (*-ni-* ∼ *-nyo-*), 286-88. Based on PIE *sek^{w}-*, as in **saihvan** and **siuns**.

A156. ana-stodeins f*i/ō* ἀρχή *beginning* J 8.25; ***aftra-ana-stodeins** *revival* Sk 1.22 / Id.6-7.

Derived with *-eins* as in ***ahmateins** from ***ana-stodjan** begin*, a *-jan*-derivative with iterative meaning from PGmc *sto-ð-*, cf **standan**, prt *stoþ*, a dental extension of PIE *stā-* (PIE *stā-t-*), also in Go ***du-stodjan begin*** L 14.30, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:315-16. For the semantic development compare NAryan *ā-stana beginning* (from *standing up, starting out*); also A Sturtevant 1953 GR 28:58-59. According to A Sturtevant 1936 AJP 57:276-77 Go *ana-* and *du-* with inceptive verbs emphasize that meaning, as also in ***ana-slawen** become silent*, ***ana-slepan** fall asleep*, ***duginnan** begin*.

OI *stæða* wkv *make stand, confirm*; cf PGmc *stōð-* also in OI *hag-stæðr fair, favorable, hug-stæðr steadfast, fixed in one's mind, stōð standard, stud of horses*, OE *stōd herd of horses*, MLG *stōt/d corral*, OHG *stuot* stf *stud*†*, herd of horses for breeding, mare*; MLG *stēde firm, constant*, OHG *stāti established, firm, steady*† Vries 1962:550,558.

Skt *sthātár- that which endures, is firm, sthắtar- guide (of horses and wagons)*, Lith *stãčias standing, statýti place*; further cognates under **standan**.

A157. *ana-trimpan stvIII ἐπικεῖσθαι *crowd*, only 3sg prt *ana-tramp* L 5. 1.

ME *trampe*, MLG *trampen tramp*†*, tread, tramplen*, MHG *trampeln trample*† (intensive), MHG *trampfen run, go away*. Without nasal infix OE *treppan* (← ***trapjan**) *tread*, MLG *trappen* wkv *stamp*. Also OE *træppe* f *trap*†; OFris, MHG *treppe* f *staircase*.

Beside PGmc *tremp-, trem-* is found in OE *trem, trym footstep, stride*. Possibly here, with movable *s-*: MLG *strampen tread vigorously*, NHG (orig LG) *strampeln* wkv, Siebs 1904 ZVS 37:309-10; Lith *strýpti trample, trip*.

No certain etymology; in a letter to Feist (F 1939:45) A Götze suggested onomatopoeic origin. May be based on PIE *der-*, which has many suffixed forms, Wood 1913 ZVS 45:62; *drem-, drew-, dreh-, dreb-, drāp*, as in Skt *drámati, drávati, drắti runs*; Gk δραμεῖν *run*, aor ἔδρᾱν *ran*, ἀπο-διδράσκω *run away*. Reduplicated formation in OI *titra*, OHG

zittarōn wkv (← PIE *di-drā-*) *tremble*. Extended form; **dru-H-* has reflexes in OI *trūδr*, OE *trūþ* m *juggler*: OIr *drūth fool*[?]. Inadequate evidence for more precise etymon. Bickell 1865 ZVS 14:433 derives PGmc *tremp-* from PIE *drem* + *b-*; Feist 1891 BGDSL 15:552 proposed infixed nasal in PIE *dreb-*, which is found in Lith *drebù tremble*.

P 1959:204-06.

A158. ana-þaima = Gk ἀνάθεμα *an accursed one* (actually, 'curse') R 9.3.

A159. *ana-þiwan wkvIII δουλαγωγεῖν *subdue*, only 1sg prs *anaþiwa* 1C 9.27; **ga-þiwan* δουλοῦν, καταδουλοῦν *enslave* (3sg prs *ga-þiwaiþ* 2C 11.20, 3pl prt *ga-þiwaidedun* 1T 6.10); derived from Go *þiwa-*, cf ***þius**.

OI *þjā*, OE *þēowian*, OHG *dewēn* wkv, *enslave, constrain*.

A160. *ana-wairþs adj*a* μέλλων *future* 1Th 3.4; *and-wairþs* adj παρών *present* 1C 5.3; *jaind-wairþs* adj ἐκεῖ *there* J 18.3; **wiþra-wairþs* adj ἐναντίος, ὁ κατέναντι *opposite, on the contrary* L 19.30.

OI *-verδr* (*-urδr*) as in *norδanverδr northwards*†, OE *ūp-weard(es)* = OHG *ūf-wert(es)* adv *upwards*†; OI *ǫnd-verδr*, OE *ond-weard opposite*, OS *and-werd* Cott, *and-ward present*; OHG *ana-wert(es)* adv *there, away*; OE *wiþer-weard*, OHG *widar-wert disagreeable*.

OIr prefix and prep *frith* (← PIE *wṛt-* without ending according to Thurneysen 1946: 514-15), OIr *friss-*, *fri-*, MWel *(g)wrth*, Corn *orth against*.

PGmc *werþaz turned somewhere* ← PIE *wert- turn*, cf **wairþan**; cf Lat *versus* (← PIE *wert-to-*), OLat *vorsus* (← PIE *wṛt-to-*) *against*.

A161. and prep ἐπί, κατά, διά *along, through, over* M 8.32. In cmpds with verbs (Seip 1923:10) also the longer form *anda-* (chiefly with nouns, but also adj) *towards, opposite, away from*. See Seebold 1968 ZVS 82: 69-88 on the alternating forms *and-*, *anda-*.

OI *and-*, OE *and-*, *ond-*, OS *and-*, *ant-*, OHG *ant-*, *int-*, *ent-*, (only in cmpds) *opposite, against, to*; with verbs, also = *from* as in Go *and-bindan*, NHG *entbinden*, OE *and against, on, oð* ← **anþ- in, up to, on*, OFris *and to, in, on*, OS *and/t* prep *up to*.

and ← PGmc *anda* ← PIE *anta*, as in Gk ἄντα *opposite*, Lith *antà*, *añt on, to, against*; PGmc *anda-* ← PGmc *andē* ← PIE *antē*, as in Gk ἄντη-ν adv *against*; also PIE *anti*, as in Skt *ánti before*, Gk ἀντί *over against*, Lat *ante* (← **anti*) *before*, Arm *ənd for*; Hitt *hanti* adv *separate, especially*. G Schmidt 1962:310-15 assumes PIE *an-* (= *ana* prep *on*) followed by *-ti*, *-ta*, *-tē*, as in Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:802-05; see also Tischler 1983- I:149-53,156, with doubts concerning Hitt *hanti*. Also Lühr 1979 MSzS 38:117-54.

P 1959:48-50.

A162. *anda-bauhts f*i* (only acc sg *anda-bauht* 1T 2.6) calque with influence from Lat *redēmptiō* (Velten 1930 JEGP 29:339) of Gk ἀντίλυτρον *ransom*; Go **faur-bauhts* f*i* ἀπολύτρωσις *redemption*; *-bauhts* based on ***bugjan** with PIE *-ti* as in ***alds**.

In form identical with Skt *bhúktiṣ*, Av *buχtiš enjoyment* though probably an independent development.

A163. anda-hafts f*i* ἀπόκριμα *answer* 2C 1.9, ἀπολογία *defence* beside *and-hafjan* ἀποκρίνεσθαι *answer* Col 4.6. ***-hafts** ← PIE *kap- grasp* in ***hafjan** + PIE *-ti-* as in ***alds**.

MHG *haft*, pl *hefte* stf *detention, chaining up*, Lat *capti-ō deceit, harm*.

A164. *anda-nem n*a* λῆψις *receiving* (opposite of **giba** *giving*, only gen sg *anda-nemis* Ph 4.15); *anda-nems* adj*i/ja* δεκτός *pleasant* L 4.24; *anda-nemeigs* adj*a* ἀντεχόμενος *holding fast*, only Tit 1.9.

Suffix *-eigs* ← PIE *-iko* (orig only with *i*-stems, beside Go *-igs-*; cf *gabeigs*, *gabigs*, under **gabei**) as in Skt *sūcí-kas stinging insect*; Lat *gene-trix*, gen *genetrīcis mother, one who brings forth*; Lith (possibly in) *dal-ỹkas portion*; OSl *zlat-ikъ gold piece*; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:495-

98; Kluge 1926:101-02.

OHG *nāmi agreeable, understandable.*

Lengthened grade PIE *nēm-*; cf **niman**, *and-niman*. Long *e* also in OI *nām* stn *seizure, learning* (OE *nām* stf is a borrowing from NGmc), OI *(net-)næmr capable of being caught in a net*; OHG *nām* m *robbing*, *nāma* stf *booty, learning*. Compare Lat *ēmi have bought*; Lith *ėmiaũ took*, prt of *iñti take*, Latvian *jemt*, Fraenkel 1962-65:184-85.

P 1959:310-11,763-64.

A165. anda-numts f*i* ἀποδοχή, ἀνάληψις, πρόσληψις *acceptance* 1T 1.15.

OHG *nunft* stf *acceptance.*

According to Bahder 1880:72, W Schulze 1966:536, and Kieckers 1928:81 *-f-* was lost between *m* and *t* in Go *-numts* (cf *fim tiguns* L 16.6). -- Helten 1909 BGDSL. 35:304 explains *-numts* (comparable to 2 du in *-ts* : Skt *-thas*) from Go **-numþs*, proposing that the *t* spread from the nom also to the oblique cases (gen Go *anda-numtais*). -- Brugmann assumes a new formation, Gdr 1897-1916 I:386. -- Langenhove 1936:93-94 hesitantly proposes *-sti* rather than *-ti-*, ie PGmc *numsti-* (cf ***ala-brunsts**), though he recognizes that such forms are always enlarged by *-n-*, as in Go acc pl *þramsteins*.

F 1939:47 asks whether influence of *-ti*-formations like ***aihts**, ***anda-bauhts**, ***fra-gifts** can be assumed; yet ***ga-qumþs** and others show regular shifting of the *t*; cf Streitberg 1916 *F* E Kuhn:267-68. In view of OHG *nunft* and manuscript of L 16.6 Bahder's explanation is preferable.

A166. *anda-sets adj*i/ja* βδελυκτός *detestable*, only nom pl m *-tjai* Tit 1.16; *anda-set* n βδέλυγμα *abomination* L 16.15.

OE *and-sæte repellent*, OHG *ant-sāz-ig frightful*; simplex in OI *sætr suitable for sitting*; OI *sāt*, OE *sæt* **ambush**, MHG *sāze* stf **seat, ambush**. Also **and-sitan take account of* G 2. 6; see **sitan**.

For vocalism cf Skt *sādás riding*, *sādi*, *sādin rider* from 'sitter', *sādáyati sets*; Lat *sēdō comfort*; OIr *sid peace* Vendryès 1959-:S-106; Lith *sėsti sits*; OPruss *sidons sitting.*

P 1959:884-87.

A167. *anda-staþjis m*ja* ἀντίδικος, ἀντικείμενος *adversary* L 18.3.

From **anda-staþs*, cf **staþs** *site opposite*, with PGmc *-ja-*; for formation of m agent nouns, see Kluge 1926:5-6.

A168. anda-þahts adj*a* σώφρων, νηφάλιος *sensible* 1T 3.2.

From PGmc *þaŋhta-*, cf **þagkjan**, and accordingly long *a*. Doubted in Gdr 1897-1916 II. 1:398; OE *ge-þeaht* stf *thought*† has *ă*. Formed with PIE papl *-to-* as in Skt *śrutás*, Gk κλυτός, Lat *in-clutus*, OIr *cloth*, OHG *Hlot-(hari)* PeN (Lothar) *famed* from *heard of* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:395-408.

A169. and-augi n*ia* πρόσωπον *face* 2C 10.1; *and-augiba* adv παρρησίᾳ *openly* J 7. 26; *and-augjo* adv φανερῶς *openly* J 7.10.

OE **and-ēages daily*, a conjecture for *an dæges* in Beowulf 1935; not widely accepted, cf Klaeber 1950:72, MHG *and-ouge present*; **augja-* also in OI *svart-eygr dark-eyed*, OE *sūr-ēaged*, OHG *sūr-ougi blear-eyed.*

See **augo**; for the *-ja*-suffix see **anda-launi**.

A170. anda-wairþi n*ia* τιμή *price* (actually, 'equivalent worth'), certain only in M 27.9; also *and-* M 27.6 CA; cf **2. *wairþs**. Also **ga-wairþi** n*ia* εἰρήνη *peace*, with *-ja-* as in **anda-launi**.

A171. anda-wleizn na[?] (only acc sg attested) πρόσωπον *face* M 26.67; accented suffix, Kluge 1926:77.

Difficult to account for beside OI *and-lit* stn, OE *and-wlita* stm, OHG *ant-lutti*, *ant-luzzi* (*-lizzi*) stn *face*, to which Go **anda-wliti* would be parallel; see **wlits**.

PIE *wel- see*, *wl-ey-d-* + *-sni-* and *-d-* elided, Vendryès 1921 BSLP 22:[art]27; cf OI *lita*, OE *wlītan* stvV *see*; also ***wlaiton** *look around*, **wulþus** *glory*. Scarcely from **wlīs-* as in ***wlizjan**, itself of uncertain origin; Grienberger 1900:24.

P 1959:1136-37.

A172. andbahts *ma* ὑπερέτης, λειτουργός *servant* J 12.26; *andbahti nia* λειτουργία, διακονία *office, service, assistance* L 1.23 (*ja*-suffix, as in **anda-launi**); *andbahtjan* wkvI διακονεῖν *perform*, ἐπαρκεῖν *serve* Mk 10.45.

OE *ambeht* stm *servant, ambeht* stn *office, ambihtian* wkv *serve*; OS *ambahteo, ambahtman servant, ambaht-skipi, ambaht-skepi* m *service*; OHG *ambaht* stm *servant*, as stn and also *ambahti* stn *office, ambahtēn* wkv *serve*, with many other derivatives. OI *ambātt* stf *maid, concubine, embætti* stn *service, office, embætta* wkv *wait on*.

Like other legal terms ***aiþs**, **arbi**, ***dulgs**, **freis**, **reiks**, borrowed from Celt (Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:289-90; 1889-94 II:335ff). Gaul *ambactus* ("apud Ennium lingua gallica servus appellatur" 'a servant is designated thus in the Gaulish language, in Ennius', Paulus/Festus): Wel *amaeth* 'servus arans' *husbandman*, cf OIr *imm-agim send about*; reformed in Gmc after *and*-compounds, Zeuss 1901 ZCP 3:353,374. Elston 1934:166-72 strongly opposes borrowing from Celtic, as also of ***eisarn**, 173-81, and **reiks**, 160-66; poorly received.

For the etymology of Gaul *ambactus* see Paulus/Festus; "servus *ambactus*, id est *circumactus*" 'an "ambactus" servant, that is, one sent about'; formed from *ambi-* (as in Gaul EN *Ambi-barii*). OIr *imb-*, *imm-*, Gk ἀμφί *about*, and Lat *amb(i)-* + *actus* based on PIE *ag- drive*, (**akrs**) like OI *þræll*, OHG *drigill* stm *servant* beside Go ***þragjan** *run* -- (though see Vries 1962:625) and Gk ἀμφί-πολος *servant* beside πέλομαι *come, go* Brugmann 1906 IF 19: 390. Dillon 1943 JEGP 42:494-95 points out that *-c-* was probably a fricative already in Gaulish. E Schwarz 1951:19 assumes that the word was adopted independently into Go and the other Gmc languages. Krahe 1954:137,142-43 treats internal Gmc evidence supporting borrowed Go *andbahts* (native Gmc should have been **umb-aht-*; Gaulish word not properly analyzed, since *-b-* of its prefix was maintained when Go prefix was introduced, Go *and-bahts*. In spite of Dillon, Krahe cites supposed shift of *k* to *h* as evidence on internal chronology of Gmc consonant shift in contrast with Celt *b* = Gmc *b* -- Krahe here erroneous); Scardigli 1973:50-51 proposes that *ambactus* indicated a *highly ranked servant, not a slave*; see also Høst 1954 NTS 17:438-40. Oddly omitted from his discussion by Evans 1981.

On continuation of the word in the Romance languages see Baist 1907 ZDW 9:32-33, Meyer-Lübke 1935:408a, eg Fr *ambassade*, then NE *ambassador, embassy*; Meyer-Lübke considers derivation of Romance forms more likely from Gmc than from Lat.

A173. *and-bundnan wkvIV, only 3sg prt *and-bundnoda* λυθῆναι *be unbound, released* Mk 7.35.

Inchoative (cf ***af-blindnan**) with zero-grade stem beside ***bindan**; similarly **ga-taurnan wear away, disappear* beside **gatairan** *destroy*. Skt *badhnắti binds* is parallel in formation but not in meaning.

A174. andeis *mia/i* τέλος *end* L 1.33; **andi-laus* adja calque of ἀπέραντος *endless* 1T 1.4B.

OI *endir, endi*, OE *ende*, OFris *enda*, OS *endi*, OHG *anti, enti* stm stn *end*†; OI *endalauss*, OE *ende-lēas*, OS *endi-lōs*, MHG *ende-lōs endless*† (**laus**).

PGmc *andja-* with *-ja-* (cf Skt *ántyas be at the end*; Lat *antiae* Paulus/Festus *hair hanging to forehead*: OI *enni*, OHG *endi* stn *forehead*; Lith *añtis bosom*) of PIE *ant-o-* in Skt *ántas end, boundary*, superl *antamás the last one*. Related to Skt *ánti before, near*, Gk ἀντί *opposite*, Lat *ante before*, Arm *and there*, Hitt *hanti in front*, esp, Lyc *χñta- first, leader*, TochA *antus then* Tischler 1983- I:149-53,157.

P 1959:48-50.

A175. *and-hruskan ἀνακρίνειν *question*, only nom pl m prpl *-kandans* ἀνακρίνοντες 1C 10.25.

OHG *hursgen* wkv *hasten, spur on.*

OI *horskr*, OE *horsc intelligent*, OS, OHG *horsc sharp (in understanding), quick* T Johannisson 1949 SNF 39:13-15.

Further relationship uncertain. Possibly from PGmc *hort-ska-*; OIr *cerd* f *art, handwork; artist, poet*; Wel *cerdd* f *art, poetry*; also Gk κέρδος *gain, advantage* P 1959:579. Grienberger 1900:25-26 following E Zupitza 1896:125 relates Go *-hruskan* to Lat *scrūtāri investigate*; similarly Torp and Falk, eds 1909: 475-76 to OHG *scrodōn, scrutōn* wkv *investigate, scrod* stn *investigation*; *-hrūsk-* ← **hruþsk*, without moveable *s-* from PIE *(s)kercut.* Other proposals in F 1939:49 and Vries 1962:249-50.

P 1959:947.

A176. andiz-uh (+ *aiþþau*) conj, only L 16.13 ἤ (+ ἤ) *either* (+ *or*).

andiz- is a comp of **and**; suffix *-iz* as in ***batiza**; cf **-uh**.

OI *endr, enn* adv *again, earlier*; OE *end rather, earlier*, OS *endi*, OHG *enti* adv *earlier.*

G Schmidt 1962:316-20 posits PGmc *andiz before, earlier*, comparing Lat *antīquus preceding, old* and *antīcus before*; W/H 1938-56 I:53-54.

A177. and-stald na ἐπιχορηγία *additional supply, aid* Ph 1.19; **and-staldan* stvVII (only 3sg prs *-diþ* G 3.5; 3pl prs *-dand* 1T 1.4) ἐπιχορηγεῖν *to supply*; *ga-staldan* (3sg prt *ga-staistald* Neh 5.16) κτᾶσθαι *acquire*; *aglait-gastalds* adja αἰσχρο-κερδής *shamefully greedy* Tit 1.7.

OE *stealdan* stvVII *possess, ge-steald* stn *dwelling.*

Run PeN *Hagu-staldiz* (Valsfjord), *Hagusta(l)daz* (Kjølevig); also attested in the OHG period as a PeN *Hagu-stolt*, Förstemann 1900: 717; OI *hauk-staldr* stm *chieftain*, Sw, Nor dial *hog-stall* m *bachelor* (remodeled by folk etymology? expected form **hǫg-staldr*; Falk 1889 *F* Bugge:16-17), OE *hagu-steald, hægsteald*, OS *hagu-stald, haga-stold*, OHG *hagustalt*, NHG *Hagestolz* (orig 'possessor of a fenced farmstead') to *bachelor, youth, servant*; MLat (Lombard laws) *gastaldius, gastaldio, kastaldis steward (of the royal estates), governor (of a district).*

PGmc *stald-* with PIE suffix *-dh-* (W/P 1927-32 II:643-46, WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18: 129) indicating a change brought about by previous action; *-n*-extension in OE *stellan*, OS *stellian*, OHG *stellan place* (cf Go **stols**), unless these are from form reflected in OI *stallr scaffold, crib*, OE *steall*, OFris, OHG *stal* stm *barn*, NE *stall* (basic form **staƀ-la-* from PIE *stā-* Sievers 1894 IF 4:337-38; cf OI *stäl* stn *granary*, *stǫðull* stm *stall*, OE *stāll* stn *place*, *staþol* stm *site*, OS, OHG *stadal* stm *site, shed*; basic form **stol-no-* is possible according to Torp and Falk, eds 1909:488).

Lith *stalĩdas*, Latvian *stalĩs*, OPruss *staldis stall* are borrowed from Gmc, Fraenkel 1962-65:894. Clear relationship with PIE *stā-stand* as in **standan**; Lat *sta-bulum stable, stall*: Skt *sthātrám location, abode.*

P 1959:1004-10.

A178. *and-staurran wkvIII (only 3pl prt *-raidedun* ἐνεβριμῶντο *they reproached [her]* Mk 14.5) *confront frowningly, stare at.* According to Wissmann 1932:146 fn3, *-rr-* ← *-rn-*; cf OHG *stornēn* wkv *be rigid.*

OHG *storrēn* wkv *stand out, storro* wkm *tree-stump*, have *-r*-extensions; OHG *stornēn* wkv *be rigid, sturnī, stornunga* f *stupor* have *-n*-extension to PIE *ster-*, as in OHG *star rigid, starēn* wkv *stiffen*; MLG *star* m *rigidity of the eye*; OE *stær(e)-blind*, OHG *stara-blint blind from cataract*; OI *stara* wkv *stare*†, OE *starian* wkv (: OHG *starēn*); OI *stōrr*, OE *stōr large* (Torp and Falk, eds 1909:485-86; also Skt *sthirás* below).

PIE *ster- rigid*: Gk στερεός (Att στερρός), Gk στέριφος *firm, hard*, στεῖρα *cutwater*; also Skt *sthirás hard, solid*; Lith *stóras thick, stérti be stiff, stand erect*; OSl *starъ old* (actually 'stiff'); further MIr *seirt* (← **sterti-*) *strength*, Wel *serth* (basic form *sterto-*) *steep, unchaste*; Lat *sternāx (equus) restive (horse), consternāre*

disconcert (with *n*-suffix like OE *stierne earnest*, OHG *stornēn be rigid*). See also W/H 1938-56 I:265-66; Fraenkel 1962-65:902-03,913.

With *-dh-* (Reichelt 1906 ZVS 39:23) Hsch στόρθη· τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ δόρατος *lance-tip*, OI *storð* f *young wood*; + *-n-* OSl *strъnъ stalk*. See also ***þaurnus*** with non-initial *s-*. Similar but unrelated is the group treated under **stairo**.

P 1959:1022-27.

A179. and-waih According to Castiglione, gloss for *fijaida* ἐμίσησα *he hated* R 9.13 in Cod A (only *and-* is clear according to Braun in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:231; *waih* or *weih* [?]). According to Streitberg 1920:144 *andwaih* is correct because of the intonation; according to Friesen 1927:14 now quite illegible.

Also, *and-waihando* or *and-weihando* prpl n ἀντιστρατευόμενον *warring against* R 7.23. The reading *and-weihando* (according to Uppström), is confirmed by Friesen 1927:13, B/E 1981:113. Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:227 interprets the reading *and-waihando* of Braun as *and-waihando* and relates this to OHG *uberwehan overcome* (cf OI *vega strike* : OIr *fichim battle*; cf **1. weihan**). Yet Braune 1908 LGRP 29:328 and A Sturtevant 1921 JEGP 20: 22ff maintain the reading *and-weihando* (OI *vega* stv may be a new formation after papl *veginn*; improbable, according to Vries 1962: 650). Following Friesen, Go *-weihando* is expected prpl of *-weihan battle*; *and-waih laid waste* would then be an accurate gloss to Malachi 1.3, quoted here.

P 1959:1128-29.

A180. and-wairþi *nia* ἐνώπιον, ἐναντίον *present* L 20.26, πρόσωπον *face, person* L 5.12; in the meaning τιμή *price* = **andawairþi** M 27.6; *and-wairþs* adj παρών, ἐνεστώς *present* 1C 5.3; *and-wairþis* adv gen (only M 27.61) ἀπέναντι *opposite*; *and-wairþo* adv (only 2C 4.17) παραντίκα *at once*. See **wairþan**.

OE *and-weard*, OS *and-ward*, OHG *ant-wart* adj *present*; OHG *ant-wartida* stf *present*.

A181. *anno fn [?] ὀψώνιον *wages*, only dat pl, *swesaim annom* ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις 1C 9.7.

Military borrowing from Lat *annōna wages, provisions* according to Kluge 1894 *F* Hildebrand:355-56; Bréal 1892 MSLP 7:137; Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:307 fn1 (haplological reduction; in agreement Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:251); W Schulze 1966:511 fn2; M Jellinek 1926:182; Corazza 1969:50-52. The reduction poses phonological problems; but the word was scarcely borrowed from Lat *annum* (VLat *anno*) of Lat *annus year, yearly yield*, as according to Grienberger 1900:27. E Schwarz 1951:40, assuming it was borrowed in the 1st-3rd century AD (cf ***aket**, ***aurali**), proposes remodeling after **tuggo**; since only the dat pl *annom* is attested, the nom may be ***anna***.

A182. *ans *ma* [?] κάρφος *beam*, only dat sg *anza* L 6.41,42.

OI *āss* stm *beam*, MHG *ans-boum* stm *beam of a bridge*.

Etymology unclear. Grienberger 1900:27 related Lat *ānsa*, Lith *ąsà handle*, OPruss *ansis hook*; not accepted by W/H 1938-56 I:51, Fraenkel 1962-65:18. O Hoffmann 1899 BKIS 25:108 suggested Skt *ánas freight wagon*, Lat *onus burden*; rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:210. Other references in F 1939:52. Scarcely related to **anses**, as by Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:268, 1907 IF 21:302-03.

A183. anses, *ansis* (acc pl) in Jordanes 76,13: "proceres suos ... non puros homines, sed semideos, id est ansis, vocaverunt" 'they called their ancestors ... not simple men but half-gods, ie ansis'. On this passage see Müllenhoff 1890-1920 I:146; Krappe 1932 BGDSL 56:1ff.

Besides the apparent Go *i*-stem (but see the rune-name **aza**) the other Gmc dialects generally have a *u*-stem; Run *a(n)su-gisalas* (Kragehul) gen *god's hostage* Krause 1966 I:64-68, possibly also others, Krause 1966 I:178-80, 302-03; Antonsen 1975:35-36,46; OI (*āss*), *ǫss* stm, gen *āsar*; OE *ōs* stm *god*; OS *ōs* (Abcd Nordm) is, like OI *ǫss*, only the name of the

o-rune; *i*-stem in OI pl *ēse* (analogical formation[?]) and OE gen pl *ēsa*. On a proposed reflex of this *i*-stem in PNGmc (Tune) see Marstrander 1930 NTS 4:321.

Many earlier statements, including Grimm 1854:22, relate *anses* to ***ans**, with support sought in early texts, such as reports on worshipping columns (OHG *irminsul*); see also Ibn Fadlan's description (922 AD) of the gods of Varangians in Russia as beams set in the earth having human faces (Thomsen 1879:31). These are rejected by Güntert 1923:102, and by Polomé 1953 EG 8:36-44 in favor of relationship with Skt *ásuras* *lord*, Av *ahurō* *lord*, *Ahurō Mazdå*, OPers *Aura Mazdā Ahura Mazda*. Probably related to Skt *ásuḥ* *vital strength* ← *ṇsu-* (: *ániti* *breathless*; ***uz-anan**). This relationship proposed much earlier by Bradke 1886 ZDMG 40:347, as well as the Gmc association with **anan*; cf Grienberger 1892 ZDA 36:313 and Uhlenbeck 1909 BGDSL 35:172; Skt *ásuras*, originally refers to *deity characterized by heightened life-force or orenda* Güntert 1923:101ff; Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:65-66. Polomé ascribes Gmc designation to control of *anses*, whose chief is Odin, over magical powers. See also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 750.

Further relationships doubtful, such as the association with Hitt *hassu-* *king* by Polomé 1952 Lg 28:453, 1957 *F* Kretschmer II:88-89; see now Tischler 1983- I:207-09. Older references in F 1939:52-53.

A184. ansts *fi* χάρις *joy, thanks, grace, favor* L 2.40; Green 1965:239-51; *ansteigs* adj*a* (only E 1.6) *gracious* (*-eigs* as in *anda-nemeigs*).

OI *āst* *love*, OE *ēst*, OFris *enst*, OS, OHG *anst* stf ← PGmc *ansti-*, zero grade OHG *-unst* stf *favor* (see below), with *-(s)ti* as in ***ala-brunsts**; based on PGmc *ann-*, restructured after *unn-* ← PIE *ṇs-nu-*: OI *ann*, *unna* inf, *unna* (← **unþa*) prt *love*, OE *an*, *on*, *unnan* inf, prt *ūþe*, OS *gi-onsta* prt, OHG *an*, *unnan* inf, *onsta*, *onda* prt *permit*. Also from *unn-*, OE *unna* m *will, agreement* (Sievers 1903 *F* Kern:127-28), MHG *gunt* stm *favor*: OI *of-und* f (*-ti-*), OE *æf-est*, OS *av-unst*, OHG *ab-unst* stf (*-sti-*) *envy*.

According to Brugmann 1914 BGDSL 39: 89, also Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:322, OHG *unnum* (← *unz-num*) is related to Gk προσ-ηνής *well-disposed* (from 'face turned towards'). This is derived from *ἦνος, *ἄνος = Skt **ānas** face* by Chantraine 1968-80:937, Skt *ānanam* *mouth*, Skt *ániti* *breathe*; cf ***uz-anan**, **anses**. Puhvel 1984-:204-06 on the other hand derives Hitt *ass-*, *assiya-* *be favored, be dear, be good* from PIE *ans-* *be well-disposed*, comparing also *ansts*, as in P 1959:47; see also 38-39; earlier proposals in F 1939:53.

A185. anþar adj*a* (*-a-* from PIE *e* before *r* when unaccented, as in **aftaro**, Streitberg 1920:67, A Sturtevant 1951 MLN 66:300-02) ἄλλος, ἕτερος, δεύτερος *other, second* M 11. 16. On loss of nom *s*, see **stiur**.

OI *annarr*, OE *ōþer*, OFris *ōther*, OS *ōðar*, OHG *andar* *other*†.

Lith *añtras*, Latvian *ùotrs*, OPruss *anters*, *antars* *other, second*. Formed with PIE *-ter-o-* (used also for the comp; see **aftaro**) from PIE *ono-*, *eno-* (in Skt *aná-* *this, that*, Arm art *-n*, Gk ἔνη *day after tomorrow*, Lat *enim* *for*); other developments, Skt *ántaras*, Av *antara-* *inner, nearer*, Lat *interior* *inner*; Skt *antár*, Av *antarə*, OPers *antar*, Lat *inter*, OIr *etar*, *eter* *between*; further, with different suffix, Skt *anyás*, Av *anyō*, OPers *aniya* *other*. (Cf Lat *alter* *second* to *alius* *other*). Doubtful whether OSl *vstorъ* *other* (*vъ* ← **ṇ*[?], Meillet 1895 IF 5:329) is related, because it may be based on the *u*-dual element (as in Skt *u-bhaú* *both*; Brugmann 1909 IF 24:169).

On the relation of PIE *anter-o-* to *an-yo-* and *al-yo* as well as **altero-* see Bartoli 1942 AGI 34:66-75. -- Gk ἕτερος (Aeol, Dor ἄτερος, Myc *a-te-ro*) *the other*, as 'one of two' ← **sṃ-tero-* is not related, but rather from PIE *sem-* as in **simle** *one*; it illustrates the force of *-tero-* = *of two*; Chantraine 1968-80:381.

P 1959:37-38 inadequate.

A186. *anþar-leikei *fn diversity*, only Sk 5.15 / Vc.5, 6.14 / VIb.23-4; *-ei*, as in ***af-gudei**, from **anþar-leiks* = OS *ōðar-līk* adj *constituted otherwise*; Go adv *anþar-leiko* (only 1T 1.3) *otherwise* : OE *ōþer-līce otherwise*; **alja-leiko, anþar, leik.**

A187. apaustaulei *fn apostolate, mission* G 2.8, borrowed from Gk ἀποστολή, W Schulze 1966:510-11.

A188. apaustaulus (*apaustulus*) *mu/i apostle* J 13.16, from Lat *apostulus* (= Gk ἀπόστολος); illustrates older Lat influence on Go, W Schulze 1966:513.

A189. apel CrimGo 'pomum' *apple*.

OI *epli* stn, OE *æppel*, Du *appel*, OHG *apful, afful* stm *apple*†; OI *apaldr*, OE *apuldr, æppuldre* stm, OHG *apholtra*, MHG *apfalter* f *apple tree*.

OIr *aball*, MWel *afall*; Lith *óbuolas*, OSl *jablъko apple*; like Gmc words, based on an indigenous word for the Lat *agrestia poma wild apple* mentioned by Tacitus, Germania 23. Name for tree extended with *-ðrō* in Gmc, found with other tree names, Kluge 1926:50-51; different extension in Celt ← pre-Celt *ǝbǝl-n(ā)*, Hamp 1979 ZCP 37:164; this also the source of Lith *obelìs* ← **ābal-ni-*, OSl *jablanъ*. Hamp 1979 ZCP 37:165-66 posits earlier non-IE **ǝ/ablu*, preferring **ǝblu*. See also P Friedrich 1970:57-64, and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 637-41, who compare Hitt *sam(a)ḫuyanza apple, apple-tree-* and posit PIE *sam(a)ḫú-apple*.

Much of the older discussion, F 1939:54, 579 then superseded, such as possible origin in Italy: Lat GN *Abella*, Gaul *Aballo, Aballava*, Vergil's *mālifera Abella*, Aeneid 7.740. P 1959: 1-2 also requires updating.

A190. aqizi *fīō* ἀξίνη *ax*, only L 3.9.

OI *øx, ax*, OE *æx, æsc, æces*, OS *acus*, OHG *acchus, akis* stf *ax*†.

Etymology disputed. PGmc *akwizjō, akusjō* (E Zupitza 1896:89); formation like **berusjos** (Noreen 1894 IF 4:325-26, W/H 1938-56 I:71-72; Go *-q-* then from *-g-w(es)-*, not *-g^{w}-*).

Janzén 1938:20 assumes PIE *ag-*, a variant of *aĝ-* and *aḱ- sharp*; Gk ἀξίνη ax (according to Schwyzer 1939-50 I:465 fn4, a du in *-ī*, from 'double-headed ax'); Lat *ascia* ← **acsiā ax of carpenters and masons* Kretschmer 1896:164 fn3; cf **ahana, ahs.** See also Tischler 1983- I: 235-37 on Hitt *ḫekur rock, tip of rock*, and Puhvel 1984-:227-28 on Hitt *ates(sa)- adze, ax, hatchet*, who notes that words for ax are "notoriously international 'culture words'". Older proposals in F 1939:54,579.

P 1959:9,18-22.

A191. *ara *mn* ἀετός *eagle*, only nom pl *arans* L 17.37.

OI *ari, ǫrn* (← **arnuz*), OE *earn*, OHG *aro, arn*, MHG *adel-ar* stm *eagle*, cf NE *ern(e)*.

Lith *erēlis, arēlis*, Latvian *ẽrglis*, OPruss *arelie*, OSl *orъlъ eagle*; these according to Thurneysen 1918 ZVS 48:61 dissimilated from **orer-, *erer-*; cf OIr *irar*, Wel *eryr*, MBret *erer*, Corn *er* (haplology ← **erer*); Hitt *ḫara(n)-, ḫaras* = Pal *ḫarāš eagle* Kammenhuber 1961 ZVS 77:63, Tischler 1983- I:170-71. Generalized in meaning; Gk ὄρνις, gen ὄρνῑθος, ὄρνεον *bird*; differently specialized, Arm *orur, urur gull, kite* Pedersen 1909-13 I:491.

Formerly proposed relationship of Run *erilaz priestly functionary* (Kragehul), OI *jarl* OE *eorl*, OS, OHG *-erl* stm *nobleman, chieftain* to be rejected.

P 1959:325-26.

A192. arbaiþs *fi* κόπος *work, distress* 1C 15.58; **arbaidjan* wkvI κοπιᾶν *work*; *biarbaidjan* (only inf 1Th 4.11) φιλοτιμεῖσθαι *strive*; **miþ-arbaidjan* (3pl prt *-didedun* συναθλεῖν *work along* Ph 4.3, 2sg opt prs *-dei* συγκακοπαθεῖν *suffer with* 2T 1.8); **þairh-arbaidjan*, only m pl prpl *-djandans alla naht* δι' ὅλης νυκτός κοπιάσαντες *working through the entire night* L 5.5.

OI *erfiði*, OE *earfoþ, erfeþe* stn, OFris *arbed*, OS *arbēð* stf, *arbēði* stn, OHG *ar(a)beit, ar(a)beitī*, MHG *arebeit, erbeit* stf *work*,

hardship, need, suffering; OI ***erfiδa work***, OE ***earfoþian burden***, OHG ***arapaitōn*** wkv ***work***; OI ***erfiðr***, OE ***earfoþ difficult***.

Assumed to be derived from ****arbe-jo am required to do hard work***, as indicated in Tacitus, Germania 15: "delegata domus et ponatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia" 'care of the house and hearth and fields is delegated to women, the old and the weakest of the family'. Gmc ****arbējiδiz hardship*** is based on this, Brugmann 1904a:259,349; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:291, 436-37; Uhlenbeck 1892 BGDSL 16:562, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:19.

Arm ***arbaneak servant, helper*** Hübschmann 1897:423, Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:308, OSl ***robъ***, ***rabъ***, Cz ***rob***, SerbCr ***rȍb*** ← ****arbos*** or ****orbhos servant***; OSl ***rabota servant's work***; Pol ***robić to work***. (Cz ***robota compulsory service, work*** is the source of one of the most widespread of contemporary cross-cultural terms ***robot***). See **arbi**. Many older proposals in F 1939:55.

P 1959:781-82.

A193. arbi *nia* κληρονομία ***inheritance*** L 20.14 (for ***-i*** see **anda-launi**); ***arbja*** *mn* L 10. 25, ***arbi-numja*** *mn* κληρονόμος ***heir*** L 20.14; ***arbjo*** *fn* (only 1C 15.50) ***heiress***; ****ga-arbja*** *mn* (only nom pl ***-bjans*** E 3.6) συγκληρονόμος ***co-heir***.

Run ***arbija*** (Tune, Krause 1966 I:162-67), OI ***arfr*** stm ***inheritance***, ***erfi*** stn ***drink at funeral feast*** (Cahen 1921:148), OSw ***orf portion of household furnishings***, OE ***ierfe***, OS ***erbi***, OHG ***arbi***, ***erbi*** stn ***inheritance***; Run (Tune) ***arbijano*** gen pl, OI ***arfi***, OHG ***arpeo***, ***erbo*** wkm; OE ***yrfenuma***, OHG ***erbinomo*** wkm ***heir***.

OIr ***orb*** m ***heir***, ***orbe***, ***orpe*** n ***inheritance***, ***com-arbe*** m ***heir, successor***, Gaul PeN ***Orbius*** (= Go ***arbja***), Gaul ***Orbi-genus*** and other cmpds (Holder 1896-1907 II:864-65, Vendryès 1959-:O-27-28).

PIE ***orbhyom inheritance***, PIE ***orbho-bereft***, as in Skt ***árbhas weak***, Hsch ὀρφο- (in ὀρφο-βόται· ἐπίτροποι ὀρφανῶν ***care of orphans***), ὀρφανός ***orphaned***; Lat ***orbus bereft***, Arm ***orb***, gen ***orboy orphan*** Hübschmann 1897:482. Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:52 also relates OSl ***rabъ servant***, Cz ***robě small child***. Possibly also Hitt ***harp- separate*** Polomé 1954 Ogam 6:159-60, 1972:66, 1983 JIES 11:281-98, Tischler 1983- I: 179-80, but not Hitt ***arpa- misfortune*** Puhvel 1984-:168-70.

There has been much discussion about the meaning in Celt and Gmc, in contrast with that of other dialects. Benveniste 1973:68-69 accounts for the difference through IE social patterns. "In Indo-European, the son was not designated the 'heir'. Heirs were only those who inherited ***in default*** of a son". Support given by Tacitus, Germania 20: "Heredos ... successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentam. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi". 'Heirs and successors are only their own children, and there is no will. If there are no children, the next rank for possession are the brothers, paternal uncles, maternal uncles'. Compare also the Tune inscription, where daughters are called the 'most legitimate-to-inherit of heirs', Antonsen 1975:45. Benveniste points to the parallel in another family of words; Lat adj ***hērēd- heir*** = Gk χηρωστής ***collateral heir***, but χήρος ***deprived of a parent***, χήρα ***widow***. The semantic problem should then be solved; but it is not clear whether the Gmc words were taken from Celt, like other legal terms; Vendryès 1959-:O-27 points to a common institution; cf ****aiþs***. See also Grønvik 1982:20-21, who limits the Celtic influence to Go and WGmc, in contrast with NGmc, in which the cultic implications are maintained.

Benveniste's explanation supersedes older comment, as in F 1939:56, Porzig 1954:121-22 and Scardigli 1973:53. It also solves the problem of ***-numja he who receives***; cf **niman**. See also Carr 1939:43-44,380-81, who compares OE ***yrfenuma***, OFris ***erfnoma***, MLG ***ervename***, OHG ***erbinomo heir***, rejecting the

suggestion of Velten 1930 JEGP 29:342, that it is a calque of κληρονόμος, calling it the legal term in contrast with the less specific *arbja heir*.

A194. *arhvazna fō βέλος *arrow*, only acc pl *-nos* E 6.16.

Without extension, OI *ṛṣ*, gen *ṛṣvar*, OE *earh* stf *arrow*† ← PGmc *arhwō*. Clear cognate only in Lat *arcus bow* (stem *arquo-*; OLat gen *arquī*), *arqui-tonens archer*.

Possibly PIE *arku- bent*: Russ *rakíta*, Cz *rokyta* ← **orkyta kind of willow* may be related, Vasmer 1953-58 II:488. Also Gk ἄρκευθος *juniper* Lidén 1905-06 IF 18:507; but Frisk 1960-72 I:141 admits possible borrowing; Endzelin 1911 ZVS 44:59ff adds Latvian *ērcis juniper*, see Fraenkel 1962-65:122-23.

***arhvazna** an *es*-stem as in *filu-sna*, *hlaiwasnos*, + *-na* as in *fullo* = Av *pərəna*; Av *kaenā punishment*, Gk ποινή, Lith *káina*, OSl *cěná price*. Comparable formations in Skt *vadhasnám murderous weapon*; Gk σελήνη, Aeol σελάννα *moon* (from σέλας *light, shine* + *-nā*); Lat *venēnum magical potion* (from **venes-nom love potion*); Gdr 1897-1916 II.1: 260ff, esp 282; Kluge 1926:46; Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:21.

P 1959:67-68.

A195. *arjan irreg stvVII ἀροτρᾶν *plow*, only acc sg m prpl *arjandan* L 17.7.

OI *erja*, OS *erian* wkv; OHG *erran* stv *plow*; OI *arðr* stm, OS *erida* f *ard*†, *plow*; OE *ierþ*, *earþ* stf, OHG *art* stm and f *plowing, preparation of land*.

PIE *ar(ə)-*: Gk ἀρόω, Lat *arō*, MIr *airim*, Lith *árti*, OSl *orati plow*. Noun without suffix only in TochAB *āre plow*; elsewhere with *-tro-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:339-45. Gk ἄροτρον, Lat *arātrum*, MIr *arathar*, Arm *araur*; Lith *árklas* ← **artlas*, OSl *ralo*, Pol *radło* ← **ar-t-lo-m*, A Brückner 1914 ZVS 46:208, *plow*; Lith *artójas*, OPruss *ar-toys*, OSl *ra-taj* (← **arə-tāyo*, Specht 1930 ZVS 57:278) *plowman*.

For noun, Go ***hoha** ἄροτρον *ard, plow*; in other dialects, PGmc *plōgaz*: OI *plōgr*, OE *plōg*, OFris, MLG *plōch*, OHG *phluog* stm *plow*†; of disputed origin, possibly = Lat *plaurōmātum wheeled plow*, also *plaumorātum Rhaetian plow*[?], Meringer 1904 IF 16:109; but Trier 1945 BGDSL 67:131-36 derives it from PGmc *pleg-* as in OHG *pflegan care for*.

P 1959:62-63; no reflexes of root in Indo-Iran. See Piggott 1965:150,250 on early agriculture.

A196. arka fō κιβωτός, γλωσσόκομον *ark, money-box* J 12.6; from Lat *arca box*.

OI *ṛṛk*, OE *earc(e) box*, MLG *arke boxlike channel (in mills)*, OHG *arahha*, *archa* stf *chest, box*.

Because the word maintains the Lat ending, E Schwarz 1951:36-37 assumes late borrowing -- by Visigoths between 332-350 AD, when they had contact with the Romans on the lower Danube; Corazza 1969:46-48 assumes earlier borrowing.

A197. *arkaggilus mu ἀρχάγγελος *archangel*, only gen *arkaggilaus* 1Th 4.16.

Du *aartsengel*, MHG *erzengel* stm *archangel*; from Lat *archangelus*.

A198. *arma-hairts adja εὔσπλαγχνος *merciful*, only nom pl *-tai* E 4.32; cmpd of *arma-* (cf **1. *arms**) and **hairto**; *arma-hairtei* fn ἔλεος *mercy* L 1.50, *-ei* as in ***af-gudei**; *armahairtiþa* fō ἐλεημοσύνη *alms* M 6.4, ἔλεος *mercy* M 9.3, *-iþa* as in **aggwiþa**.

OE *earm-heart*, OHG *arm(e)-herz(i) merciful*: OHG *arm-herzī*, *armi-herzida* stf *mercy*.

Go and WGmc calques of Lat *miseri-cors*, *miseri-cordia*; Raumer 1845:345; Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:148-49,159. Carr 1939:3-4 suggests, however, that OHG *armeherz* was borrowed from Go since it does not appear in EaF or LG and because of *-e-*, also *-a-* after *arm-*. Osthoff 1894 BGDSL 18:252-53 proposed that PGmc *armoz* by itself had acquired the meaning *merciful* in Gmc, and that Go *-hairts* was added on the Lat pattern. More credibly, Üçok 1938:46 returns to the view that **arma-hairts*, and esp *armahairtiþa* and *armaio alms*, are

calques on Gk and Lat models, on the grounds that Gmc peoples lacked the kind of gifts and giving involved; the native term for *compassion*, **bleiþeins*, stands in contrast to the calques.

The function of *-ei* : *-iþa* was examined by A Sturtevant 1936 AJP 57:271-73 on the basis of more than thirty examples; concrete rather than abstract reference is often found, as in *armahairtiþa* M 6.4 as opposed to M 9.3. Pursuing this view, Benveniste 1961 BSLP 56:[art]40-43 ascribed to *-iþa the concrete realization of a state*, to *-ei the concept of a state*. Seebold 1968 BGDSL-T 90:1-15 found that *-ei* is added to adj f stems in *-ein*, *-iþa* to f stems in *-o*, *-i* to n stems in *-ja*.

A199. armaio fn calque of Gk ἔλεος *mercy, alms* G 6.16; substantive formation to ***arman**.

A200. *arman wkvIII ἐλεεῖν, 3sg prs *armaiþ* R 9.18, **ga-arman*, 3sg prt *ga-armaida* Mk 5.19 *have pity*.

OE *earmian*, OHG *(ir-)b-armēn* (for **bi-armēn*; cf OE *of-earmian*) wkv *take pity*. Go-WGmc formation from **1. *arms** on the pattern of Lat *miserēri*, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35: 159.

A201. 1. *arms adja ἐλεεινός *pitiable, poor*, only nom pl m superl *armostai* ἐλεεινότεροι 1C 15.19; compare *armostai sium allaize manne* 'we are the most pitiable of all men' with OI Egils saga 71 *allra manna armastr*.

OI *armr poor* (often term of abuse for criminals) Vries 1962:14, OE *earm*, OFris *erm*, OS, OHG *arm poor*.

No secure etymology. K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:223-24, with approval by Grienberger 1900:29, compares **arms* with Gk ὀρφανός ← **orbhn̥nó-*; (cf **arbi**), assuming a base **orbhno-* → Gmc **arbna-*, **arbma-*, **armma-*. Noreen 1923:169 adds OI *aumr* (besides *armr*) *miserable*; rejected by Osthoff 1894 BGDSL 18:251ff, and Vries 1962:19, who suggest other etymologies for *aumr*. Meillet 1898 MSLP 10:280 compares Arm *oł-orm pity*, *oł-ormim* (← **or-orm-im*) *I take pity*; also Meillet 1936 BSLP 37:[rev]110, though not P 1959:306. Positing PIE *ormo-* Puhvel 1984-:157-60 relates Hitt *arma(n)- sickness (wretchedness)*, suggesting modification of meaning in Gmc and Arm through Christian influence. Humbach 1985 *F* Knobloch:189-93, comparing Skt *árma- isolated place*, Av *arma- place apart*, posits PIE *arma- isolated place* equating PGmc *arma- poor* from *isolated, deserted*. Scarcely Mezger 1960 ZVS 76:178-80, to Skt *araṇa stranger* (actually ← **ol(e)no-s*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:46) and Hitt *arahza outside* (cf Tischler 1983- I:52).

A202. 2. arms mi βραχίων, ἀγκάλη *arm* J 12.38.

OI *armr*, OE *earm*, OFris *erm*, OS *arm*, OHG *ar(a)m* stm *arm*†.

Skt *īrmás*, Av *arəmo- arm*; Oss *ärm hollow of the hand*; Lat *armus top part of upper arm, shoulder-blade*; OSl *ramo*, *ramę*, Serb *rämo*, *räme* ← *arəm- shoulder*; OPruss *irmo arm*; Arm *armukn elbow* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:314-15; Lith *ìrm-ėdė*, *-ėdis feverish state, dropsy* (*-ėdė* based on *ėsti eat, consume*).

Basic meaning probably *joint, member*; cf Arm *y-armar fitting* Bugge 1893 ZVS 32:31; Gk ἄρθρον *joint*, from ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω *fit together*, ἄρμενος *fitted*, ἁρμός (rough breathing based on suffix *-sm-*, Chantraine 1968-80:111) *joint, shoulder*; Lat *arma implement, weapon* (differently Hartmann and Kroll 1913 Glotta 4: 157; to *arceō keep away*; rejected by W/H 1938-56 I:68).

P 1959:55-61, esp 58.

A203. arniba adv ἀσφαλῶς *certain*, only Mk 14.44.

Derived from PGmc *arnja-* as in OI *ern able, energetic, ern-ligr of energetic appearance* Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:261. Possibly related, OE *eornost battle, duel*, OS, OHG *ernust* stm,f *firmness, earnestness*†, MHG *ernest* stm *earnestness, battle*; basic meaning

'decisive bearing' (doubtful, Krahe 1949 BGDSL 71:238).

Probably based on PIE *er- set in motion, arouse*, which has many derivatives in Gmc; ***rinnan, urreisan, arwjo***; also Skt *iyarti set in motion, ṛṇóti arise, move*, Gk ἔρχομαι *come*, Lat *orior arise*; Hitt *arnuzi sets in motion*; Skt *irya energetic, agile*, Alb *jerm delirium*; Skt *ṛti- attack, battle*, OSl *ratь battle*.

P 1959:326-32.

A204. aromata pl ἀρώματα *spices*, only Mk 16.1. From Gk; etymology there unknown, Frisk 1960-72 I:159.

A205. arwjo adv ὠρεάν *in vain* J 15. 25.

OE *earwunga*, OHG *ar(a)wun in vain, ar(o)wingun = āno lōn gratis* K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:224.

Disputed etymology. Possibly to OI *ṛrr*, OE *earu quick, active*, OS *aru ready* Grienberger 1900:29-30; ← ***arweis** ready to give*; Skt *árvan(t)- horse* from 'running'; Av *aurva(nt)- rapid* Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30: 261. PIE *er- set in motion, or-wo- rapid* to 'overhasty, in vain'[?]. Mezger 1938 Archiv 173:209-10 discusses adv *-jō*, as in *and-augjo*, versus ***-i/ungō***, as a feature of WGmc. Base from ***arjan** plow*, with change of meaning from 'compulsory work' to 'work for nothing', to 'work in vain'[?]. Older proposals in F 1939:58.

P 1959:326-32, esp 331.

A206. asans f*i* θέρος *summer (time of harvest)* Mk 13.28, θερισμός *harvest* M 9.37; **asneis** m*ia* μισθωτός *hireling*; *-a-* only in *asans* among abstracts, Kluge 1926:77.

OI *ṛnn* stf, OFris *esna wages*, OS *asna* stf *tax, levy* from 'yield of harvest', OE *esne*, OHG *asni, asneri* stm *hireling, servant*; from suffix accented form, OHG *aran* stm, *arn* stf; *arnēn, arnōn* wkv; *arnōt* stm *harvest*; possibly OE *earnian* wkv *earn*† Weyhe 1905 BGDSL 30: 64-65.

PIE *e/os- + -en/r- harvest time, summer*: OPruss *assanis harvest*; OSl *jesenь*, Russ *ósenь fall, harvest time*. Possibly MIr *eorna* (← ***es-ornyā**[?]*) *barley* Pokorny 1928 ZCP 17: 306. The *-er*-variant may be found in Gk ὀπώρα *early fall, fruit* ← ὀπι *after* and ***o[s]arā** summer* (cf ὥρᾱ *season, spring*, Go *jer year*) W Schulze 1892:475; Frisk 1960-72 II:408; see Benveniste 1935a:19, who compares other *-r/n-* forms for seasons. Gmc meaning 'harvest' reflects remodeling of designations for seasons, cf **wintrus**.

Further attempted relationships unsupportable; as with ***azgo** ashes* Grienberger 1900: 30; vocalism prohibits connection; with Lat *annōna yearly yield, price of grain* (W/H 1938-56 I:50), borrowed as Go ***anno***; with Gk ὦνος *price*, which is from PIE *wes-*, as in Skt *vasnám price*, Lat *vēnō* dat sg *sale*; problem with PIE *wes-* also nullifies assumed relationship of Go **asneis** to Skt *vasnám*, proposed by Bezzenberger 1880 BKIS 5:176.

Finn borrowings from Gmc, *ahne diligent* (← Gmc ***aznes-, *azni-***), *aarni stingy* (← PNGmc ***aRni-***), *ansaita* (OE *earnian* with metathesis of *zn*) *earn*, *Aarnio* [name of treasure-guarding demon] (← Gmc ***arniðo***) (Karsten 1915:104, 1930-31 APS 5:203ff). Older proposals in F 1939:58-59.

P 1959:343.

A207. asilu-qairnus f[?] *u* calque of μύλος ὀνικός *donkey-mill*, only Mk 9.42.

OE *esol-cweorn* f *donkey-mill*.

Cmpd of ***asilus** and unattested **qairnus*, *u*-stem in contrast with *ō*-stem in OI *kvern*, OE *cweorn*, OFris, OS *quern*, OHG *quirn, chwirna*, OHG *churn* f *millstone, handmill, quern*†.

PIE *g^{w}ṛnu-, g^{w}ernā-* (Meillet 1925 *F* Boyer:1ff); OSl *žrъny* (cf Slov *žȓnav*, gen *žȓnve* f; Trautmann 1923:89), pl *žrъnъvi mill, žrъnovъ millstone*; Lith *girna millstone*, pl *girnos handmill*; Latvian pl *dzirnus, -as, -avas handmill*, OPruss pl *girnoywis* ← ***girnuwis** handmill*. PIE *g^{w}erə-, g^{w}rā- heavy + -wen-*: Skt *grāvā stone for pressing out soma* (cf religious sphere); ***g^{w}rāwon-***, OIr *braō, brō*, gen *broon*,

Wel *breuan*, Corn *brou*, Bret *breo mill* Vendryès 1959-:B-92; possibly Arm *erkan* (← **g^{w}rā-nā* with metathesis, Bugge 1893 ZVS 32:15, Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:159-60; but Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:353 ← **g^{w}raun-*, Porzig 1954:141 ← **g^{w}rāwn̥-*) *millstone*: TochB *kärwenne*.

A208. *asilus mu ὀνάσιον *donkey* J 12.14.

OE *esol*, *eosel*, OS, OHG *esil* stm *donkey*.

Either dissimilated from Lat *asinus donkey* (Kluge 1913:68) or from its dim *asellus*, with shift of accent and shortening of the middle syllable (Luft 1897 ZDA 41:241-42, W Schulze 1966:507, and many others; W/H 1938-56 I:73 prefer *asinus*).

OSl *osьlъ donkey* borrowed from Gmc, though uncertain whether from Go; further, into Balt: Lith *ãsilas*, OPruss *asilis*, Fraenkel 1962-65:18, Otrębski 1966 Sprache 12:50.

A209. asneis m*ia* μισθωτός *day-laborer* J 10.12,13.

OE *esne*, OHG *asni* (Tatian) stm *hireling, servant*; derivative in *-ja-* from PGmc *asna-* in OFris *esna wages*, OS *asna* f *tax, levy*; see **asans**.

A210. *assarjus mu ἀσσάριον [name of a coin], only dat sg *-jau* M 10.29.

From Lat *assarius*, or according to W Schulze 1966:510 from Gk ἀσσάριον with minor remodeling in Gmc. A Sturtevant 1945 JEGP 44:376-77 favors borrowing from Lat because the Gk form would have led to **assarjon* or **assarjo* (cf **aiwaggeljo** ← εὐαγγέλιον); an important reason is the presence of ***kintus** related to *centum*, which must have been borrowed earlier and thus would have favored adding **assarjus*.

A211. astaþ ἀσφάλεια *certainty, truth*, only acc sg L 1.4 in *waurde astaþ* λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

Etymology doubtful. Probably a word based on **-staþs**. Holthausen 1920 ZDP 48:269 reconstructs **gastaþ* or **fastaþ* ← **fast-staþ*; cf ***un-ga-stoþs** *without a permanent site*. Grienberger 1900:30-31 proposed Gmc **a(d)-statis*; Peters 1879:4-5 assumed scribal error for *waurdei staþ*. Older conjectures in F 1939: 60.

A212. asts m*a* κλάδος *branch* M 13. 28, βαΐον *palm branch*, στοιβάς *leafy branch*.

Only OS, OHG *ast* stm *branch*; with PIE *ō*, OE, MLG *ōst knot in wood*.

PIE *ozdo-s* ← *o near* + *sed- sit; branch = an attached stem*; Gk ὄζος, Aeol ὔσδος *branch*, Arm *ost twig*. PIE cmpd parallel to Gk ὄαρ *spouse* ← PIE *o* + *ar- join together*; cf Brugmann 1916-17 IF 37:247. According to M Bloomfield 1927 Lg 3:213-14, PIE *o-zd-os branch (on which a bird sits)*, contrasts with PIE *ni-zd-os nest (in which a bird sits)*, Lat *nīdus*, MIr *net*, OHG *nest* stn *nest*†. Either interpretation possible. Probably not Hitt *hasduir weeds, refuse* Tischler 1983- I:206-07.

P 1959:280, PIE *ĕ*, *ŏ near*; 785-86; 884-87 *sed- sit*, **sitan**.

A213. at prep παρά, ἐπί, πρός, ἀπό *at, to, from* M 7.15.

OI *at*, OE *æt*, OFris *et*, *at*, OS *at*, OHG *az* *at*†, *to*.

PIE *ad*; Lat *ad to*, at, (*at-que* ← **ad-que*; W/H 1938-56 I:11-12,76); OIr *ad-* preverb (in *ad-cin gaze at*), OWel *ad to*; Phryg αδ- in αδδακετ 'af-fecit' *did to*, αββερετ 'ad-ferebat' *brought to* Ramsay 1887 ZVS 28:385; Meillet 1921 BSLP 22:[art]165; G Schmidt 1962:351-52.

Cf OS *t-ōgian*, OHG *z-ougen* wkv = *at-augjan* wkvI, Gk δεικνύναι *show*, under ***augjan**, scarcely with zero grade; rather with aphaeresis; also OHG *z-agēn* wkv *hesitate* : Go **-agan*, under **og**; OIr *ad-āgor I fear*. Similar reduction in Ved *tsárati sneaks* ← **ad-* → *t* + Skt *sélеti* dubious (Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:540-41).

P 1959:3.

A214. *at-aþni n*ia* ἐνιαυτός *year*, only gen sg *at-aþnjis* J 18.13.

Cmpd of **at** and ***aþn**; PIE *-yo-* as in **arbi** also in Lat *bi-enn-ium*, *tri-enn-ium period of 2, 3 years* Kluge 1926:40.

A215. atisk n[?], only acc sg in *þairh atisk* διὰ τῶν σπορίμων *grainfield* L 6.1, M 2.23.

MLG *esch* ← **etisc*, OHG *ezzesc*, pl *ezzisca*, MHG *ezzisch sown grainfield*, Du *esch cultivated fields of a village.*

Cognates elsewhere uncertain; possibly TochAB *āti grass* Lane 1938 Lg 14:25 fn21; rejected by Pedersen 1941:64, who compares Turkic *ot grass*; also Pedersen 1944:10-11. Not to Lat *ador spelt* W/H 1938-56 I:14; nor to **itan** *eat*, ***fra-atjan** *distribute.*

P 1959:3.

A216. atochta CrimGo 'malum' *bad.*

Explanation difficult. Stem may be related either to OI *atall quarrelsome*, or with loss of *h-* to ***hatan**. Either would have PGmc *-uga-*, as in **handugs** *wise*, and like Lat *malum* a n nom/acc adj ending. If to OI *atall*, OE *atol terrible*, also Gk ὀδύσσομαι *be angry*, Lat *odium hatred*, *ōdi*, Arm *ateam hate* Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:127; P 1959:773; so Tischler 1978 ZVS 92:108-11, adding Hitt *hatuka/i- terrible.* Less likely to **hatan*, when the meaning would have developed from 'hateful', Tomaschek 1881:65.

Stearns 1978:129 assumes earlier /'*atəɣətə*/, which with syncope would have yielded /'*atəxtə*/; see **gadeltha**. He also admits possibility of PGmc *-aga-* as in **modags** or PGmc *-iga-* as in **mahteigs**.

A217. *at-snarpjan wkvI θιγεῖν *grasp, touch* (actually 'gnaw at'[?]), only 2sg prs opt *at-snarpjais* Col 2.21.

OI *snerpa* wkv *sharpen*, derived from *snarpr sharp*; Du *snerpen burn, smart (of a wound)*; NHG dial (Thuringian) *schnarp(f)en*, EarlyNHG *schnarpeln* differing in vocalism, Thuringian *schnurpen bite gnashingly* M Heyne in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 IX:1184; OHG *snerfan* (trans) *pull together* Schwentner 1927 BGDSL 50:152-53; from PIE *(s)nerb-*. Possibly based on PIE *sner- turn, wind*; with other extensions, PGmc *snerk-*; OI *snorkinn shriveled*; OE *ge-sneorcan shrivel up*; PGmc *snerx-*: OHG *snar(a)ha* f *loop*; *snerhan* wkv *twist, wind*; OI *snara* (← **snarhōn*) wkv *turn.*

PIE *(s)nerb- cut*[?]; Gk νορβά· καλή *tumor*, Hsch νορβεῖ· ἐνταμεῖται *cut in.* For PGmc *snerx-*: Gk νάρκη ← **sn-* (Hartmann 1927 ZVS 54:289 fn2) *stiffness, numbness, contraction*; Arm *nergev thin, pulled together.* PIE *(s)ner-*: OHG *narwa* wkf, *narwo* wkm *scar*, OE *nearu narrow*†.

P 1959:975-77.

A218. atta mn πατήρ *father* M 5.48.

OI *atte*, OFris *aththa*, OHG *atto*, MHG *atte, ätte*, NHG dial *ätte* wkm *father.* Probably a nursery word, Jespersen 1922:154-60; Gk ἄττα, Lat *atta*; OSl *otьcь*, Alb *atë*; Turkic *ata*; Hung *atya*; Bas *aita*; Sum *adda* and others. Skt *attā mother, older sister* supports assumption of nursery word. No need to assume borrowing in spite of earlier attestations, such as Hitt *attas*, which Puhvel 1984-:224-26 derives "from infantile language".

Dim + *-ila-*, Kluge 1926:29-30; *Attila* ("Hunorum ominum dominus et paene totius Scythiae gentium solus in mundo regnator" 'lord of all the Huns and of nearly all the tribes of Scythia the sole ruler in the world', Jordanes 104,13) *Little Father*, cf Turkic *Atatürk*; OI PeN *Atli*, OHG *Ezzilo*, NHG *Etzel Attila*; see also **barnilo, Ulfila**. In responding to the proposal of Sen 1972-73 BDECU 8,i:35-36 that *atta* gained its prominence because it meant *powerful, superior* becoming 'divine father' as opposed to *fadar procreator* Ebbinghaus 1974 GL 14:97-101 examines its connotations in the extant texts; he concludes that it was the common word for father in Wulfila's language.

P 1959:71.

A219. *at-þinsan stvIII ἑλκύειν *draw to oneself*, only 1sg prs *at-þinsa* J 12.32, 3sg prs *-siþ* J 6.44.

OS *thinsan*, OHG *thinsan, dinsan* stv, NHG dial (Hessian) *dinse pull*; OHG denom *dansōn, tansōn* wkv *pull, extend.*

PIE *tens- extend*: Skt *taṁsayati draws to and fro*; Av *vi-tasti- span*; Lith *tę̃sti stretch, tąsýti tug, extend*; OPruss *ni tenseiti do not*

incite, en-tensīts composed; Lat *tēnsa processional wagon* W/H 1938-56 II:666. Not related, Lat *tōnsa rudder, tōnsilla stake (for fastening ships), tōnsillae tonsils, tōles goiter* W/H 1938-56 II:688,691.

P 1959:1068-69; extended from PIE *ten-pull* P 1959:1065-66, in **ufþanjan*.

A220. *aþn n[?] ἐνιαυτός *year*, only dat pl *aþnam* G 4.10; ***at-aþni** *year*, like Lat *bi-enn-ium period of two years* based on *annus*. Only here in Gmc.

Lat *annus year* ← **at-nos*, W/H 1938-56 I:51, *per-ennis lasting the entire year*; Osc-Umbr **akno-* in Osc *akeneí in the year, acunum* 'annorum' *of years*, Umbr *acnu* (*k* → *t*; Brugmann 1904-05 IF 17:492) acc pl *years* (Poultney 1959:58,89,225,295, who treats Umbr *perakne* separately, as possibly from **per-agni- brought from elsewhere*, in contrast with F 1939:62-63 and W/H).

PIE *at- go*: Skt *átati goes*; development of meaning like PGmc *jēram*, Go **jer**, from PIE *yē- go*. For the notion of 'passing years', cf Hom Odyssey 1.16 περικλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν *revolving years* and ***fairns**. Scardigli 1973:23-24 discusses relationship with *jer*, which he sees as less precise than **aþn*. Szemerényi 1950 TPS 1950:172-75 derives Lat *annus* from PIE *as- warm*, stating that relationship to Go **aþn* is not well-founded.

P 1959:69.

A221. aþþan conj ἀλλά, οὖν *but, however* M 5.22. A Sturtevant 1933 AJP 54: 349, sees the basic meaning as *but then*.

Cmpd of *aþ-* and **þan**; *aþ-* = Lat *at*; Gk ἀτάρ *but*; Skt *áti*, Av *aiti*, OPers *atiy beyond, very*; Gk ἔτι *still*; OIr *aith-, aid-, ad-* (← **ati*); Gaul *ate-* (in PeN *Ate-gnatus*) *again-born*; OSl *ots* *away from* ← **at-os*; Meillet 1902-05:155-56; Lith *at-, ata-, ati-, ato-* *again, back* (Lith *āt-laikos* = OSl *ots-lĕkz* = Skt *ati-rékas remainder*, though *ati-* may be related to **iþ**). TochA *atas hither*[?]. G Schmidt 1962:220-21 finds same meaning in Go *aþ-* as in *iþ but*. Less likely, derivation of *aþ-þan* ← **ak-þan*; see **ak**.

P 1959:70-71,344.

A222. audags adj*a* μακάριος *blessed* M 11.6, from 'favored by fate' Ochs 1921 BGDSL 45:103-04, or 'gifted through fate' Weisweiler 1923 IF 41:318-19, converse ***armr**. **audagjan* wkvI (only 3pl prs *audagjand* L 1. 48) μακαρίζειν *bless*; *audagei* f*n* (only G 4.15) μακαρισμός *blessedness*; *-ei* as in ***af-gudei**.

OI *auðigr*, OE *ēadig, ōdag*, OHG *ōtac rich, blessed, aotake* 'beati' (OHG Gl 1.54.24). Derived with PIE *-ko-* as in Go *ainaha*, from **auða-* as in ***auda-hafts** adj*a fortunate* (only in *anstai audahafta* κεχαριτωμένῃ *favored* L 1. 28); Go *-hafts* is also in **qiþu-hafts* Kluge 1926:115-16, Birkhan 1970:560.

PGmc **auða-* in OI *auðr* stm, OE *ēad*, OS *ōd*, MHG *(klein)ōt* stn *possession, property, riches*; further, OI *auðinn fated*, OE *ēaden*, OS *ōdan born*, papl to a verb Go **auðan*.

No clear cognates. Possibly PIE *aw- weave* + *-dh-*, as in Lith *áusti weave*, Latvian pl *aûdi weft*; Gmc forms reflect belief in fortune determined by fate, Torp 1896:172; Porzig 1954:130. Less likely, PIE *u- that*, as in Gk αὐτός *self*, αὕτως adv *just so, alone* Mezger 1968 ZVS 82: 288-97; assumption of extension to PIE *aw- far from*, as in Lat *au-ferō take away*, Go ***auþs** *remote place, desert*, thereupon PGmc *au-ō- possession*, hardly credible in spite of Mezger's proposed parallel: PGmc **sala- own property*, based on PIE *se- for oneself, away*. Dubious also derivation from PIE *aw- to increase*, as in ***aukan**, Fowkes 1949:5-6. Older proposals in F 1939:63. Many derivatives in Gmc, given by Mezger.

P 1959:75-76.

A223. aufto adv (once **ufto** M 27.64) πάντως, ἴσως *perhaps, indeed* J 7.26; Grimm 1843 ZDA 3:148 separates *ufto* from *aufto*. Streitberg 1920:71 treats *aufto, ufto* (also *waila, *baitrs*, and *aiþþau*) as variants because of pitch.

No certain cognates or credible etymology. Grienberger 1900:34 posits **aufts conditionally*, cf OS *of*, OHG *oba whether*, +

adv *-o* or demon *-to-* as in **þata**. See Cercignani 1984 JIES 12:336-37.

A224. auga-dauro nn (only acc sg 2C 11.33) θυρίς *window*.

OE *ēag-duru*, OHG *ouga-tora* f *window*.

Cmpd of PGmc *auga-*, as in **augo**, and **daur**. Cf OI *vind-auga wind-eye*, and based on it ME *windowe*; also OE *ēag-þyrl* n *eye-hole*. The lack of a common Gmc term reflects the late introduction of windows in northern Europe, about the time of Wulfila, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:307-08. Probably a 'door or hole for the eye' rather than an 'eye-shaped opening', Meringer 1904 IF 16:125, 1905-06 IF 18:272; or, an 'eye' of the house, as in late OSl *okno window* beside *oko eye*.

A225. *augjan wkvI (only 2sg imp *augei* J 14.8,9), *at-augjan* (perfective) δεικνύναι *show* Mk 1.44.

OI *eygja*, OS *ōgian*, OHG *auckan*, *ougan* wkv *show*; OE wkv *æt-iewan*, Mercian *ēawan*, Northumbrian *ēawa appear, show* Sievers 1884 BGDSL 9:290; OF *t-oeghen*, OS *t-ōgian*, OHG *z-ougen*, MHG *z-öugen* wkv ← **(a)t-augwjan show*; + *-n-* MDu *t-oenen* (*oe* = *ō*), MHG *z-ounen* ← **(a)t-augwnjan*, Osthoff 1882 BGDSL 8:261-62. Based on **augo** and **at**.

A226. augo mn ὀφθαλμός *eye* M 5.28.

CrimGo pl *oeghene* (*oe* = *ō*; cf *broe*, *hoef*, Stearns 1978:148-49) 'oculi'; OI *auga*, OE *ēage*, OFris *āge*, OS *ōga*, OHG *ouga* st/wkn *eye*†. Cmpds: **and-augi** n*ia countenance*, *and-augiba*, *and-augjo* adv *openly*; **auga-dauro** nn *window*; ***augjan**, *at-augjan* wkvI *show*.

As demonstrated by OHG *awi-zoraht*, *au-zoraht* beside *auga-zor(a)ht openly*, there was beside Gmc **augan-* a stem **awi-* ← **agwi*, PIE *okʷí-*. From it, OE (Mercian, Northumbrian) *ēawis*, *æwis-* (← **ēaw-wis*) *apparently*, *ēawunga openly*; Northumbrian *ēawa*, Mercian *ēawan* wkv *appear, show*; OFris *auber*, *āber*, OHG *āpirin sunny*, MHG *āber*, *æber* n *place where the snow has thawed* ← PGmc *awi-bæri-*, *au-bæri-*[?] Grienberger 1900:34-35 derives PGmc *auan-* eye from *awi-*, *au-* + *-ga-*; not widely accepted.

PIE *okʷ-* see: Skt *ákṣi* gen *akṣṇás* (*i-*, *n*-stem) *eye*, Av *aši* du *both eyes* (with *k̂*); Gk ὄμμα (← *οπμα), Lesb pl ὄππατα, Hsch ὄκκον[?]· ὀφθαλμόν (Meillet 1920 MSLP 21:87); Hom du ὄσσε (← **oky-*); Lat *oculus*; Lith *akìs* *eye*; OPruss *ackis* pl *eyes*; OSl *oko* (*es*-stem in gen *očese*) *eye*, du *oči*; (Arm pl *aç̌(kʿ)*, where *-kʿ* is an added pl ending, Solta 1960:21), Russ *óko* *eye*, *oknó* (*-o* + *n*-stem) *window*; Arm *akn* (*n*-stem; *k* ← expressive geminate, Solta 1960: 20-21); TochA *ak*, *aśäṃ*, B *ek*, *eś(a)ne* (*n*-stem) *eye*; Alb *sy* *eye*, not here and without clear IE etymology, Huld 1984:113. Verb in Skt *íkṣate sees*, reduplicated form of PIE *okʷ-*. Gk ὄπ-ωπα *have seen*, ὄψομαι *will see*.

Three stem forms in Gmc: **agw-* (OHG *ac-siuni* f *appearances* Tatian 88.12; also Gk ὄσσε beside OHG *auc-siuno plainly*, OHG Gl.I, 77,22); **awi-* (← **okʷí-*), and **aun-* (← **okʷén-*); J Schmidt 1889:106-08,388-405. These were combined in **augan-*, ousting a probable nom **ōh* ← PIE *ōk* : cf Gk ὦψ *eye*; in the process, **auso** *ear* was a model; cf the opposite remodeling in Arm *unkn* *ear* beside *akn* *eye* Solta 1960:55; taboo unlikely in spite of Meillet 1921-36 I:289-90. See **aha**.

Older proposals in F 1939:64-65. P 1959: 775-77; Watkins 1985:45-46.

A227. *auhjon wkvII θορυβεῖσθαι *make a noise* Mk 5.39; **auhjodus* mu θόρυβος *noise* ← PIE *-ōtu-*; Gk -ωτός, -ατός, J Wackernagel 1918 SAW 1918:385, based on PIE *-tu-* as in Skt *gántu-* *course*; Av *pərətuš* *ford* : Lat *portus* *port*; Gaul *ritu-* in PeN *Ritu-magus*, Wel *rhyd* (← **pṛtú-*) *ford*; OI *fjǫrðr* stm (← **pertu*) *fjord*, OE *ford*, OHG *furt* stm *ford*†; PIE *-tu-* also in Go *-þu-*, **dauþus** *death* and *-tu-*, *hliftus* *thief*; Kluge 1926:69-72; *-tu-* as sacral element, Havers 1951 AÖAW 88:43-46; with subjective value, Benveniste 1948:63-112.

No clear etymology; possibly onomatopoeic. Latvian *ūkšuôt* *call, shout*, *aũka* *stormy wind*, cf Lith *apúokas* *owl*, Serb *ȕk* *clamor* Fraenkel 1962-65:14. Szemerényi 1960

BGDSL-T 82:27 compares OSl *vspiti cry out*, cf Latvian *ūpêt hoot*, assuming Gmc dissimilation of **uf-* to **uh-*. Older proposals in F 1939: 65.

A228. *auhns m[?] κλίβανος *oven*, only acc sg *auhn* M 6.30.

OSw *oghn*, ONor *ogn*; with *f*: OI *ofn*, OE *ofen*, OHG *ovan* stm; with *f* assimilated to *m*; OSw *omn*, dial *umn oven*†; OE *ofnet closed vessel*.

An intensively discussed word. Sverdrup 1913 *F* Torp:108 and E Zupitza 1896:15 separate *ofn* and *ugn*; likewise Meringer 1907 IF 21:295-96, for whom OI *ofn* is an old borrowing from PGk *ὑπνός; Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:25-26 takes all the Gmc forms as borrowings, either from a widely used word or Gk ἰπνός, with subsequent dissimilation to **uhna* in Go; Myc *i-po-no cooking bowl* proves Gk -π- as original, not from labio-velar, as in W/P 1927-32 I:24-25 and F 1939:65-66, Lane 1939 JEGP 38:193-94 and Seebold 1967 ZVS 81:118; see also Arm *akut' hearth* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:265. Pisani 1941-42 IF 58: 244 relates OHG *ovan* to Gk ἰπνός but **auhns* to Skt *ukhās* with *-n-*; survey of recent views in Birkhan 1970:142-45; Markey 1979 JIES 7: 199-211.

Pottery bowls as well as hearths constructed of stones were used to heat rooms. Hearths with fire-resistant walls were also constructed below floor level. The PGmc *auhn*, OI *ofn* was probably a bowl for coals used for baking on the hearth, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:119ff, with references.

Possibly then two competing words, influencing each other. Go **auhns*; Skt *ukhā cooking pot*, OLat *aulla* ← **auxlā*, dim *auxilla pot* W/H 1938-56 I:84; OI *ofn* a cross-cultural term, related to Myc *i-po-no*, as in Otrębski 1966 Sprache 12:59-60, who is primarily concerned with Balt; Lith *ùblas stove*, OPruss *wumpnis oven*, borrowed from Gmc; Fraenkel 1962-65:1156-57, with many references, as also in F 1939:65-66.

P 1959:88.

A229. *auhsa mn βοῦς *ox*, gen pl *auhsne* L 14.19; see Ebbinghaus 1972 GL 12: 170-71.

OI *oxi*, pl *øxn* ← **uhsniz*, *uxar*, m *yxni* n, OE *oxa*, OS, OHG *ohso* wkm *ox*†.

PIE *weg^{w}-*, *ug^{w}-* *wet, moisten*, *uk^{w}sen bull*: Skt *ukṣā́*, Av *uẖšan- bull*; OIr *oss deer*, Wel *ych* ← **uksō ox*; TochB *okso bull, horned animal*. Possibly also Lat *uxor wife*, a f *r*-stem beside the m *n*-stem, W/H 1938-56 II:849-50. Also Skt *ukṣáti moistens* (bull as impregnator and wife as one impregnated); Gk ὑγρός *wet*, Lat *ūvidus damp*, OI *vǫkr damp*. Scarcely related to Turkic *ökür ox*, based on an Asiatic cross-cultural term, Güntert 1930:10. For other possible IE cognates see W/H 1938-56 II:849-50.

P 1959:1118, Watkins 1985:74.

A230. *auhuma comp, only m acc sg *auhuman higher* Ph 2.3; *auhumists*, **auhmists* superl *highest* (*auhumists weiha* J 18.13, otherwise *sa auhumista gudja* m, translation of Gk ἀρχιερεύς *high-priest*; cf Lat *summus sacerdos*, and also *reikists gudja* as translation of ἀρχιερεύς; *und auhmisto* ἕως ὀφρύος *to the top* L 4.29); on formation see **aftuma*, *aftumists*. Function of Go *-uma* elative or intensive, not superlative, Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:21.

OE *ȳmest* = Go **auhmists*, Ehrismann 1894 BGDSL 18:232; rejected by Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:27-29 as scribal error or variant of OE *yf(e)mest*.

Earlier proposals relate Lith *aukúoti lift a child up and down*; *ūkáuti care for*; OPruss *ucka-* emphatic prefix with superl *high* Bezzenberger 1897 BKIS 23:295-96; Persson 1912:49-50; Fraenkel 1962-65:24-25; Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:27-29 rejects Lith words as back-formations, isolating OPruss *ucka-*. Further examining adjs in Go *-uma*, Szemerényi points to *-uma* forms beside simplex, e.g. *afta(na)*, **aftuma*; **ib-dalja*, **iftuma*; but no forms for **uf**! Then proposes Gmc **ufuma*, with *-f-*

flanked by labials and dissimilated to -χ- → -*h*-, yielding Go **uhuma* → **auhuma*. Related to OIr *ōchtar, uachtar* ← **ouks-tero-* ← **oupstero-* *upper part*; OIr *ūas, ōs*, NWel *uch* *above, over*; OIr *ūasal*, Wel *uchel* *high, elevated*, Gaul PeN Ὀυξελλον, *Uxello-dunum* *high-city*; Vendryès 1959-:O-7,31-32; further, to Gk ὕψι adv *high*; ὑψηλός adj *high*; see ***ubizwa** *portico*.

P 1959:1106-07.

A231. auk conj (postposed) γάρ *for, but, also* M 5.18.

OI *auk*, later *ok*, OE *ēac*, OFris *āk*, OS *ōk*, OHG *ouh* *also*.

PIE *aw-* + *ge*; Gk αὖ-γε *again*, cf αὖ *again*, αὖ-τις, αὖ-θις, αὖ-τε *again, but*; Lat *au-t* or *au-tem* *but*. With zero grade, Skt *u, u-tá* *and, but, also*; Umbr *ute, ote* *or* (but see W/H 1938-56 I:87). Further relationship to pronominal stem in Skt, Av, OPers *ava-* *that*, OSl *ovъ* *this* Brugmann 1904b:97. Also TochA *oki* *as, and*[?], Lat *au* *away*; cf ***auþs**. Possibly also to **-u**.

Proposed relationship with ***aukan** as Gmc imp **auki*, to be rejected; only a secondary association likely; Kluge/Mitzka 1967:36 still proposes that origin for sense *also*, in spite of rejection elsewhere.

P 1959:73-75.

A232. *aukan stvVII *increase*, only nom sg f prpl *aukandei* Sk 4.11 / IVb.13; *ana-aukan* inf M 6.27, 3sg prt *ana-aiauk* L 3.20; **bi-aukan* προστιθέναι *add* L 19.11; **ga-aukan* περισσεύειν *abound (more and more)* 1Th 4.1; **auknan* (*nan*-pres as in ***af-blindnan**) ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι *increase* Col 2.19; *bi-auknan* περισσεύειν *abound* Ph 1.26.

OI *auka* *increase* stv; OE *ēacian* *abound, ieran* *increase*, OS *ōkian*, OHG *ouhhōn* wkv *increase*; otherwise, only papl of stv, OE *ēacen* *large*, OFris *āken*, OS *ōkan* *grown, pregnant*.

PIE *aweg-, awg-* *increase*; Lat *augeō* *increase*; Lith *áugti*, Latvian *aûgt* *grow*; Lith *augìnti* *bring up*; OPruss act papl *auginnons* *raised*, acc *aucktai-rikijskan* *government* (= Lat *auctus*); TochAB *oko* *fruit, okar* *growth*; *en*-stem in Skt *ójma* *strength*, Lat *augmentum*, Lith *augmuõ* *growth*; *es*-stem in Skt *ójas*, Av *aojō* *strength*, Lat *augus-tus* *exalted*. PIE *aug-* + *-s-*: TochA *oks-* *grow*, *okšu*, B *aukšu* *old*; Gk αὔξω, αὐξάνω *increase*; Lat *auxilium* *aid*; Lith *áukštas*, Latvian *aûgsts* *high*; Arm *awčan* *aid, protection* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:321.

PIE *aweg-* very productive; see Gonda 1952:73-83 for Gmc. With accent on *-eg*-suffix, Gk ἀ(ϝ)έξω *increase*. Zero grade in both syllables, Skt *ugrás* *powerful*, Av *ugra-* *strong*; with *-s*-extension in Skt *úkṣati* *strengthens*, Av *uχšyeiti* *grows*. For forms with accent on 2nd syllable PIE *weks-*, cf **wahsjan**; cf also ***wakan**, ***wokrs**.

P 1959:84-85, Watkins 1985:4.

A233. *aurahjons *monuments, tombs*, only dat pl in *us aurahjom* ἐκ τῶν μνημείων Mk 5.2, *in aurahjom* ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν Mk 5.3,5.

According to Grienberger 1900:36-37, a verbal abstract to **aurahjon* *bury*, itself derived from the collective **aurahin-* (*-ei* as in ***bairgahei**) *sandy soil* from **aurahs* = OI *aurigr* *clayey*, based on PGmc *aura-* *earth*: OI *aurr* *clay, moist earth, soil*, (cf *hylja auri* *bury* [in verse, Kormak's saga]); OE *ēar, ēor* *earth (of a grave)*; OI *eyrr* f (← **auri-*) *tongue of land made up of sand and stone*.

Further relationships in Sw dialects and northern GN, Heinertz 1932 IF 50:109-17, who interprets *aurahjōn-* as *gravelly hill*, because prehistoric burials were generally in gravelly hills (already in palaeolithic times, as in Ehringsdorf near Weimar). Similarly Endzelin 1924 ZVS 52:116-17; **aurahi* = *sandy soil, sandy hill*, with parallels from Baltic languages. See also Glob 1974:89 "coffins ... in the core of dark grey, moist sand".

No certain etymology. Relation to OIr *ūr*, gen *ūire* *soil, earth* uncertain (Vendryès 1959-:W-26; vocalism problematic; Lane 1933 Lg 9:253). Other suggestions unlikely; F 1939:67-68, Vries 1962:108. -- Üçok 1938:18-19 contrasts

hlaiwasnos *tombs*, which in his view refers to mounds while **aurahjons* refers to flat tombs. No evidence in use of these terms supports this view. Both translate Gk μνῆμα and μνημεῖα, referring to the same situation, Mk 5.2,3,5 = M 8.28 = L 8.27; Go **aurahjons* only in Mk.

A234. *aurali n*ia* σουδάριον *towel, napkin*, only dat sg *auralja* J 11.44.

OI *url(an)* n *hood (for a man)*: Falk 1919: 109; OE *or(e)l* m n *garment, veil, mantle*; OHG *orul* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 II: 399.68), *orel* (ibid II:48.631), *orare* (ibid II:411. 47) 'flammeolum' *bridal veil*.

From Lat *ōrārium small cloth to cover the face*, with VLat shortening of *ō-* under secondary stress: *ŏrārium* and dissimilation of the second *r*, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:569; then shortening of *-ā-* after loss of secondary stress and shift of main accent in Gmc, Roethe 1919 SAW 1919:791. Since dissimilation usually occurs in less strongly stressed syllables, *-r-* → *-l-* after shift of main accent in Go. WGmc terms borrowed separately, E Schwarz 1951:38-43. Corazza 1969:62-63 assumes late borrowing, in 4th century. On ending *-i*, see ***aiwaggeli** ← Lat *evangelium*.

Scardigli 1973:79-80,83 points to an archaeological discovery of towels, plates, jugs of 1868 in Hildesheim to support early borrowing; these objects as well as ***aket** *vinegar* and the practice of reclining at meals, **ana-kumbjan**, became known to the Goths as they were still located near the Baltic Sea.

A235. *aurkeis m*ia* ξέστης *pot*, or **aurkjus*, only gen pl *aurkje* ξεστῶν Mk 7.4,8; elsewhere **kas**.

OE, OS *orc* m *pot, small pot*; borrowed 1st to 3rd century from Lat *orca* a *large narrow-necked earthenware vessel*, 1st to 2nd, Corazza 1969:17-18; OHG *urceol, urzel* m *beaker* ← Lat dim *urceolus, urcellos*; Frings 1932:40 fn1,66, E Schwarz 1951:38-43, Scardigli 1973:80.

A236. aurti-gards m*i* κῆπος *garden* J 18.1; **aurtja* m*n husbandman, vintner* L 20. 10.

Sw *örtagård*, OE *ort-geard, orceard* stm *orchard*† probably borrowed independently, OHG *orzōn* wkv *plant*.

Borrowed from VLat **orto*, It *orto garden*, to which the nearly tautological native **gards** was added (*-i-* noteworthy; analogy with PIE *ti-* stems or based on gen **orti*[?]); 1st-2nd centuries, Corazza 1969:23-24. Carr 1939:70, 351 assumes orig Go **aurtagards*, on basis of OSl borrowing *vrъto-gradъ*, and then *-a-* → *-i-* by palatalization before *-g-*; Hamm 1942 ZVS 67:124 also takes OSl as a borrowing from Go.

A237. auso nn οὖς *ear* M 10.27.

OI *eyra*, OE *ēare*, OFris *āre*, OS, OHG *ōra* wkn *ear*†; OHG *ōri* n *eye (of needle)*; MHG *oese* f *eyelet* (*a-* or *ō*-extension of the *i*-stem; see below).

PIE *ōws-, us-* *ear*: *n*-stem also in Hom gen οὔατος, Att ὠτός (← **ōwsn̥-to-s*), Arm *unkn ear* (← **uson-ko-*); otherwise cons-stem: Dor ὦς, Sommer 1905:15ff, which became an *i*-stem from the du in Av *uš-i*, NPers *hōš* (← PIran *auši*), OSl *uši both ears, intellect*, (Fierlinger 1885 ZVS 27:335; Bartholomae 1890-91 I:21 fn1, 1904:414); *es*-stem in Gk οὖς (← *ουσος) m, OIr *au, ō*, OSl *ucho*, gen *ušese ear*; cons-stem also in Alb *vesh* (← **us-*; G Meyer 1892: 11-12; Bugge 1892 BKIS 18:172), Huld 1984: 127; Lat *aus-cultāre hear* ← *aus-* + **cluto-*, W/H 1938-56 I:86; *i*-stem n Lat *auris* (← **aus-is*; *au* as in Laconian αὖς *ear*; cf Hirt 1921-37 II:182) Gaul PeN *Su-ausi-a with beautiful ears*; Lith *ausìs*, Latvian *àuss ear*; OPruss acc pl *āusins ears*. On the stem formation see J Schmidt 1889:109,406-7; Persson 1912:723-24.

OSl *userę(d)zъ earring* from Go **ausi-hriggja-* (cf MHG *öserinc* stm a *coin*; see also CrimGo **rinck, ringo**); Stender-Petersen 1927: 393-94, Steinhauser 1928 *F* M Jellinek:149 fn2, Vasmer 1953-58 III:190. According to F 1939: 69, this cmpd may have been the Gmc word for *pendant*, the so-called bracteates, which often have Run inscriptions; cf Chronicon Lyvoniae of Henry the Latvian, MGSS 23:290

fn5: "et ostendit eis oseringos (osiringos) quinquaginta" 'and he handed them 50 *osiringos*'. The passage illustrates that the borrowed word was also present in Balt territory.

P 1959:785, Watkins 1985:46.

A238. *auþs adj (*auþeis*[?]) ἔρημος *desert, desolate* L 4.42; *auþida* fō ἐρημία, ἡ ἔρημος *desert* (suffix *-ida* dissimilated from *-iþa* after *-þ*; cf M Jellinek 1926:67; Thurneysen's law, Thurneysen 1898 IF 8:208-14; also **aggwiþa, aweþi**).

OI *auðr*, OHG *aodi desolate*; OI *eyði*, OHG *ōdī* stf *desert, waste state*. Differing in meaning, OE *īeþe*, adv *ēaðe*, OS *ōði*, OHG *ōdi*, adv *aodlīhho effortless*.

OIr *ūathad small number* Thurneysen 1946:41; dubious, Stokes 1894:53; rejected in explanation of *ūathad* by Greene 1971 Eriu 22: 178-80, who derives it from adv **au-* + *-tītos*; PIE **Ha(p)o* + **dgʷh-iH-tó-*, cf Gk φθιτός *wasted*, according to Hamp 1975 Eriu 26:174.

Preferable, W Schulze 1966:71 fn1, who analyzes *auþs* as **au-þja- remote*; cf Gk αὔσιος *empty, vain*, αὔτως *in vain* Froehde 1894 BKIS 20:193-94. PIE *aw-* (*awe*); *wĕ down, away from* in Skt *áva down, away*; Lat *au-* in *au-ferō carry away, au-fugiō flee away*; Latvian *au-* in *au-manis senseless*; OPruss *au-away, off* in *au-mūsnan washing off*; OSl *u-away* in *u-myti wash off*, also prep *from*; possibly OIr *ō, ua from, with, through*, prefix *ua-un-* Vendryès 1959-:O-1,U-1; possibly Hitt *a̯ua̯n* emphasizing, directional adverb (Tischler 1983-I:98-9, not favored by Puhvel 1984-:245); Go *-þja* = Skt *-tya-* in *ápatyam descendants, nityas own*, cf **niþjis**; Lat *ōtium leisure* (dubious W/H 1938-56 II:228); see also Finn *autio desert*, borrowed from PGmc *auþidō* Thomsen 1870:132; also Fromm 1957-58 ZDA 88:85,214.

P 1959:72-73.

A239. aweþi n*ia* ποίμην *herd of sheep* J 10.16.

OE *ēowd* stf; *ēowde*, OHG *ewit, owiti* ← **awiðī-* stn *herd of sheep*; *-þ-* in Go by Thurneysen's law, cf ***auþs**.

No unitary PGmc form. According to Bremer 1886 BGDSL 11:32 Go *e* wrongly written for *ei*; opposed, J Schmidt 1889:70 fn2.

Helten 1895 BGDSL 20:506-07 compares Lat collective formations like *vinētum vineyard, frutic-ētum shrubbery*; more likely, the suffix in OHG *ō*-grade *-ōt(i)-*, *heimōte* stn *home* ← PGmc *-ōðī*. But see Kluge 1926:37, PGmc *-iþa*. For the middle syllable see also Arm *audi*, gen *audvoy sheep* Lidén 1906:24 and Lith *avýtė little sheep*.

PIE *owis* m f *sheep*, Skt *áviṣ*, Gk οἶς, Lat *ovis*, OIr *ōi*, Lith *avìs*, Latvian *avs*; OSl *ovь-ca*, Luw *ḫau̯i-* *sheep*; OI *ær*, OE *ēowu*, OS *euui*, MLG *ewe, owe*, OHG *ou, ouwi* stf ← PGmc *awī-*, gen *awjōz ewe*† J Schmidt 1889:70-71; Go *awi-* in ***awistr**; on Hitt **ḫau̯i-* see Tischler 1983- I:230-31.

PGmc *awi-* replaced in Go by **lamb**; OI introduced *fær sheep* Vries 1962:149; WGmc **skēpa*, OE (Angl) *scēp*, OHG *scāf* stn *sheep*† (of uncertain origin).

P 1959:784.

A240. awi-liuþ n*a* χάρις *thanks* 1C 15.57; *awi-liudon* wkvII εὐχαριστεῖν, χάριν ἔχειν *thank* 2Th 1.3. According to J Grimm in E Schulze 1848:vii-viii, OS *ōlat* (*ālat* Cott) m or n *thanks* belongs here (Go *awi-* with syncope of *i* before *l* = *o*-[?]; *-liuþ* = OS *-lat*[?]); later, Grimm 1893:171 fn declares the comparison impossible; comparison maintained by Sehrt 1966:426; also by Holthausen 1954 ZVS 71:50 note 14; OF *ā* replaces OS *ō* ← *au*.

Run *auja good fortune* (Skodborg and Sjaelland bracteates, Krause 1966 I:241-44,261-63, Antonsen 1975:65-66,76-77) ← PGmc *au-jan*.

PIE *aw-, awē(y)-*: Skt *áviṣ favorable, ávati favors*; Av *avaiti helps*; Gk ἀΐτᾱς (Theocritus), αἶτα (Alcaeus) *friend, beloved*, ἐνηής *well-wishing* (PGk *εν-ᾱϝης; Solmsen 1904 ZVS 37: 13; uncertain relationship, Chantraine 1968-80: 40,348); Lat *avi-dus desirous, aveō yearn for*; not OLith *aušti refresh oneself* Fraenkel 1962-

65:27; OIr *con-ōi helps*; Gaul PeN *Avi-cantus* (CIL xii 3077); cf OHG PeN *Awo, Awa, Awi-*, Förstemann 1900:217-18; rejected by Schönfeld 1911:40; Arm *aviun inspiration* Solta 1960:133; probably TochA *olar, aulāre companion, friend*. Also Gmc **auna-* as in PeN's, OI *Aunmundr*, OE *Eanmund*, OS, OHG *On-mund*, late Go *One-mund-s, Onila*, Holthausen 1954 ZVS 71:49 fn1. P 1959:77-78.

-liuþ = OI *ljōð strophe*, OE *lēoþ song*, OS gloss *(wini)-leod, (wini-leud)* 'vulgaris psalmus' *song (of praise)* Kelle 1909:9, OHG *lioth, liod* stn *song*; from 'song of praise', H Schwarz 1954:434-38; ***liuþon**.

P 1959:683.

A241. *awistr na[†] αὐλή *sheepfold*, only gen sg *awistris* J 10.16.

OE *ēowestre, ēwestre*; OHG *ewist, æwist* (without *-r*) stm *sheepfold*. From PGmc *awi-*, as in **aweþi**, + suffix as in OI *naust boat house*.

Comparing Skt *goṣṭhás cattle pen or barn* and *sthā́nam place* W Schulze 1966:79 proposed origin in PIE *-st-* ← *sthā*, cf **standan**, + PIE *-trom*; cf ***ga-nawistron**; also Solta 1963 Sprache 9:181-91, and Meillet 1903 MSLP 12:218-19, though from *-st-* + *-ro-*. Osthoff 1877 ZVS 23:316 assumed origin in PGmc *awi-* + *wist-* as in ***wists**, with haplology. Most likely, from PIE *-trō-*, as in ***hleiþra** *tent*, + *-s-* by suffix clipping, Kluge 1926:51-52; similarly, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:346-47. Other proposals and comment in F 1939:70-71.

A242. *awo f*n* μάμμη *grandmother*, only dat sg *awon* J 10.16.

OI *āi* stm *great-grandfather, afi* stm *grandfather*; OE *ēam*, OFris *ēm* ← **awunhaima-* as in OHG *oheim* stm *uncle (mother's brother), nephew (sister's son) of male ego*; PGmc *awen-*; *haima-* as in ***haims** ← PIE *k̂ey- be situated, lie*: Gk κεῖται *lies*, + *-m-* also in Lith *šeimýna family*; OIr *cōim dear* Much 1932 ZDA 69:46ff; but see ***heiwa frauja**; Hermann 1918 NGWG 1918:214-15 interprets as 'one living with maternal grandfather'; others compare Wel *tad cu grandfather* from 'dear father', cf Du *bestevaar, -moeder*, Dan *bedstefar, -mor grandfather, -mother*. Another suggested source for *-haima-* is PIE *k^{w}ey- honor*, as in Skt *cāyati respects*, Gk τίω *honor*, with *-m-* in τιμή *honor*; less probable because PIE *k^{w}ey-* is is not found elsewhere in Gmc, Benveniste 1973:181. See also his detailed account of kinship terms 180-88, correcting earlier attempts to understand the IE kinship system, which now is seen as Omaha.

n-suffix also in Lat dim *avunculus (maternal) uncle*, Lith *avýnas maternal uncle*; cf Wel *ewythr*, Bret *eontr* ← **awen-tro- uncle*; PIE *awo* in Lat *avus*, Arm *haw*, gen *havu*; Hitt *huhhas grandfather*; Balto-Slavic **awyos*, **aujo* → OSl *ujъ uncle*, **awio-* → OPruss *awis*, cf Lith *avýnas*; fem in Lat *av(i)a grandmother*.

Many hypotheses on derivation of PIE *awen-, awyo-, awo-* and on early kinship system. Possibly Skt *ava-*, Av, OPers *ava- that, yonder*, OSl *ovъ* correlative *this one here ... that one there*; P 1959:73-75, ie 'grandparents' from 'more remote kin'; or according to Brugmann 1911-12 IF 29:206 fn1, as 'those being over (the parents)'; see also Wiedemann 1902 BKIS 27:222-23, Risch 1944 MH 1:119-21, Mezger 1960 ZVS 76:296-301.

Earlier views, such as that of Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:128-29 on the designation for mother's brother as not PIE must be reformulated in accordance with findings on shifts away from Omaha kinship system in Gk and Indo-Iran, Gates 1971:45-50. On PIE kinship system see P Friedrich 1966 Ethnology 5:1-36.

A243. aza name of the *a*-rune in the Go runic alphabet of the Sal; OI **āss*, OE *ōs* ← PGmc *ansuz god* Bugge 1905-13:69ff; Arntz 1944:190-91; cf **anses**. Less likely, Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:200ff: ← PGmc *ahsa* as in OE *eax*, OHG *ahsa* stf *axle of wagon*; also Skt *ákṣas*, Gk ἄξων, Lith *ašìs*; OSl *osь axle*; rejected because of meaning.

A244. *azets adj*a easy*, only adv

azetaba ἡδέως *gladly* 2C 11.19; n comp *azetizo* (*azitizo* Mk 10.25) εὐκοπώτερον *easier*; *in azetjam* (*so wizondei in azetjam* ἡ σπαταλῶστα *she living in pleasure* 1T 5.6) dat pl of **azeti* n*ia pleasure*.

Isolated in Gmc and without etymology.

Scarcely Grienberger 1900:40, Go **azĭts*, formed from Gmc prep *az* (OHG *ar- out of*) with adj *ĭt-* (with which collectives in *-itja-*, OHG *-izzi-*, such as Go **stiwiti** are formed). Other even less likely conjectures in F 1939:71-72.

A245. *azgo f*n* σποδός *ashes* M 11.21.

OI *aska*, OE *asca*, *æsca*, OHG *asca* st/wkf *ashes*†.

PIE *ăs- burn*; Arm *ačiun* ← **azgi- ashes*, *azazem dry*, *azazun dry, parched*, ← **azgh-* (Solta 1960:238-39, who points to possible parallel with Gmc *-sk-* ∼ *-zg-*; Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:357). Also Skt *ā́sas ashes, dust*; Lat *āreō dry*, *āra altar*, OHG *essa* f *forge*; TochAB *as-*, *ās- dry*, A papl *āsu dried*; Hitt *hassa-ashes, hearth*. With *-d-* Gk ἄζω *dry*, Cz *ozd parched malt*. W/H 1938-56 I:65; Tischler 1983- I:196-97, not Hitt *hat-*, 213-14.

Older suggestions cited in F 1939:72 superseded. Problems with IE root summarized in Tischler 1983- I:196-97.

P 1959:68-69.

A246. azwme gen pl (only *daga azwme* ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων *on the day of unleavened bread* Mk 14.12); borrowed form of τὰ ἄζυμα pl *unleavened bread*, with Go ending.

B

B1. ba encl ptc ἐάν *if, even though*, in *þauh ga-ba-dauþniþ* κἄν ἀποθάνῃ *even though he dies* J 11.25. Also in *iba*, **ibai**, **niba**, *nibai*.

PIE *bhĕ/ŏ* ptc indicating emphasis: Av *bā truly*; Gk φή as; Arm *ba(y)* emphatic ptc; with *o*-grade, OSl *bo for*; Lith *ba for, yes*; Cz, Pol *ba indeed* (Bader 1973 BSLP 68:[art]39,53), Joseph 1982 IF 87:166-69 prefers relationship with Gk -σφα as in μέσφα *until*, which P 1959: 703 labels unclear.

Scarcely a syncopated form of *iba whether* Grienberger 1900:41; nor to Hitt *-be*; J Friedrich 1952:165.

P 1959:113.

B2. -ba adv suffix, as in *baitraba bitterly*; Bezzenberger 1873:68, G Schmidt 1962:363.

Isolated, both in Gmc and the IE languages; origin obscure. May be related to PIE *bh-*, like Gk -φι, a ppn expressing various case functions; also *-bhei*, as in Myc *pe-i*; according to Bader 1975 BSLP 70:[art]31,36ff, from dem PIE *bhe/o-*, **bh(e)y*; see also Chantraine 1968-80:1202-03. In view of isolation further speculation pointless, as reported in F 1939:72-73. See also Kieckers 1928:166.

B3. baar CrimGo 'puer' *boy*. Possibly = **barn**, whether misprinted, E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:15, or through loss of *-n* after *-r-*, Hamp 1973 JEGP 72:60-61. Others relate it to ***baur**, Seebold 1970:105, tentatively Stearns 1978:129-30; Høst 1985 ZDA 114:44-45 returns to assumption of a correct CrimGo word parallel to OHG **bar*, MHG *bar* m *son, man*. It would be from an *o*-grade reflex of PIE *bher-*; cf **bairan**.

B4. badi n*ja* κράββατος, κλινίδιον *bed* L 5.24.

MNor *bed*, OSw *bædhil lair of animals, nest*, OE *bedd*, OFris, OS *bed*, OHG *betti* stn *bed*†. OI *beðr* stm *bolster, feather-bed* Falk 1919:204; PGmc *baðjaz*, F 1939:73 takes OHG *bedde small plot in a garden* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 III:716) as key to earlier meaning; also OE *bedd* stn *flowerbed, wyrt-bedd a garden-bed*. His comparison with OFr *biez, bief mill-race* not accepted in Meyer-Lübke 1935:1016.

Etymology uncertain. Generally related to Lat *fodiō dig, fossa ditch*; Wel *bedd*, Corn *bedh grave*; Lith *bèsti*, Latvian *badît stick*; OPruss *boadis a prick*; with *e*-vocalism Latvian *best, bedît dig, bedre pit, grave*; OSl *bodǫ stick* Meringer 1906 IF 19:448; Posch 1934 WuS 16: 4-16. Vries 1962:29 finds this proposal unlikely -- humans scarcely would label their own sleeping place from the lair of an animal. He proposes relationship between PGmc *baðja* and *baða*, OI *bað* = *warm bath* and OI *beðr*; *badi* then *a warm place where one is protected from cold*. This from PIE *bhē- warm* as in OHG *bāen* wkv *bake bread*, OE *bath*, OHG *bad* stn *bath*†, + PIE *-g-*, Gk φώγω *roast*, OI *baka*, OE *bacan*, OHG *bahhan* stvVI *bake*† P 1959:113.

Proposed relationship to Gk βόθρος, βόθυνος *ditch*, of little value since its own derivation is unclear, Chantraine 1968-80:183.

Borrowings from Gmc: Finn *patja*, Est *padi*, Livonian *pad'a pillow, bolster* Thomsen 1870:162.

Older proposals in F 1939:73.

P 1959:113-14.

B5. bagms m*a* δένδρον *tree* M 7.17, **alewa-bagms** m*a* ἐλαία *olive tree*; ***baira-bagms** m*a* συκάμινος *mulberry tree*; ***peika-bagms** m*a* φοίνιξ *palm tree*; *smakka-bagms* m*a* συκῆ *fig tree*.

Gmc cognates vary in syllable final; OSw *bagn* (probably assimilation of *-m* to *-n*), OE *bēam*, OFris *bām*, OS *bōm*, OHG *boum* stm *tree*, cf NE *beam*. Modified further: OI *baðmr* stm, probably from *barmr* stm *tree*, from **bagmr* influenced by OI *bǫrr* stm *tree* (Torp and Falk, eds 1909:257-58; differently, Noreen

1923:186, who assumes *baðmr* besides *faðmr* stm *fathom*†; Holthausen 1930 GRM 18:150 proposes contamination of *barmr* and *faðmr*).

Precise etymology difficult, but based on PIE *bhew-*, with a laryngeal extension (see **bauan**); Benveniste 1935a:166 proposes *-ʔ-*, Rix 1976:245, *-x-*, either of which may be possible; probably *-men-* as in Gk φῦμα *growth*, Skt *bhūma* n *being, earth* (K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:224f; Torp and Falk, eds 1909:258; Specht 1944:54). Root has *-o*-grade, as in **namo**; unique sequence from PIE *bhew-H-m(e)n-* → PGmc *bagmaz, baumaz* cannot be stated with assurance (cf *sugil* with equally difficult development, WP Lehmann 1952:48; Lindeman 1964:164-65); cf varied reflexes in OI *bygg*, OE *bēow* *barley*, OE *bēor*, OHG *bior* stn *beer*†.

Other hypotheses, such as mixture with reflexes of PIE *bagh-*, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:263-64, or relationship to Skt *bahúṣ* *arm* Grienberger 1900:42 dubious; cf also F 1939:73-74; Markey 1979 JIES 7:199-211.

P 1959:146-50; Watkins 1985:8.

B6. bai (L 6.39) collective pl numeral, n *ba*, acc m *bans* E 2.16, dat *baim* L 7.42 (Lith *abiem*, Latvian *abiem*, OSl *oběma*), ἀμφότεροι *both*.

OI *bāðir* nom (← **bai þaiz*; *bāða* acc m [← **bans þans*], gen *beggja* [: Go **baddje* ← **bayye*]; OE *bēgen* m [*bō* + *jena-*], **Jains**, according to Sievers 1885 BGDSL 10:495; Helten 1905-06 IF 18:92-93), OE *bā* (+ *þā* = NE *both*), OE *bū* n, OFris *bēthe*, OS *bēthia*; OHG *bēde* (Otfried), *bei-de* (Tatian) *both*. PGmc *bai* has pl ending like Go *twai* *two* Meringer 1887 ZVS 28:235ff; G Schmidt 1962:227-28, however, takes *bai* as a Gmc innovation.

PIE *bhōw*; with emphatic prefix in **am-bhōw* *both*; (cf Gk ἀμ-φί ← PIE *am-bhi* *on both sides*, Lat *ambi-*; also PIE *ṃ-bhi* in Skt *abhi-*, Gaul *amb-*, OIr *imb-*, OHG *umbi* *about* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:76). Gk ἄμφω, Lat *am-bō* *both*, TochA *āmpi*, B *ant-api*, Meillet 1911 JAsiat 1:147; W/H 1938-56 I:36,37; with different initial syllable Skt *u-bhaú* *both*; see **wit.** Lith *a-bù*, Latvian *abi*, OPruss *abbai*, OSl *o-ba* *both* Fraenkel 1962-65:1. Possibly derived ultimately from PIE dem *bhe/o-*, as in Gk 3pl dat σ-φιν; Bader 1975 BSLP 70:[art]31,36ff, with du endings = *they two, both*. See also **baJoþs**.

P 1959:34-35.

B7. *baidjan wkvI only 2sg prs *baideis* G 2.14, *baidiþs* papl G 2.3; **ga-baidjan* only 2pl prt *ga-baidideduþ* 2C 12.11, perfective ἀναγκάζειν *compel, exercise a moral constraint* Benveniste 1973:99.

OI *beiðа*, OE *bædan*, OS *bēdian*, OHG *beiten, beitten* wkv *request, compel.*

PIE *bheydh- persuade*; Gk πείθομαι *be persuaded, obey*; Lat *fidēs* *confidence*; Alb *be* *oath* (← **bhoidhā*). Semantic relationships indicated by Benveniste 1973:94-100; early Lat texts require meaning 'credit'. Go reflects this meaning in ***beidan** *expect* from 'have confidence in'; caus *baidjan* indicates *moral constraint* from 'persuading someone to obey'; this meaning quite clear in OI *beiðа* *request, ask*. Early meaning still reflected in Alb *be*. Modified meaning in OSl *běda* *necessity*, inf *běditi* *constrain*; according to Berneker 1908-14:54; not borrowed from Gmc, as Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:331 and Meillet 1902-05:252 propose; it also translates Gk ἀναγκάζειν, Benveniste 1973:95, see Peeters 1980 ZVS 94:206-07. Possibly also OIr *bibdu* *guilty*, according to Sommer 1900 *F* Stokes:24-25, ← PIE *bhi-bhid-wōts*; many other conjectures (Vendryès 1959-:B-49 "rien de sûr").

Benveniste's solution of semantic difficulty overrides earlier doubts of derivation from PIE *bheydh-* as well as other proposals cited in F 1939:74. This derivation already made by Wood 1906-07 MP 4:489-90, though without satisfactory semantic argumentation. See also **nauþs** with contrasting meaning *physical constraint.*

P 1959:117.

B8. *baira-bagms *ma* συκάμινος

mulberry tree, only dat sg L 17.6.

Cf Nor *bjørne-ber Rubus caesius*, Sw *björn-bär, björn-hallon Rubus fruticosus, blackberry bush*, actually 'bear-berry' = NE *black bearberry* (*Uva ursi*). Go **baira-bagms* is similarly a folk etymological modification to the name of the bear, according to Loewe 1913: 12ff (OI *bjǫrn*, OE *bera*, OHG *bero*, MDu *bere* : Lith *bẽras* **brown**; possibly Skt *bhallas*, *bhallūkas* **bear**, *-rl-* or expressive gemination, or even other possibilities, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:483,485).

Orig from PIE *bhar-s- pointed*, as in OSl *borz fir*, Cz *bor pine forest*; OI *barr conifer* (← PGmc *barza-*), OI *burst*, OE *byrst*, OE, OHG *bursta* f *bristle*† : Skt *bhṛṣṭíš point, tip, edge*; Lat *fastīgium tip* (← **fa(r)s-ti-*); OIr *barr summit* Vendryès 1959-:B-19-20; see also ***barizeins**. W/P 1927-32 II:131-34,162-64 distinguish these, deriving OSl *borz* from PIE *bher-* but OI *barr* etc from PIE *bhares-*; P 1959: 108-09 proposes PIE *bhar-* : *bhor-* : *bhṛ- tip* with *-u-* and *-s*-extensions. Others even relate these to PIE *bher- carry*.

baira- is not related to OI *pera*, OE *peru*, OHG *bira* f *pear*† (← VLat *pira* : Lat *pirum* **pear**). For other proposed cognates see F 1939: 74-75.

P 1959:108-10.

B9. bairan many occurrences, 3sg prt *bar* Mk 4.8, 1pl prt *berum* 1C 15.48, papl **unbaurans* in dat sg m *un-bauranamma* φέρειν, βαστάζειν, τίκτειν **carry, endure, give birth** Sk 5.20 / Vc.24; *at-bairan* φέρειν, προσφέρειν **bring, offer** Mk 6.28; **inn-at-bairan* (only 3pl opt prt *-reina* L 5.18,19) εἰσφέρειν **bring in**; *fra-bairan* (only inf J 16.12) βαστάζειν **endure**; *ga-bairan* τίκτειν, γεννᾶν, παραβάλλειν **compare** Mk 4.30; **þairh-bairan* (only 3sg prt opt *-ri* Mk 11.16) διαφέρειν **carry out, produce**, ἀποκρίνεσθαι **to (propose an) answer**; **ut-bairan* (only papl *ut-baurans* L 7.12) ἐκκομίζειν **carry through**; *us-bairan* ἐκ/προφέρειν **carry out** L 6.45; **unbairands* prpl μὴ ποιοῦν καρπόν L 3.9, f οὐ τίκτουσα **not bearing (fruit)** G 4.27.

OI *bera*, OE *beran*, OFris *bera*, OS, OHG *beran* **bear**†; also with broad scope of meanings. OI *ū-borinn*, OE *un-baren* **unborn**†.

PIE *bher-* **bear**; various prs formations in Ved, Skt *bíbharti, bhárti, bhárati*; Av *baraiti*, OPers 3pl *barantiy* **bear**; Gk φέρω, (Myc *pe-re* = φέρει), Lat *ferō*; OIr *biru, berid*; OSl *berǫ*; Arm *berem* **bear**; Alb *bie* **bring**; TochAB *pär-* **bear**, A *pärtär* **bears**, Phryg αββερετ 'ad-ferebat' (cf **at**). Besides Ved *bhárti*, athematic forms also in Gk φέρτε (Iliad 9.171) 2pl imp, Lat *fert*, though *fert* has also been derived from **bher-e-t* (cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:473-76 for details); no evidence for athematic pattern in Gmc. See also Schmitt 1967:262-64. Oddly, not attested in Hitt. Fraenkel 1962-65:40 derives Lith *beriù*, Latvian *bẽrt* from PIE *bher-* in spite of meaning ***strew, pour out***, objecting to Meillet 1924 *F2* Streitberg:258ff, who relates it to Skt *jarbhūriti struggles*.

Cf W/P 1927-32 II:153-57: 1. *bher-*, P 1959:128-32, Seebold 1970:104-06, Watkins 1985:7. Cf also ***barms, barn, barnilo, *baur, *baurþei, *ga-baurþs, berusjos**. Trier 1952:81-90 also relates PIE 6. *bher-* (W/P 1927-32 II:162-64 and its extended form *bhreg-* II:201, as in ***brikan**).

B10. *bairgahei *fn* ὀρεινή (χώρα) ***mountainous area***, only dat acc sg *-hein* L 1.39, 65.

Abstract formation with *-ei* as in ***afgudei** from adj **bairgahs* ***mountainous***, which was made with *-ha*-suffix (← PIE *-ko-*) as in Skt *sūcí-kas stinging insect*; Gk φυσι-κός ***naturally***; Lat *civi-cus* ***civic***; Russ *chodó-k* ***pedestrian*** (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:493-95). Based on ***bairgs** ***mountain***, (like **stainahs* from **stains** [Kluge 1926:36] **bairgahei* : **bairgahs* = *managei* : ***managS**).

OI *bjarg, berg* ***mountain, rock***, OE *beorg*, OFris *berch*, OS, OHG *berg* stm ***mountain***.

PIE *bherĝh-* in Av *barəzah-* ***height***; Arm *-berj* ***height*** (as in *erkna-berj* ***sky-high***); Gaul GN with *Berg-* (*Bergusia*; cf Thurneysen 1884: 44; Stokes 1894:171; Holder 1896-1907 I:402ff),

Wel *bera* **heap**, TochAB *pärk-* **rise**. PIE *bhṛĝh-*: Skt *bṛhant-*; Av *bərəz(ant)-*, *bərəz-* **high**; Gaul EN *Brig-antes*, GN *Brig-antia* (= Gmc **Burgundiō*) *Bregenz*; OIr *brí* f, acc *brig* **hill**; Arm *barjr* (← PIE *bhṛĝhu-*); Hitt *parkus* **high** (*u*-stem like Arm *barjr*), *parkatar* **height**; cf Go **baurgs**.

Source of OSl *brěgъ* **cliff, bank** disputed; a Gmc loan word according to Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:332; Berneker 1908-14:49-50; Stender-Petersen 1927:265-66; a native word with depalatalization according to A Brückner 1914 ZVS 46:232, 1929 ASPh 42:125ff; Jokl 1924 *FŽ* Streitberg:175, who also cites Thrac GN Βέργα, Βέργισον, Βεργούλη (cf NHG *Brieg* in Silesia).

P 1959:140-41.

B11. *bairgan stvIII φυλάσσειν, τηρεῖν; **ga-bairgan* συντηρεῖν **keep**, 3sg prs *bairgiþ* J 12.25.

OI *bjarga*, OE *beorgan*, OS *gi-bergan*, OHG *bergan* stv **keep, preserve**.

PIE *bherĝh-*: Lith *bìrginti* **be parsimonious**; OSl *brěgǫ, brěšti* **care for**, Russ *berežno* **careful**; not borrowed from Gmc, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23: 332; from PIE, Berneker 1908-14:49. Further relations, as with **baurgs**, Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:262, to be rejected.

P 1959:145, Seebold 1970:106-07.

B12. *bairhts adj*a* δῆλος **bright, manifest** J 9.3; *bairhtaba* adv λαμπρῶς, τηλαυγῶς ἐν παρρησίᾳ **brightly, openly** L 16. 19; *bairhtei* f*n*, *-ei* as in ***af-gudei**, **brightness** M 6.4; **bairhtjan* wkvI (only 2sg imp *bairhtei* J 7.4), *ga-bairhtjan* wkvI φανεροῦν **show, disclose** Mk 4.22; **ga-bairhteins* f*i*/*ō* ἐπιφάνεια **epiphany**, **-eins** as in **ahmateins* 2T 1.10. With *-w-*, **brahv* n[?] (only dat sg *brahva* 1C 15.52) **glance (of eye)**.

OI *bjartr*, OE *beorht*, OS *berht*, *beraht*, OHG *beraht* **bright**†; OI *birti*, OHG *perahti* wkf **brightness**†; OI *birta*, OE *ge-bierhtan* wkv **brighten**; intrans MHG *brehen* wkv **light up**.

PIE *bher-* **shine** with suffixes *-ek-*, *-eĝ-*, *-eʔ-g-*: Skt *bhrājate* **shines, gleams**, *bhrājás* **sparkling**; Av *brāzaiti* **beams**, *brāza-* **shimmering**, also n **radiance**; Wel *berth* **beautiful**, Lith *javaĩ béršti* **the grain ripens** [?], Fraenkel 1962-65:40-41 derives this from **bher-* **bear**, though he relates *béržas* **birch** as noted below; OSl *pro-brězgz* **dawning** Walde 1897 ZVS 34:514-15f; Alb *bardhë* **white**; Ir GN *Flaith-bertach*, OBret GN *Berth-walart* (Stokes 1894:170) with loss of velar between *r* and *t*, Loth 1927 RevCelt 44:6; Vendryès 1927 RevCelt 44:314. Also Skt *bhūrjás* **a species of birch**; Lat *farnus* **ash**; OI *bjǫrk*, OE *beorc*, *bierce*, OS *birka*, OHG *birhha* stf, OSl *brěza*, Lith *béržas* **birch**† ← PIE *bh(e)rʔ-ĝ-* (cf WP Lehmann 1952:53 on *-rH-* in Gmc; P Friedrich 1970:26-31 on tree name and distribution).

Parallel to **bher-* **to shine** is PIE *bhel-* **shine**, also with suffixes: *-eĝ-*, *-ek-*, *-ey-*, and with an alternate *bheH-* (H or ?\; W/P 1927-32 II:122-23, P 1959:118-20,124-25); Skt *bhárgas* **radiance**; Gk φλέγω **burn**; Lat *fulgeō* **shine**, *fulgur* **lightning**, *flagrāre* **burn**; OI *blakkr* **pale, light brown**, MHG *blach* **shining**; OI *blakra*, OHG *blecchen* wkv **blink**. Also from PIE *bhel-* **shine**, Skt *bhālam* **forehead** (**radiance**, in inscriptions; but cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:496-97, who doubts PIE origin). Further, OSl *bělz* **white**; OI *bāl* n **flame**; OE *bǣl* n **flame, pyre** (possibly with lengthened grade; possibly influenced by PIE *bheH- bhā-* P 1959:104-05) Hsch φαλός· λευκός φαλιός, φαληρός **shining**; Alb *ballë* **forehead**; Lat *fulica* (← PIE *bholikā*): OHG *pelihha* stf **bald coot**; Lith *bálti* **become pale**.

Possibly here with *-w-* as in Go *brahva*, Hitt *parkuis* **clean, pure** Feist 1924:130 fn1; J Friedrich 1952:161.

Further extension of PIE *bhel-* with *-ey-*suffix + *-g/k-* in Lith *blìkšėti* **sparkle, shine**, *blizgėti* **glimmer**; OSl *blьštati, blěsks* **gleam**; OI *blíkja*, OE, OS *blīcan*, OHG *blīchan* **shine**; OI *bleikr*, OE *blāc*, OS *blēk*, OHG *bleich* **shining, pale**. P 1959:155-57,158,159,160,118-20,124-25.

B13. *baitrs adj*a* **bitter**, only nom pl m *baitrai* Col 3.19; adv *baitraba* πικρῶς **bitterly**, only M 26.75; *baitrei* f*n* πικρία

bitterness E 4.31 (for **-ei** see ***af-gudei**).

OI *beiskr* (← PGmc *bait-ska-*) *bitter, evil*; with zero grade, OI *bitr*, OE *bittor*, OS, OHG *bittar bitter*†; OHG *bittirī* wkf *bitterness*.

PIE *bheyd-*, as in ***beitan, beist**; with *o*-grade (Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:312) and PIE *-ro*-suffix (remarkably frequent in words for 'bitter, sharp' according to Lidén 1906:58; varying with *u*-suffix according to M Bloomfield 1925 Lg 1:94) in Skt *rudhirás*, Gk ἐρυθρός, Lat *ruber*, f *rubra*, OSl *rъdrъ, rъdrъ red*, TochA *rätrye, rätraṃ*, B *rätre* (cf new western IE formation, as in ***rauþs**) *red*; further, OI *roðra* f, Skt *rúdhiram* n *blood* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:348ff, esp 352; Kluge 1926:96-97.

For older suggestions see F 1939:77.

P 1959:116-17.

B14. bajoþs pl ἀμφότεροι *both*, cons stem nom L 5.38, E 2.18, dat *bajoþum* M 9.17; Sk 2.25 / IId.17, 3.4 / IIIa.15.

Derived from stem in *bai*; but formation unclear. Probably based on n pl **bajo* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:77; cf WP Lehmann 1957:145-47 on collective use of n pl) followed by forms of PIE *ta-*, PGmc pl *þō-*, thus similar in formation to OI *bāðir*; cf **bai**. Similarly Bartholomae 1890-91 I:59ff, though he assumes a du **bajoþo*, with parallel in Skt adv *ubhayā́ on both sides*.

Other proposals, such as derivation with suffix in **menoþs** (J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:384) or with suffix in Lith *dvējetas duality* (Meringer 1887 ZVS 28:237f) or formation like Lat *nostrātes ours* (Torp and Falk, eds 1909: 255) less likely in view of parallels with other Gmc dialects (in spite of Sievers 1885 BGDSL 10:495 fn1 and Meringer 1887 ZVS 28:236).

P 1959:35.

B15. *bala- φαλιός, τὸ σῶμα φαιός *shining, gray (of body)*, in Procopius, De bello Gothico I.18.6 (ed Bonn): βάρβαροι δε βάλαν καλοῦσι ἐπιβάτην 'the barbarians call the horse Bala', and in Ennodius 355 (ed Vogel): "de equo badio et balane" 'of a gray and *bala* horse', E Schröder 1891 ZDA 35:237ff. Cf Schwyzer 1914 *F* Blümner:306.

OHG *pelihha* stf 'fulica', MHG *belche* stf *bald coot*, OI *blesi* m nickname ← **bles white spot on forehead of animals*, OHG *blassa*; *blasros horse with such a spot*, NE *blaze white spot* (Schwyzer 1929 ZDA 66:94-100).

PIE *bhel-* as in Lith *balà marsh* from *white area*, *bálti become white* (Fraenkel 1962-65:30, 32, W Schulze 1966:111-12) and other cognates listed with Go **bairhts*.

Borrowed forms in Balkan languages given by Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:299ff; in Romance languages given by Suchier 1894 ZRP 18:186ff.

P 1959:118-20.

B16. *balgs mi ἀσκός *bag made of skin* M 9.17; **mati-balgs* mi πήρα *bag for food* L 9.3.

OI *belgr flayed animal skin, bag, belly*; OE *bel(i)g, byl(i)g*, OS, OHG *balg* stm *bag* (OHG *bulga* f *leather sack*, borrowed from Gaul). An associated verb OE *belgan*, OS, OHG *belgan* stvIII *(swell up), be angry*; OI only papl *bolginn swollen*; OI caus *belgja* wkv *cause to swell*; OFris papl *ovir-bulgen enraged*.

Gaul (-Lat) *bulga leather sack*; OIr *bolg sack, bolgaim to swell*; Wel *bol, bola, boly belly, sack* (: NE *belly*), Vendryès 1959-:B-66-67.

PIE *bhelǧh- to make swell*: Skt *barhiṣ* n *sacrificial straw, upa-barhaṇam, upa-bárhaṇī cover, bolster*; Av *barəziš pillow* (accepted hesitatingly by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:415-16); Latvian *pa-bàlsts pillow for the head*; OPruss *po-balso bolster, balsinis pillow*; Slov *blazína feather-bed*, Serb *blàzina pillow, bolster*.

PIE *bhelǧh-* is assumed to be an extension of *bhel-*, cf. ***bairhts**; Lat *follis bag* (W/H 1938-56 I:524-25); Gk φαλλός (← *φαλ-νο-), φάλης *penis*; Skt *bulis* f *buttocks, vulva*; OIr *ball penis*; Lith *bulẽ, bulìs buttocks*; NHG *bille penis, bulle vulva* (Hessian) (Bezzenberger 1893 BKIS 19:248); OI *bǫllr* stm *ball*, OE *bealloc testicle, bolla* wkm (← **bhol-n-*) *vase, dish, bowl*†; OHG *ballo* wkm *ball*†; OI *boli*, OE *bull-uc*, MLG *bulle* stn *breeding animal, bull*†, *bullock*† W Schulze 1966:308. Also Arm *blur* ←

bulur*, cf OI *bǫllr* ← **bhōlu-ro-*, Arm gen *blroy hill, bolor round*, according to Petersson 1916 ZVS 47:260ff; cf also Solta 1960:137-39. Vendryès, 1940 BSLP 41:[art]134, notes Gk μολγός *leather bag*, OHG *malha*, OI *malr bag* as pointing to PIE word for such an article. Further relationships **bh(e)lē-*; cf also ***bloma and ***uf-blesan**.

P 1959:120-22,125-126.

B17. *balsagga mn τράχηλος *neck*, only acc sg *-gan* Mk 9.42.

Formerly assumed to be error for ***halsagga**, after Gabelentz and Loebe 1848:558. But Ebbinghaus 1963 MLN 78:426 maintains reading, deriving Go *bals-* from PIE *bhel- speak*, comparing Skt *bhaṣá-s* (← **bhel-s-*) *barking*, *bhāṣate speaks*, which Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 497-98 rejects; but OI *belja bellow*, OE, OHG *bellan* wkv *bark, bell* (of hounds)* support possible Go *bals-*. By this derivation *-agga* is from PIE *anĝh-* as in ***aggwus** *narrow*; **balsagga* is then *the narrowing from which speech emerges*; Gk ἄμφην ← **ang^{w}h- neck*; also Skt *aṁhúḥ narrow*; Lat *angor choking, anxiety*; OHG *ancha*, MHG *anke* wkm, NHG dial, NHG (RhineF), Swabian *anke* f *neck*.

P 1959:123-24,45-46.

B18. balsan *na* μύρον *ointment* J 12. 5.

Does not correspond directly with OHG *balsamo* m *balsam*. E Schwarz 1951:42 assumes Go borrowing through peoples of South Russia from Ar *balasān*; Bugge 1905-13:133 proposed influence of Arm *balasan*. Such a source clarifies problem of *-an* if, like the OHG word, *balsan* was borrowed from Lat *balsamum*; cf Gk βάλσαμον. W Schulze 1966:509-10 cites *balsan* as a well-established Go word rather than a recent adaptation from Gk.

According to Üçok 1938:47 *balsan* is restricted to religious contexts whereas **salbons* indicates ointment in general.

B19. balþaba adv (ἐν) παρρησίᾳ *boldly, frankly* J 7.13, to **balþs bold*; also **balþei* *fn* παρρησία *boldness, frankness, -ei* as in ***af-gudei**; **þrasa-balþei* *fn* (only acc sg *-þein* Sk 5.11 / Vb.14-15) *contentiousness*; **us-balþei* *fn* διαπαρατριβή *continuous bickering* 1T 6.5; **balþjan* wkvI (only 3sg prs *balþeiþ* Sk 2.1 / IIa.3) *be bold, dare*.

OI *ballr*, OE *beald*, OS, OHG *bald* (← PGmc *balþaz*) *bold**; OE adv *ballice* (← *-/d/-*); OI *baldinn defiant, brave*; OHG *baldi* wkf *bravery*; OI *bella*, OE *byldan*, OS *beldian*, OHG *balden* wkv (← PGmc *balþjan*) *encourage*; OI *her-baldr* stm *leader of army*, OE *baldor*, *bealdor* stm *prince, master*; OI name of god *Baldr* probably the same in origin, but see the numerous other proposals in Vries 1962:24.

PIE *bhel- swell* + *-to-*; orig 'swelled'; cf ***balgs**. Scarcely to be equated with Lith *báltas white* ('shining' = 'powerful'), see Fraenkel 1962-65:32.

B20. *balwa-wesei *fn* κακία *wickedness*, only gen sg *-seins* 1C 5.8; *balwjan* wkvI βασανίζειν *martyr* L 8.28; **balweins fi/ō* κόλασις, βάσανος *punishment, torture* L 16.23; see also **1. wisan**.

OE *bealo evil, wicked*, cf NE *baleful*; OI *bǫl*, dat *bǫlvi misfortune, damage*, OE, OFris *bealu* stn *evil, misfortune, wickedness*, OS *balu evil*, OHG *balo*, gen *balawes* stm *destruction*; OI *bǫlva* wkv *curse*.

OCorn *bal* f, pl *-ow sickness*; OSl *bolь* m *sick person*, *bolěti be sick, have pain*, though Berneker 1908-14:71-72 doubtful because of differences in form and meaning; P 1959:125 posits PIE *bhelen- strike (until powerless), weak, sick*, cf ***bliggwan**. Attempts towards other etymologies unconvincing; see F 1939:79. Schubert 1968:69 proposes amending to Go *-weisei*, based on Go **balwa-weis*, cf OI *bǫlvíss malignant*, OS *bala-wīso* m *devil*, with the suffix of **fulla-weis*.

P 1959:125.

B21. bandi *fīō* δεσμός *bond, fetter* Mk 7.35; **eisarna-bandi* ἅλυσις *chain*; ***fotu-bandi** πέδη *leg chains*; ***naudi-bandi** ἅλυσις *chain*; *bandja* mn *captive* E 3.1.

OI *band* stn, OE *bend* stm/f, OFris *bend*,

band stn, OS *band* stn, pl *bendi*, OHG *bant* stn *bond*†, *band*†, *fetter.*

Skt *bandhás bond, bándhuṣ connection, kinship*; Av *bandō*, NPers *band bond, fetter.* See ***bindan.**

B22. *bandwa f*wō* (only dat sg *bandwai* 1C 14.22), *bandwo* f*n* σημεῖον *sign* Mk 14.44; **bandwjan* wkvI νεύειν, σημαίνειν, μηνύειν L 20.37, **ga-bandwjan* wkvI ἐννεύειν *give a sign, indicate* L 1.62.

OI *benda* wkv (with loss of *w*; cf Pipping 1912 *F* Lidén:146) *give a sign.*

Üçok 1938:38-39, in dealing with the semantic field for 'sign', distinguishes between **bandwā, *bandwo-* as restricted to *a concrete sign for demonstrating a meaning* (cf 2Th 3.17 = *signature*), ***fauratani** as *a supernatural sign*, and **taikns** as the general word.

Taken into Lat (Med) as *bandum* ("vexillum quod bandum appellant" 'a flag which they call *bandum*' in Paulus Diaconus, from Langobardic), into Romance languages (2nd base form F **banna*[?]) as It *banda troop, division* (those following the same sign[?]), *bando summons, bandiera*, Sp *bandera*, Fr *bannière banner*; It *bandire*, OFr *banir make known, ban*† (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 929-30); Gk (Med) βάνδον *flag* (in Procopius). Cf Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:266-67.

PIE *bhā- shine*: Gk φαίνω (← PIE **bhanyō*) *show*, φανή *torch*, φανερός *bright* L Meyer 1869:59; Chantraine 1968-80:1172. For parallel development see OFr *ori-flame, orie-flambe the red banner of Charlemagne* ← Lat *aurea flamma golden flame.* Also Skt *bhâti shines, appears, bhânam shining, appearance, bhâmas shine, light, bhâlam radiance*; OIr *bān white*; OE *bōnian polish*; LG *bōnen*, MHG *büenen* wkv *polish, scour.*

P 1959:104-05, though dubious about **bandwa.*

B23. *banja f*jō* πληγή *blow, wound* L 10.30, ἕλκος *sore.*

OI *ben*, OE *benu* stf, OS *beni-wunda* stf *wound*; OI *bani*, OE *bana*, OFris *bona*, OS *bano*, OHG *bano* wkm *murderer*; OHG *bano death, destruction*, NE *bane*; OFris *benethe* f, OS *banedī* f *mourning as a result of wounding or murder.*

Only dubious relationships; Av *bąnayən they sicken, banta- sick, weak*; Wel *bonblow*[?] in *bon-clust box of the ears*, but see P 1959:126.

Vries 1962:25 properly doubts relationship with Dan dial *baane*, NDu *baanen hammer out*; MHG *ban(e)* stf *path*, NHG *Bahn way.* Repeated proposals of derivation from PIE *g^{w}hen- strike*; Skt *hán-ti*, Av *jainti strikes, kills*, Skt pl *ghn-ánti*; Gk θείνω *kill*; Lat *dē-fendō ward off*; OIr *gonim wound, kill*; Lith *genù drive*; OSl *ženo*; Arm *jnem*; Hitt *kuenzi strike*; Gk φόνος *murder*; TochA *kuñaç*; OI *guðr, gunnr* (poetic), OE *gūþ*, OS *gūðea*, OHG *gundstf battle* (← PIE *g^{w}hn-tyā*), cf Skt *hatyâ, -hatiṣ*, Av *jaitiš* f *beating* P 1959:491-93; already by Schade 1872-82 I:39, and now again by Seebold 1967 ZVS 81:113, but generally rejected on phonological grounds; PIE *g^{w}h* does not give PGmc *b* as OI *guðr* etc illustrate, Krause 1968:123. Proposed relationship to OIr *ben- strike, wound* (cf Vendryès 1959-:B-32-34) also rejected; this ← PIE *bhey-ə- to strike* P 1959:117; here OE *bill*, OS, OHG stn *bil sword.* (Zimmer 1890 ZVS 30:139 also proposed derivation of OIr *ben-* from PIE *g^{w}hen-*).

Other suggestions even more doubtful; see F 1939:80.

P 1959:126.

B24. *bansts m*i* ἀποθήκη *barn* L 3. 17.

OI *bāss* stm (← PGmc *ban-sa-z*) *stall in cow-barn*, OE *bōsig* stm *crib*, NE *boose animal barn*, OFris *bōs cow barn*, MLG *bōs* stm, NDu *boes part of cow barn*; LG *banse* stm *granary* (*part of one-room house for stores*; F Kauffmann 1907 ZDP 39:285).

Probably from PGmc *band-sti-, band-safencing*; cf ***bindan** (Grienberger 1900:43; Torp and Falk, eds 1909:259; Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:264; K Johansson 1906 IF 19:116);

also OFris *bōst* (← PGmc *band-stu-*) *marital tie*; Gk πάθνη, φάτνη ← *φαθ-νᾱ, PIE *bhndh-nā crib* : Gaul *benna* (Paulus/Festus 24) *two-wheeled wagon with wicker body* (Lidén 1896 BKIS 21:109-10, 1906:7; Solmsen 1909 ZVS 42: 219; Chantraine 1968-80:1182); NE *bin*, OE *bin(n)*, *binne* ← OBrit **benna*, cf Wel *ben cart*. Relation to OIr *bēs custom* doubtful, Vendryès 1959-:B-43; proposed relation to Lith *bandà cattle* rejected by Fraenkel 1962-65:34.

For other less likely proposals, see F 1939: 80-81.

B25. barbarus m βάρβαρος *barbarian*, borrowed from Lat *barbarus*, only Col 3.11.

B26. *barizeins adja κρίθινος *(prepared of) barley* J 6.9; PGmc *bariz-* ← PIE *bhares- barley* + *-eins* as in ***ahmeins**.

OI *barr* stn (← PGmc **bariza-*) *grain* : OE *bere* stm *barley*†, *beren* (← PGmc **barīna-*) *of barley*, OFris *ber barley*.

PIE *bhares- barley*: Lat *far* (← **farr*), gen *farris*, Osc, Umbr *far spelt*; Lat *farīna* (← **farrīna* : Go **barizeins*) *flour*, Umbr *fasiu*, *farsio* = Lat *farrea*. Possibly OSl *brašьno food*, Russ *bórošno rye flour* (← **barsinom of grain*, though related by others to PIE *bher- to bear*; cf W/H 1938-56 I:455-56).

Without *-es-* Russ *bor millet*, Wel, Corn, Bret *bara* m, OIr *bairgen* (← **baragen-*, **bargenā-*) *bread* Vendryès 1959-:B-9.

PIE probably based on *bhar- standing up, tip, edge* P 1959:108-10, as in ***baira-bagms**. Rejected proposals cited by F 1939:81.

P 1959:111.

B27. *barms mi κόλπος *bosom, lap* L 6.38.

OI *barmr* stm *bosom* Vries 1962:27, but rejected as late borrowing by Seebold 1970:105; Sw, Dan *barm* stm *breast, bosom*, OE *bearm*, OS, OHG *barm* stm *lap*.

Possibly to Gk φορμός *woven carrying basket*, from PIE *bher- carry*, as in **bairan**; further, possibly Skt *bhárma support*, Gk φέρμα *that which is borne, fruit of the womb*, OSl *brěmę burden*; not accepted by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:481. Alternatively to PIE *bhar- pointed*, as in ***baira-bagms**, P 1959:108-09; here too OI *barmr* stm *edge*, LG *berm*, *berme* f *edge, berm*†, *ditch*, NFris *berm roadside ditch* Wood 1913-14 MP 11:326.

P 1959:128-32.

B28. barn na παιδιόν, τέκνον, βρέφος *child* J 16.21; **barnisks* adja νήπιος *childlike* (PIE *-isko-* in παιδίσκος *small boy* G 4.3; Lat *prīscus old* ← **pri-iscos* to *prīmus first*; Lith *bérniškas servile*; OSl *dětьsks childlike*; cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:501-03, Benveniste 1961 BSLP 56:[art]40, Mezger 1965 ZVS 79:38-41); **barniski* nia *childhood* Mk 9.21; **barniskei* fn (only acc pl *barniskeins* τὰ τοῦ νηπίου 1C 13. 11) *childlike matters* (**-ei** as in ***af-gudei**); *unbarnahs* adja (only L 20.28,29,30) ἄτεκνος *childless*, *-ahs* as in **ainaha**.

CrimGo **baar** 'puer' (misprint for barn?); OI *barn*, OE *bearn*, OFris *bern*, OS, OHG *barn* stn *child*, cf NE (Scottish) *bairn*, OI *bernskr childlike*.

With *e*-vowel, Lith *bérnas youth, servant, child* Fraenkel 1962-65:40. Alb *burrë man* from PIE *bhṛnos* (P 1959:130, Huld 1984:46-47; for the meaning see OHG *baro man*).

Derived with *-no-*, papl suffix, from PIE *bher- bear*, as in **bairan**; Trier 1952:89 proposes twofold meaning effective here, both *bear* (of mother) and *borne* as in a basket. Different sense with *-no-* in Arm *bérn burden*, Gk φερνή *dowry*, see Chantraine 1968-80:1188; Alb *barrë burden, fetus* Huld 1984:41.

P 1959:128-32.

B29. barnilo nn τέκνου, τεκνίου *little child* M 9.2.

Dim to **barn** with PIE *-e/olo-* as in Skt *vṛṣalas small man*; Gk ἀρκτύλος *small bear*; Lat *filiolus little son*; Lith *paršẽlis little pig*; OSl *plěvelz weeds*; **mawilo** κοράσιον *girl* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:365-66, Kluge 1926:29-30.

B30. bars CrimGo 'barba' *beard*.

Reflex of Go ***bards** *beard*, whether misheard by Busbecq, misprinted, or given in non-

nom by informant, Stearns 1978:130. OI *barδ*, possibly borrowed from MLG *bard*, OE *beard*, OFris *berd*, OHG *bart* stm *beard*†, based on PIE *bhar- pointed* as in ***baira-bagms***. Possibly equivalent to OI *barδ* stn *edge* Vries 1962: 26.

PIE *bhar-dhā beard*: Lat *barba* ← **farbā*, Solmsen 1897 ZVS 34:21 fn1, Meillet 1905-06 MSLP 13:215; Latvian *bàrda*, OPruss *bordus*, OSl *brada beard*. For Lith *barzdà beard* cf Skt *bhṛṣṭi- point*, OHG *burst* stf *bristle* Fraenkel 1962-65:36.

P 1959:110.

B31. barusnjan wkvI εὐσεβεῖν *show loyalty* (*administer well*, Üçok 1938:56) only inf 1T 5.4.

Without recognized relationships within Gmc and other dialects.

Many attempts to analyze word, and also emendations proposed. Isolated, it provides no avenues for explanation. May be a cmpd formation like εὐσεβεῖν; if so Holthausen 1906-07 IF 20:325 explanation possible; PGmc *bar- very* : OS *bar-* as in *bar-wirδig very worthy*, OHG *boro/e-* as in *bore-grōz very large*, and **usn-* as in **iusiza** *better* with basic meaning *treat very well*. Other suggestions dubious; F 1939:82-83.

B32. *batiza comp κρείσσων, χρηστότερος *better* M 5.29; *batista* weak superl (only L 1.3) κράτιστος *best*; **ga-batnan* wkvIV (only 2sg prs *ga-batnis* Mk 7.11) ὠφελεῖσθαι *obtain an advantage*; **bota* fō *aid*, cf NE *boot* (archaic); **botjan* wkvI ὠφελεῖν *be of use, do good* J 6.63; **ga-botjan* wkvI ἀποκαθιστάναι *improve, repair* Mk 9.12.

OI *betri, betstr*; OE *bet(e)ra, betst*; OFris *bet(e)re, best*; OS *betaro* (*betero*), *betst* (*best*); OHG *bezzir(o) better*†, *bezzist best*†. Besides these the adv of the comp, OI *betr*, OE, OFris, OS *bet* (← **batiz*), OS *bat*, OHG *baz* (← **bataz*, frozen nt according to Osthoff 1910b: 286-89); OI *bati improvement, salvation*, OFris *bata* stm *advantage, gain*, MLG *bate improvement*, MHG *bazze* stf *advantage*. Grimm 1878:43 assumes a PGmc verb **batan*, prt **bot flourish, be vigorous*; acceptable to Weisweiler 1930:285.

IE comparison suffix for *-yes-, -yos-, -is-* in Skt *svādiyas-*, Gk ἡδίων (acc ← *-ιοσα = IE *-yosm̥*), Lat gen *suāv-iōr-is* (← **-iōs-is*), Go *sutiza sweeter* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:547ff, esp 559-61); for *-isto-* see **aftumists**.

No certain cognates.

Not related to Skt *bhadrás blessed, delightful, fortunate*, the source of which too is unclear; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:467 is dubious about relationship to *bhándate shines, is praised, fortunate*. Its source in PIE *bhndrós* is however possible; cf Skt superl *bhándiṣṭhas praising best*. Gmc requires PIE *bhad-* without nasal, as in P 1959:106, which has reflexes only in Gmc if Skt *bhadrás* is from PIE *bhend-*, P 1959:126.

B33. Batwin PeN, correct form probably **Batwins*, martyr in Cal 1.7 for 29 Oct. OE PeN *Bata*, OHG *Bazwin*.

Cmpd of **bata-* as in ***batiza*** and *winifriend* as in OI *vinr*, OE, OFris *wine*, OS, OHG *wini* stm *friend*; see **winja**.

B34. bauan stvVII οἰκεῖν *live, inhabit*, 3sg prs *bauiþ* R 7.20 and other occurrences illustrating strong verb inflection; weak, 3sg prt *bauaida* 2T 1.5; *ald bauan* βίον διάγειν *lead a life*, only 1pl prs opt *ald bauaima* 1T 2.2; *gabauan* wkv VII κατασκηνοῦν *make a home*, only inf Mk 4.32; *bauains fi* κατοίκησις, οἰκητήριον *home* Ph 3.20.

Based on productive PIE *bhew- be*, which has difficult derivatives because of laryngeal suffixes (W/P 1927-32 II:140-44 posits *bhewā-* [ie *bhew-x-*] and *bhewē-* [ie *bhew-ʔ-*]); P 1959: 146-50, more accurate in positing *bheu-, bhewə-* (*bhwā-, bhwē-*) [ie *bhwex-, bhweʔ-*] : *bhŏu-* : *bhū-* [ie *bhuH-* before accented suffix as in Skt *bhūta-*]; see also **bagms**.

With zero grade of root and lengthening by laryngeal OI *būa dwell, prepare*, OSw, Dan *bo* (*o* ← *ū*) *dwell*, OE *būan, būw(i)an*, OFris *bu/owa*, OS *būan*, OHG *bū(w)an dwell, cultivate*. Also OE *bōgian*, OFris *bōgia* wkv

dwell, inhabit; possibly from *o*-grade of root, with reflex of laryngeal affecting vowel as well as *-w-*, as in Go **sugil**, OE ***sygel sun***. Moreover, OI ***byggva inhabit***, which like OI ***skyggva overshadow***, Go ***skuggwa mirror*** results from Holtzmann's law; illustrates the result of gemination by laryngeal; (cf **ada**; WP Lehmann 1952:41-44; Lindeman 1964:141-42); probably from PGmc *beww-* ← PIE *bhewH-*. Also OI ***bū dwelling, household***, OE *bū*, pl ***bȳ home*** (← PGmc *būwi-*), OS ***bū home, property***, OHG *bū*, gen *būwes* stn ***cultivation, home, dwelling***; OI *bȳr*, *bœr* stm (← PGmc *būwi-*, *bōwi-*) ***farm, house***; OI *būð*, OSw *bōþ*, MLG *bōde*, MHG ***buode***, *būde* stf ***abode, hut, tent***, cf NE ***booth***, dial ***bothy***; OI *būr* stn ***chamber, building for stores***, OHG *būr* stm ***building, cage***, NHG ***Bauer*** n ***cage***, cf NE ***bower***.

Similar developments from root in northwestern IE dialects: OIr *both* f (← *bhutā*) ***hut***, dim *bothān*, Wel *bod* (Vendryès 1959-:B-74,117); Lith *bùtas*, OPruss *buttan* ***house***, Lith *bū̃vis* ***life, existence***; Cz ***byt home***; OPruss *buwinanti* (2pl imp) ***dwell!*** (Fraenkel 1962-65: 68).

OI *bōl* n ***lair (for animals), dwelling*** has been compared with φωλεός ***cave inhabited by wild animals***, accepted by Frisk 1960-72 II: 1058; Chantraine 1968-80:1237 dubious; OI *būr* has been compared with Illyrian βαυρία, βύριον ***house*** Krahe 1954:104.

Simple root *bhew-* in Skt *bhávati*, Av *bavaiti* ***is, becomes***; zero grade Gk φύομαι ***become***, φύω ***produce***; zero grade with laryngeal extension Lith *bū̃ti* ***be***; OSl ***byti become, be***; OIr *bōi* ***I was, buith being***; also Skt *ábhūt* aor, Gk ἔφῡ, Lat ***fui***, OLith ***bu***, OSl ***by was***. Much discussion of various forms, as indicated by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:485-87, Frisk 1960-72 II:1052-54; Chantraine 1968-80:1233-35, with older references in W/P and P as well as F 1939:83-84 often superseded; yet more recent proposals speculative, eg Puhvel 1960:58-59. The evidence is too scanty, and the possibilities of phonological combinations too varied for certainty. -- Speculation also on earlier meaning of root in pre-IE; W/P 1927-32 II:140 probably correct in assuming 'grow, develop'. Meaning modified as root was adapted like *ʔes-* (see **im**), for copula as well as substantive verb (cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:42-46,93-96 on early discussion).

Huge bibliography also on interpretation of *-au-*, whether [aw] or [ɔ], in F 1939:84. Still no agreement; Krause 1968:83 [aw]; B/E 1981:34-35 [ɔ]; see also Seebold 1970:124-28. View of B/E more plausible because of OSw *bo* and accurate understanding of PIE root with suffixes.

P 1959:146-50.

B35. *baur mi γεννητός ***one born*** M 11.11, without nom *-s* like **stiur**; Kieckers 1928:85-86; ***ains-baur** mi μονογενής ***only begotten*** Sk 5.21; ***fruma-baur** mi πρωτότοκος ***firstborn*** L 2.7.

OI *burr*, OE *byre* stm ***son***.

PIE *bher-* as in **bairan**. From this also Alb *bir* ***son*** Huld 1984:44-45. See also **barn**.

P 1959:128-32.

B36. baurgs f cons πόλις ***city*** M 5.35 (***fortified place***; see Müllenhoff 1890-1920 IV: 282), βᾶρις ***tower*** (only Neh 7.2) according to C Schuchhardt in Hoops, ed 1911-19 I:353, orig 'stronghold to flee to'; ***baurgs-waddjus*** fu τεῖχος ***city wall*** Neh 6.15 (cf A Sturtevant 1958 JEGP 57:230-31; only example in Go with infl element as first member of cmpd), see also **-waddjus**; ***baurgja*** mn πολίτης ***citizen*** L 19. 14; ***ga-baurgja*** mn συμπολίτης ***fellow-citizen*** E 2.19; ***bi-baurgeins** fi/ō (only gen sg *-nais* Sk 3.15 / IIIc.3-4) f παρεμβολή ***camp***, with **-eins** as in ***ahmateins***, derived from ***bi-baurgjan*** wkvI ***protect***.

OI *borg* f ***height, wall, castle, city*** (OIr *borg* borrowed from this through Med Lat; Vendryès 1959-:B-72); OE *burg*, *burh*, OFris *bur(i)ch*, OS, OHG *burg* stf ***fortified place, castle, city***; OI *byrjga* ***enclose***, OHG *pi-porgēn* wkv ***guard against***; OE *byrgan* stvIII ***conceal, bury***; *byrga*, OHG *burgio* wkm ***hostage***.

Probably the result of a blend of a Gmc word related to PGmc *berg-* (cf ***bairgahei***) ***height*** and Lat ***burgus*** itself a borrowing from Gk πύργος ***tower, fortification, castle*** Much 1897 ZDA 41:113, 1929 WuS 12:353f. Lat word also borrowed in Arm ***burgn*** ***tower***, Syr ***burgā***, Aram ***burgin***, ***burgon***, (further Aram ***bīrātha***, Heb ***bīrāh***), Ar ***burǰ*** ***small fortification***. Gk πύργος unclear in origin, though possibly borrowed from a language of Asia Minor; cf Hitt ***parku- high, parkessar height*** Chantraine 1968-80:958; Furnée 1972:64-66,178 takes both πύργος and ***baurgs*** as borrowings from a pre-IE language, following Bréal 1892 MSLP 7:135f, and citing esp Urartaic ***burgana palace, fortification***, as does P 1959:141.

Much futher speculation; cf F 1939:85-86, who also cites EN Βουργίωνες, attested in Sarmatia (Ptolemy III:5.9); cf Müllenhoff 1890-1920 II:81, IV:491 = Go ***baurgjans***[?]; Οὐισβούργιοι (Ptolemy II:11.10) in the eastern Gmc area; also the GN ***Teuto-burgium*** in Celt territory among the Skordisci between Save and Drave (Ptolemy IX:15.3); also Lat ***Teutoburgiensis*** 'saltus' (Tacitus, Annals I:60) ***the Teutoburgian forest***; ***Asci-burgium*** (Tacitus, Germania 3); ***Quadri-burgium*** on the lower Rhine (Ammianus Marcellinus:18.2.4); Βαλουβουργ (on an ostracon from Elephantine, 2nd century AD), presumably the name of a Gmc seeress (E Schröder 1916-19 ARW 19: 196ff; Helm 1918 BGDSL 43:337ff).

B37. *baurþei fn* φορτίον ***burden***, only acc sg ***-þein*** G 6.5.

Derived with Gmc ***-īn-*** from papl stem PIE ***bhṛt(o)-*** of PIE ***bher-***, **bairan**, and also in PIE ***bhṛti-*** as in ***ga-baurþs** and in adjectival abstracts like ***bairhtei*** (Kluge 1926:61,66); Gmc suffix ***-tīn-*** then parallel to Osc-Umbr, and also with PIE ***-tiōn-*** to Lat formations such as ***-lātiō***, gen ***-iōnis***, as ***e-lātiō***, ***trans-lātiō***, which is equivalent to suffix in **raþjo**.

With the same suffix OHG ***burdī(n)*** wkf ***burden***; OI ***byrðr***, OFris ***berdest*** ***fi burden***; OE ***byrþen***, ***byrden*** stf, gen ***byrþenne*** (***-en-*** + ***-yā-***) ***burden***†.

Skt ***bhṛtyā-*** ***care, food*** (but doubted by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:522); Skt ***bhṛtiṣ***, ***bhṛtiṣ*** ***support***; Av ***fra-bərətiš*** ***offering***; Lat ***fors***, gen ***fortis*** ***chance (whatever happens)***; Gaul ***-bretus*** in ***vergobretus*** ***dispenser of judgment*** (for 'summus magistratus' of Aeduans in Caesar, Gallic War I 16.5), OIr ***bri/eth*** ***carrying***; with other root forms Arm ***bard*** ***heap***; Gk φόρτος ***burden***. Cf **bairan**, ***ga-baurþs**.

B38. bauþs adj*a* κωφός ***deaf, dumb*** Mk 9.25; in modified meaning ***jabai baud wairþiþ*** ἐὰν μωρανθῇ 'if it [the salt] becomes tasteless' L 14.34.

Obscure like many expressions for bodily infirmities, such as ***halts**.

Possibly OIr ***bodar***, Gaul ***byddar***, Corn ***bodhar***, Bret ***bouzar*** ***deaf***, if from PIE ***bhu-d-*** (but cf Vendryès 1959-:B-64-65 with question of derivation from PIE ***bhăw-*** : ***bhŭ*** ***strike*** as in P 1959:112). Equally problematic Skt ***badhirás*** ***deaf***, with differing vocalism and of uncertain origin, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:405. Problems also with Lith ***bukùs*** ***blunt, dull*** and Arm ***but*** ***blunted***, Alb ***butë*** ***tender, gentle*** (Fraenkel 1962-65:63). Other proposals even less cogent; F 1939:86.

B39. *beidan stvI* (3sg prs ***beidiþ*** Sk 5.2 / Va.5, prpl ***beidands*** L 2.25; prt and papl not attested, also not in cmpds) προσδοκᾶν, προσδέχεσθαι ***wait for***; ***ga-beidan*** stvI ὑπομένειν ***endure*** 1C 13.7; ***us-beidan*** stvI ἐκδέχεσθαι, προσδέχεσθαι ***expect*** L 2.38; ***us-beisns*** *fi* ἀποκαραδοκία ***expectation*** Ph 1.20; ***us-beisnei*** *fn* μακροθυμία ***patience*** G 5.22; ***us-beisneigs***, **1. wisan** adj*a* μακροθυμεῖν ***be patient*** 1C 13.4. Beside it, caus ***baidjan*** ἀναγκάζειν ***constrain***; see this also for semantic development.

OI ***bīða*** ***expect, endure***, OE ***bīdan*** ***wait, stay, bide***†, OFris ***bidia***, OS ***bīdan***, OHG ***bītan*** stvI ***wait***.

PIE ***bheydh-***: Gk πείθομαι ***be persuaded, obey*** (Chantraine 1968-80:868-69), πεῖσα f ***calmness*** (cf OE ***bāsnian*** wkv ***expect***); Alb ***bē***

oath; Lat *fidō* **trust**, *fidus* **trustworthy**; OSl *běda* **necessity**. Clarification of relationships by Benveniste 1973:94-100, under ***baidjan**; supersedes conjecture in Seebold 1970:94-96.

P 1959:117, Watkins 1985:6.

B40. beist na ζύμη **leaven** 1C 5.7; ***ga-beistjan** wkvI ζυμοῦν **leaven**, only 3sg prs **-tiþ** 1C 5.6; ***un-beistei** fn **unleavened state**, only **in un-beistein** ἐν ἀζύμοις **with the unleavened bread** 1C 5.8; ***un-beistjoþs** wk perf ptc ἄζυμος **unleavened**, only nom pl m **-jodai** 1C 5.7.

Like ***baitrs** (see B/E 1981:29 on value of **-ai-**), related to ***beitan** *bite*; ← PIE *bheyd-s-to-*, Brugmann 1896 IF 6:103; K Johansson 1906 IF 19:117; cf OI *beiskr* **sharp, bitter**. E Schröder 1898 ZDA 42:60f points to OHG *billa* stf **unleavened bread** and to the OE gloss *and-bita* (*vel* [or] *and-beorma*) **barm**†, **yeast**.

B41. *beitan stvI δάκνειν **bite**, only 2pl prs **beitiþ** G 5.15; **and-beitan** stv ἐπιτιμᾶν, ἐπιπλήσσειν **scold, threaten**, 3sg prt **and-bait** Mk 1.25, 3pl prt **and-bitun** L 18.15,39, nom pl m papl **andbitanai** 2C 4.8; **anda-beit** na ἐπιτιμία **rebuke**.

OI *bíta*, OE *bītan*, OFris *bīta*, OS *bītan*, OHG *bīzan* stvI **bite**† from 'split'.

PIE *bheyd-* **split**: Skt *bhinádmi*, aor *bhed* **split**; Gk φείδομαι **spare** from 'separate oneself from' (Chantraine 1968-80:1185); Lat *findō*, perf *fīdī* **split**. For further Gmc cognates, and conjecture on PIE *bheyd-* ← *bhey-* + *-d-* **strike, cut**, see Seebold 1970:96-99, and P 1959:116-18. See also ***baitrs, beist**.

P 1959:116-17, Watkins 1985:6.

B42. bercna name of the *b*-rune in the Go rune alphabet of Sal; OI *bjarkan*, OE *be(o)rc* **birch** are recorded rune names as well. With PIE *-no-* (initially adjectival, but later nominal) as in Lat *fraxinus* **ash-tree** Fraenkel 1913 Glotta 4:45, Szemerényi 1962:175-212.

Based on PIE *bherH-ĝ-o-*, as in OI *bjǫrk*, OE *beorc, bierce, byrce*, OHG *bircha, birihha* stf **birch**†: Skt *bhūrjás* a **species of birch**, Oss *bærz*; Lith *béržas*, Russ *berëza* **birch**; Lat *fraxinus* **ash** (on shift in designation, W/H 1938-56 I:544; P Friedrich 1970:29; P Friedrich 29-30 also notes possibility of deriving Alb *bredh* **fir, pine** from PIE *bherHĝo-*, though he prefers derivation from Gk βράθυ a **species of juniper**, itself a loan, Chantraine 1968-80:192). Probably related to ***bairhts** as 'tree with gleaming bark', Bugge 1905-13:50ff, who like Grienberger 1898 ANF 14:105 cites the borrowing OIr *bergann* (list of runes in the Book of Ballymote; OIr *rg* ← OI *rk*); see also Krogmann 1955 ZVS 72:15-17, ← PIE *bherĕĝos*; Trier 1952:84 prefers origin in root of ***brikan**.

Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:157-58 assumes PGmc *berkanō* f (for suffix see **þiudans**) *birch-goddess* → Go **bairkana* → Go *bercna*. It is questionable, however, whether *Dea Vercana* (CIL XIII:4511.7667) can be altered to *Dea *Bercana* and adduced here, as both suggest. P Friedrich 1970:27,156-58, on the other hand proposes "that the birch has been a female-virgin symbol for many Indo-Europeans for over five thousand years". P Friedrich 1970:30-31, also cites important data on the early distribution of the birch-tree, esp in opposition to Thieme's use of its subsequent distribution to locate the home of the Indo-Europeans in the north German plain; Thieme 1954a:548 points out that 'birch' is the only Indian tree-name which can with certainty be ascribed to PIE; also Krogmann 1955 ZVS 72:15-17.

P 1959:139-40.

B43. berusjos pl m*ia* (*birusjos* L 2. 41) (with art *þai*) γονεῖς **parents**. In form, pl of PIE perf part act of *bher-*, **bairan**; vocalism of Gmc prt pl (Go *berum*). Sg ***berusi** (J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:372; Noreen 1894 IF 4:325; Bammesberger 1965 Lg 41:419) **mother**, actually 'she who has borne', Kieckers 1928:113. Development of meaning as in Hom τοκῆες **parents** beside τίκτω **give birth to**, occasionally also **procreate** Hermann 1935 IF 53:98-99. From the standpoint of the father, Gk γονεῖς **parents** beside γονή **generation**, Lat *gignō*, OLat *genō* **procreate**. A designation for the concept 'parents' from the PIE period is lack-

ing, Delbrück 1889:452.

On the suffix cf Skt perf part act *vidvāṁs-*, f *vidúṣī* : Gk ἰδυῖα *knowing* from *having seen*; OSl f *jadzši having eaten, vlzkzši* : Lith *vilkusi having dragged*; OE *ēg(e)sa*, OS *ēcso* m *possessions*, ***aigan**; Gdr 1897-1916 II. 1:563ff and Szemerényi 1967 SMEA 2:7-26, esp 14, with copious survey. See also ***jukuzi**, ***weitwoþs**.

On the meaning of *berusjos* see the elliptical Skt du *mātárā parents*, actually, 'mother and father'; also *pitárā father and mother* (Gauthiot 1912 *F* Thomsen:128; Benigny 1918 ZVS 48:230ff; Krause 1924 ZVS 52:223ff), Lat *parentēs* (beside sg *parēns having borne* W/H 1938-56 II:252); Lith *tėvaĩ parents* (to *tėvas father*). According to Brugmann 1909 IF 24:168 fn, remainder of an elliptical du; according to Janko 1910 AinIF 27:39, du + pl *-s*; according to Hermann 1918 NGWG 1918:212-13 parallel origin with Skt *mātárā*; the PIE elliptical du *mātere parents* replaced in Go by *berusjos*. Kluge 1910 BGDSL 36:224ff proposes that *þai* with *berusjos* was orig n pl = Skt *te*; M Jellinek 1926:104 agrees; parallel then to syntactic use of n pl as collective in Gmc, reflecting PIE *-h*, WP Lehmann 1957:145-47.

P 1959:130.

B44. bi prep περί *about, over*, διά, ἐπί, εἰς *concerning, according to, at*; very frequent, 18th among words attested, with manifold uses; see Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:19. Also as verbal prefix.

Like Skt *abhí*, from conflation of two adpositions PIE *ambhi* and *e/obhi, bhi*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:795-98,820-23.

OE, OFris, OS *be- bī-*, OHG *bi-, bī* (final, lengthened under accent) *by†, about, at, on*; OI *um(b)*, OE *ymb(e)*, OFris *umbe*, OS, OHG *umbi about* (cf also Go *bai* beside Lat *am-bō*, regarding initial).

Skt *abhí*, Av *aibī, aiwi*, OPers *abiy to, towards* (in part from PIE *ṃbhi*; cf Skt *abhítas*. Av *aiwitō on both sides, towards*), Lat *ob towards, because of*, OSl *o(b)-, obz, obъ, ob about.*

Also Gk ἀμφί *about*; Lat, Umbr *amb-* (as in Lat *amb-īre go around*), Osc *am-viannud* 'circuitu' *detour*; Gaul *ambi-* (in EN Ἀμβί-λικοι, PeN *Ambi-toutus*, etc), OIr *imb-, im(m)-*, Wel *am-*, Corn, Bret *am-, em-* cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:41; W/H 1938-56 II:192-94. G Schmidt 1962:225-27 derives PGmc *bi-* from PIE *pi-*[?]; cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:838-44, and ***iftuma**.

See also ***bnauan**, possibly from *bi* with loss of vowel.

P 1959:34-35,287,295.

B45. bida fō δέησις, προσευχή *prayer* L 1.13, παρά-κλησις *demand.*

OFris *bede*, OS *beda*, OHG *beta* stf *prayer, bead†*; cf **bidjan**.

PIE *bhedh- bow*: like **bidjan**, with reference to OI *knē-beδr* stm *pillow for the knees (for prayer)*, OE *cnēow-gebed* stn, OS *kneo-beda* f *prayer (with bending of knees)*; Skt *jñu-bâdh-bending the knees*; Skt *bâdhas oppression*; Lith *bãdas hunger*; see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:425-26, also on Skt problems.

Other attempted etymologies to be rejected, as from PIE *g^{w}hedh-* (Meillet 1906-08 MSLP 14:373) yielding Gk πόθος *desire*; OIr *guidim I request*; Lith *gedáuti desire* (Fraenkel 1962-65:149-50) or as with Russ *bedró, bedrá ankle* Osten-Sacken 1908-09 IF 23:377-78; cf also Vries 1962:159 on OI *geδ mind, senses* (unclear origin, but not from PIE *g^{w}hedh-* because of labio-velar).

P 1959:114.

B46. bidagwa mn προσαίτης *beggar*, only J 9.8. Reading to be maintained according to Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:486 because of the intonation, as by Sievers; but generally emended to **bidaqa* (Kluge 1913:184; E Zupitza 1896:95) or to **bidaga* (Thurneysen 1898 IF 8:212-13, Grienberger 1900:46, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:266) on the assumption that *-w-* was anticipated from the following word *was.*

OE *bedecian beg*, Fris *bēdagi* wkv *pray.*

Nominal use of an adj formed from **bida**, + PIE *-ko-* (*-k^{w}o-*), which is found in Skt *dhākás* : Gk θήκη *case, box*; Av *saokā aid*; Lat *mus-cu-lus little mouse* to *muscle*; Lith *sliekas angleworm*; Latvian *priẽks joy*; OSl *znakz sign*; OHG *luog* stn *cave, hiding place* Hirt 1899 BKIS 24:288; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:474-506. Wood 1906 MLN 21:227, 1910 MLN 25:72 sees in Go *bidaga* the weak form of adj **bidags* (cf OHG *wīzago* wkf *soothsayer* : OHG *wīzag foreseeing*), not related to OE *bedecian*.

B47. bidjan stvV M 6.5, also *bidan* 1C 7.5 (3sg prt *baþ* Mk 1.35, 3pl prt *bedun* M 8.31), papl not attested, αἰτεῖν, δεῖσθαι, προσεύχεσθαι *request, pray*; **ga-bidjan* stvV (only 2pl prs opt *-jaiþ* 2Th 3.1) προσεύχεσθαι *request, pray*; *us-bida* stvV 1sg prs *I wish* (cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:192) as translation of Gk εὐχόμην R 9.3.

The prs forms without *-j-* arose through system pressure, according to Streitberg 1920: 146; cf ***ligan, sitan** as opposed to OHG *liggen, sizzen*, and Gk aor πιθέσθαι beside πείθομαι, ***beidan**; *-jan* maintained by analogy with **wiljan**, A Sturtevant 1949 GR 24:136-37.

OI *biðja*, OE *biddan*, OFris *bidda*, OS *biddian*, OHG *bitten* stv *request, bid*†.

Etymology disputed. Most likely from PIE *bhedh- bend, bow* as in **bida** (Kern 1881 TNTL 1:32-37; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:425-26) Skt *bā́dhate presses*, Alb *bind convince* (others under **bida**).

Development from PIE *bheydh-* also proposed (Osthoff 1882 BGDSL 8:140ff), with prs vowel modified as in Go **ligjan, *sitjan*; cf ***beidan** (preferred also by Vries 1962:35). Seebold 1970:91-93 returns to the discredited derivation from PIE *g^{w}hedh-*, citing Meillet 1924 BSLP 24:[rev]23-24 on conflation of this root and *bheidh-*.

P 1959:114.

B48. *bi-faih *na* (only nom pl *bifaiha*) in Cod A as addition to 2C 12.20 presumably = **bi-faiho* (only acc sg *bi-faihon* 2C 9.5) *fn* or *i* πλεονεξία *exaction*; **bi-faihon* wkvII, **ga-faihon* (only 1pl prs opt pass *ni ga-faihondau*, marginal gloss in Cod A to *ni ga-aiginondau* μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν 2C 2.11) πλεονεκτῆσαι *take advantage of, defraud*, but see Holthausen 1954 ZVS 71:49 on relation to *faihu*.

OS *ā-fēhjan treat hostilely*, OHG *fēhan* wkv *hate*; OE *fāh* (cf NE *foe*), OE *fāg outlawed*, OFris *fāch punishable*, NFris *fūch afraid* (Holthausen 1924 AinZDA 43:146), OHG *gi-fēh inimical*; OE *fæhþ*, OFris *feithe*, OHG *fēhida* stf *feud*†.

With voiced fricative (← PIE *poykyó-*): OI *feigr*, OE *fǣge*, OS *fēgi*, OHG *feigi fey*†; closest in vowel grade to Lith *paĩkas stupid* (Bezzenberger 1902 BKIS 27:176 fn; Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:36ff; Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:275f, 1908 BGDSL 33:183; Fraenkel 1962-65:525).

PIE *peyk-* (E Zupitza 1904 ZVS 37:401) Lith *pìktas evil, peĩkti blame, despise*; OPruss *po-paikā deceives*. OIr *oech enemy*, not *oegi guest* Vendryès 1959-:O-10. Probably also Skt *píśunas backbiting, wicked* though not *píśācás* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:290,289.

With different extension, PIE *peyg-*; Lat *piget affects with revulsion, piger slothful*; OI *feikn* stn *misfortune, terror*, OE *fācen*, OS *fēkn*, OHG *feihhan* stn *craftiness*; OE *fǣcne deceptive, evil, ficol fickle*†, *ge-fic* stn *deception*.

Not related to *-faihs* (cf ***filu-faihs** as by E Zupitza 1896:189). Also to be rejected, Holthausen 1954 ZVS 71:49 (relation to Go **faihu**) and Holthausen 1956 IF 62:154 to Lat *pecūlor defraud* (see W/H 1938-56 II:270-72).

P 1959:795.

B49. *bi-gairdan stvIII (only nom sg papl *bi-gaurdans* περιζωσάμενος L 17.8), **uf-gairdan* (only pl m papl *-danai* E 6.14) *gird about*†.

Zero grade of PIE *ĝherdh-*, as in **gairda**, in OI *gyrðа*, OE *gyrdan*, OS *gurdian*, OHG *gurten* wkv *gird*†.

P 1959:444.

B50. bi-gitan stvV εὑρίσκειν, ἀνευρίσκειν, ἔχειν *find*, 1sg prt *bi-gat* M 8.10, 3pl prt *bi-getun* L 19.32, papl *bigitans* Ph 2.8.

OI *geta* *attain, produce, guess*; OE *(bi-)gietan* *receive, produce*, cf NE *get, beget*, OE *for-gietan*, OFris *ur-jeta* *forget*†; OS *bi-getan* *seize, far-getan* *forget*; OHG *pi-gezzan* stv *uphold, fir-gezzan* *forget*; OI *geta* stf *assumption*; ē-grade in *gāta* stf *riddle* (: Russ *za-gâd-ka* *riddle*).

PIE *ghed-*; closest semantic parallels with *-n-* infix; Gk χανδάνω *take in, comprise*; Lat *pre-hendō* *grasp*; OIr *ro-geinn* *has its place in*, Wel *genni* ← **ghn̥d-n-* (Stokes 1893 IF 2:170) *be contained*; Alb *gjen* *find, gjindet* *be found* (W/H 1938-56 II:359).

Without *-n-*, Lat *praeda* ← **prai-hedā* (W/H 1938-56 II:352-53). OSl *gadajǫ*, inf *gadati* *imagine, guess*, Lith *godýti, godóti* *guess, suppose* not related (Fraenkel 1962-65:159-60, in contrast with P 1959:437-38; cf also Seebold 1970:226-27). Also not ***du-ginnan**, in spite of G Schmidt 1962:240-41, who derives Gmc root as in Go *-git-* from aor of PIE *ghendnō* with perfective meaning.

P 1959:437-38.

B51. *bi-hait na καταλαλιά *slander*, only nom pl *-ta* 2C 12.20; *bi-haitja* mn ἀλαζών *braggart*, only nom pl *-tjans* 2T 3.2.

OE *bēot* ← **bi-hāt* stn *boasting*, OS *bi-hēt* *threat*, OHG *bi-heiz* stm *promise*; OE *behātian, bēotian* *promise, threat*, OHG *biheizan* stv *promise*; cf *haitan*.

B52. bihe interrog ptc κατὰ τί *how?*. From **bi** and **he**.

B53. bijandz-uþ-þan ἅμα δὲ καί *and at the same time* (New English Bible *and one more thing*) Phil 22.

A hapax with no generally accepted explanation. A cmpd conj parallel to *biþe þan* *and when*, as in L 4.42; made up of **bi(j)** + **andiz-uh** as in L 16.13, also a hapax, + **þan**; assimilation of *uh* → *uþ* as in *jaþ-þuk* Phil 19 (Schaaffs 1906 MLR 1:328-29 explains *-j-* as hiatus-filler and derives *andz* from *andiz*).

Scarcely the prpl of a verb **bijan* 'praeterire', 'transire', as according to Grimm 1890:25,127 fn, since its use differs from that of Grimm's parallel *bidjandansuþ-þan* M 6.7 and there is no other evidence for the verb; the first objection applies also to the proposed emendation *bidjandz-uþ-þan*, Holthausen 1952 IF 60:281.

In view of the formation of *biþe*, the conjecture of Castiglione cited and rejected by Grimm 1890:127 may well be right; derived from the anaphoric stem **ja-*, PIE *yo-*, as in **jabai, jah, jaind**, cf OE *beg(e)ondan* ← PGmc *-jand*, NE *beyond*, its meaning might well be that selected to render ἅμα δὲ καί as interpreted in the New English Bible *and beyond, and in addition*. Other conjectures, such as Grienberger 1900:46, from **bi-ga-aukon*, not credible; similarly G Schmidt 1962:226-27,233-36, from an unattested verb **bi-jē* ← PIE *yē-* *to send, pass*.

B54. *bi-lageineis f pl *laws*, Go form of *belagines* (pl) 'leges conscriptas' *compiled laws* (Jordanes 74,6); (Müllenhoff 1890-1920 I:181 ἐπιτάξεις, προστάξεις). Sg **bilageins* based on **bi-lagjan* *lay down, impose* (OHG *bi-legen* *occupy*; cf *lagjan*) with *-eins* as in ***ahmateins**. On the meaning see OI pl *lǫg* stn *law*, OE *gi-lagu* n pl *decree, lagu* f n pl: Lat *lēx*, gen *lēgis* *law*†, Osc *ligud* ablative 'lege' *by law* (but cf W/H 1938-56 I:789-90; W/P 1927-32 II:422,424-25; phonological problems with derivation from PIE *legh- lie* -- gen should be **lēhis*).

P 1959:658-59.

B55. *bi-laibjan wkvI (only nom pl m papl *þai bilaibidans* οἱ περιλειπόμενοι) *those left* 1Th 4.15.

OI *leifa*, OE *lǣfan*, OFris *lēva, lāvia*, OS *far-lēbian*, OHG *leiban* wkv *leave*† *behind*. Caus to ***bi-leiban**.

PIE *leyp- adhere* caus also in Skt *lepáyati* *anoints*, OSl *pri-lěiti* *stick together*.

P 1959:670-71; G Schmidt 1962:230-31, however, derives from PIE *leyk^{w}- leave*, + *bi-*

behind; cf **lelhvan**.

B56. bi-laif in Cal 1.7 for 29 Oct *jah Batwin bilaif*.

Full discussion of attempts at interpretation in Ebbinghaus 1978 JEGP 77:183-87,such as acc sg of ***bilaifs** survivor*, cf OE *lāf* stf *survivor, widow*, in apposition to **Batwin**, by Grienberger 1900:46-47, who compares preceding *Werekan papan Wereka the priest* and proposes *Batwin, the survivor*. Rejected by Ebbinghaus, who takes *bilaif* as 3sg prt of ***bileiban** stv *remain*; copious discussion with convincing support.

B57. *bi-laigon wkvII ἐπιλείχειν *lick*, only 3pl prt *-godedun* L 16.21.

Simple verb in OE *liccian*, OS *le/ikkōn*, OHG *lecchōn lick*† (with doubling before PIE *-n-*; cf Gk λιχνεύω *lick* Streitberg 1896:139). Also with movable *s-*: OI *sleikja*, MLG *slicken* wkv *lick*; MLG *slec* stm *sweet-tooth*.

PIE *(s)leygh- lick*: Skt *léhmi*, Av *raēzaitē* 3pl prs, Gk λείχω, λιχνεύω, Lat *lingō*, OIr *ligim*, Lith *liežiù*, OSl *ližǫ*, Arm *lizem lick*.

P 1959:668.

B58. *bi-leiban stvI assumed from *bi-laif* Cal 1.7 (= *remained alive* according to Loewe 1922 ZDA 59:249) *remain*. Different assumption by Marstrander 1929 NTS 2:104: prs ***bi-leifan*** (cf OHG *bi-leiph remained*); in support, M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:122; cf ***af-lifnan**.

OE *be-līfan*, OFris *b(i)-līva*, OS *bi-līban*, OHG *bi-līban* stvI *remain* (regarding ī see Meillet 1906-08 MSLP 14:351). Caus ***bi-laibjan*** wkvI περιλείπω *leave remaining* 1Th 4.15; ***af-lifnan*** μένειν *remain* J 12.24, with PIE *-nā-* (see ***af-blindnan**) and zero grade of root; ***laiba** stf (← PIE *loipā*), **liban**.

PIE *leyp- adhere, stick; smear*; Skt *limpáti smear, lepas salve, something that sticks on, dirt*. Ved *riptás smeared on, ripúṣ deceitful, deceiver, répas spot, dirt*; Gk λῖπαρεῖν *persist*, λιπαρής *sticking*, λίπος *adhering oil*, λίπα (always λίπ' in Homer, ← ***lipm̥***) *fat*, λιπαρός *fat, anointed, strong* (Chantraine 1968-80:642-43); Lat *lippus blear-eyed*; Lith *limpù*, inf *lìpti adhere, lip(š)nùs, lipštùs sticky, adherent*, Latvian *lipu*, inf *lipt adhere, lipīgs sticky*; OSl *prilonǫ stick, pri-lěpiti stick on, pri-lěps bird-lime*; Alb *glepë eye-secretion* (← ***-loipā**); Hitt *lippanzi they smear, paint*; TochB *l(y)ip- remain*, TochAB *lyipär remainder*.

Extended from PIE *ley- slimy*; P 1959:662-64; Seebold 1970:326-27, with other suffixes, and also movable *s-* as in ***slaihts**; Persson 1912:503f fn1 assumed relationship with PIE *leyk^{w}-*; see **lelhvan** and ***ainlif**; W/P 1927-32 II:403 proposes that PGmc *lib-* absorbed the meaning of *leyk^{w}- remain* P 1959:669-70.

B59. bi-mait n*a circumcision* G 5.6; *bi-maitan* stvVII περιτέμνειν *circumcise* J 7.22; ***un-bi-mait*** na ἀκροβυστία *foreskin* Col 2.13; ***un-bi-maitans*** (only nom pl papl *þai namnidans un-bi-maitanai* οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία E 2.11) *uncircumcised*. See ***maitan**.

B60. *bi-mampjan wkvI ἐκμυκτηρίζειν *mock, scoff at*, only 3pl prt *bi-mampidedun* L 16.14.

No cognates in other Gmc languages; NE *mump*, attested only from 16th century, has iconic origin, suggesting 'movement of the lips in muttering and mumbling or chewing' (Onions 1966:596; so also NDu *mompelen*, NHG *mumpf(el)en mumble*†); similar origin likely for Go *-mamp-*.

Gk μέμφομαι *blame*, μομφή *blame, rebuke* equally obscure, though cited with variant PIE *membh-* versus *memb-*, Chantraine 1968-80: 686; similarly OIr *mebul disgrace* Vendryès 1959-:M-26. Assumption of PIE *membh-*, P 1959:725, dubious, as well as attempts at deriving cited words from it.

B61. *bi-nauhan prt-prsV *be permitted, be allowed* 3sg *bi-nah* δεῖ, ἔξεστιν 1C 10.23, 2C 12.1; papl *bi-nauht ist* ἔξεστιν *is permitted* 1C 10.23; *ga-nah* prt-prsV ἀρκεῖ *suffices* J 14.8; ***ga-nauha*** mn αὐτάρκεια *sufficiency, contentment* 2C 9.8; ***ga-nohs*** adj*a* ἱκανός *enough* L 7.11; ***ga-nohjan*** wkvI

περισσεύειν, papl *ga-nohiþs wisan* ἀρκεῖσθαι, αὐτάρκης εἶναι *be content* Ph 4.11; *ga-nohnan* wkvIV *abound in* Th 3.12.

OE *ge-neah*, pl *ge-nugon*, OHG *ge-nah* prt-prs *is adequate*; OI *(g)nōgr*, OE *genōh*, *genōg*, OFris *(e)nōch*, OS *ginōh*, *ginōg*, OHG *ganōc*, *ginuog enough*†; OI *(g)nœgja*, OFris *nōgia*, OHG *gi-nuogan* wkv *be adequate*.

PIE *enek-*, *nek-*, *enk-* *attain*; Skt *náśati*; Av *nasaiti*; Skt *aśnóti*, Av *ąšnaoiti gains*; Skt *áṁśas portion*, *naṁśas acquisition*; Gk ἐνεγκεῖν (perf ἐνήνοχα, aor ἤνεγκον) *carry*, ποδηνεκής (lengthened grade *ēnek-*) *reaching to the feet*, ὄγκος (*o*-grade) *burden*; Lat *nanciscor*, perf *na(n)ctus sum attain* (Brugmann 1901 IF 12:154 fn1; differently Güntert 1916:53 *a* ← PIE *ə* as in *bi-nauht*; but G Schmidt 1962:236, 238 explains *-nauhts* ← pre-Gmc *-unkta-* with metathesis of *-u-*); OIr *ro-icc reaches* (lengthened grade **ēnk-* → **īnk-* → *ĭnc-* → *icc-*); Lith *nešù*, inf *nèšti carry*; OSl *nesǫ*, Arm *hasanem*, aor *hasi arrive, reach* Solta 1960: 256-57; Hitt *ninikzi lifts*; TochA *ents-*, B *eṅk-* *carry, hold, seize*.

P 1959:316-18.

B62. *bindan δεσμεῖν *bind*, only papl *bundans* L 8.29; *and-bindan* stvIII λύειν *unbind, loose*, 2pl prs *-diþ* L 19.31, 3sg prt *and-band* Mk 4.34, 3pl prt *and-bundun* Mk 11.4; **bi-bindan* stvIII περιδεῖν *bound about*, only papl *-dans* J 11.44; *ga-bindan* δεῖν *bind* Mk 5.3 (perfective; Streitberg 1900 AinIF 11:66); *bandi fī* δεσμός *bond, fetter* Mk 7.35; *bandja* mn δέσμιος *captive* E 3.1; **and-bundnan* wkvIV λυθῆναι *be unbound*, only 3sg prt *-dnoda* Mk 7.35; **ga-binda fō* σύνδεσμος *bond* Col 2.19B, also *ga-bindi bond* Col 3.14B; **ga-bundi fiō bond*, only dat sg *-jai* E 4.3.

OI *binda*, OE *bindan*, OFris *binda*, OS *bindan*, OHG *bintan* stvIII *bint*†, OHG *binda* wkf *bond*.

PIE *bhendh-* *bind*; Skt *badhnáti* (← *bhndh-*), later also *bandhati binds*, *bándhuṣ kinship, relative* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:406,408; Av *bandayaiti binds*; Gk πεῖσμα (← *πενθσμα) *cord*, πενθερός *father-in-law* (Chantraine 1968-80:871-72,880-81,1182 on φάτνη, ← **bhendh-nā- crib, cradle*); Thrac βενδ- *bind*[?], Kretschmer 1896:236; Lat *offendix chin-strap* (on priest's cap; *of-fendimentum* may be a faulty reading, W/H 1938-56 II:204); Gaul *benna* (← **bhendh-nā*; Paulus/Festus) *vehicle with wicker top*, MWel *benn kind of vehicle*, also Ζεὺς Βέννιος (Galatian; Weisgerber 1931: 157); OIr *buinne* (← PIE *bhondhyā*) *bond, bracelet* (Vendryès 1959-:B-115). Lith *beñdras companion*; probably not Alb *besë pledge, truce* Huld 1984:42.

Concerning the lack of verbal use in several dialects see Meillet 1921:177; see also ***bansts**.

P 1959:127, Watkins 1985:7.

B63. bi-niuhsjan wkvI (only inf G 2.4) κατα-σκῆσαι *spy out*; **niuhseins fī/ō* (only gen sg *niuhseinais* L 19.44) ἐπισκοπή *visitation*. Basic meaning 'spy out, lie in wait for' according to Rittershaus 1899:72.

OI *nýsa* wkv *investigate, spy out*, *njósn* stf *report, news*, OE *nēos(i)an search out, visit*, OS *niusian*, *niusōn investigate*, OHG imp *niuse* (Hildebrandslied 60) *try!*, *ar-niusan*, *bi-niusan* wkv *attempt, reach*; *un-ga-niusit inexpert*; NHG (dial Swab) *neusẽ nibble, suspect, pester*. On the loss of *-h-* in NWGmc (from the prt) see Sverdrup 1915 IF 35:149.

No certain etymology. On Russ *njúchatь smell, sniffle*, Pol *niuchać* (without palatalized *n*) *smell*, Serb *nȗšiti sniffle* see Vasmer 1953-58 II:234, with references; possibly related to Russ *-yxatь*, possibly to Gmc words here, but scarcely to OHG *niosan sneeze*. Older proposals in F 1939:93-94.

P 1959:768-69 suggests possibility of PIE *new-ks-*, *new-s-*, extended forms of PIE *(s)new-* as in Gk *νέω swim*; with *p*-extension in OI *snoppe*, MHG *snupfe* wkm/f *head-cold*, though Wissmann 1932:178-79 treats these and similar words, eg NE *snuff* as iconic in origin.

B64. *bi-raubon wkvII (only prt forms, 1sg *-boda* 2C 11.8, 3pl *-bodedun* L 10.30)

συλᾶν, ἐκδύειν *rob.*

OE *be-rēafian*, OS *bi-rōbōn*, OHG *bi-roubōn* wkv *rob*; simplex OI *raufa make holes in, break up*, OE *rēafien*, OFris *rāvia*, OS *rōbon*, OHG *raubōn* wkv *rob*†; based on PGmc *rauba* f *something torn off, booty*. Also OI *reyfi* stn *plucked sheep wool*; OE *rēaf animal hide, booty, clothing*, OFris *rāf*, OS, MLG *rōf*, OHG *roub* stm *loot, booty*; OI *val-rōf* n, OE *wæl-rēaf* n, OHG *walu-raupa* f (Lex Bajuv) *spoils*. Development of meaning according to Wadstein 1903 IF 14:402ff 'plucked wool' becoming 'woolen covering, dress', and 'removed hide, booty in the hunt or war'. Basic verb in OI *rjūfa*, OE *rēofan* stvII *break, tear apart* ← PGmc *reuƀan*.

PIE *rewp-*, Skt *rúpyati have severe pain in abdomen, ropáyati cause severe pain in abdomen. rópiṣ severe pain*; Lat *rumpō break, tear apart, rūpēs cliff, ravine*; Lith *rùpti become rough, rūpėti be concerned about rupùs concerned, rupùs rough, raùpas pockmark*, Serb *rùpa hole, cleft* (cf OI *rof* n *cleft*). For OIr *robb body, esp of an animal*, see Vendryès 1959-:R-36-37; uncertain origin. PIE *rewp-* an extension of *rew- tear up/out* as in ***riurs** perishable*; P 1959:868-71, Watkins 1985:55.

B65. *bireikei *fn* (only dat pl *bi-reikeim* 2C 11.26) κίνδυνος *danger*; *bi-reikjai*, *bi-rekjai* (adj nom pl) + *wairþan* ~ *wisan* κινδυνεύειν *be endangered*.

If *ei* is original, comparison with OE *racian direct* is possible; but not to NDu *rakelen poke about*.

No certain etymology. Development from ***rikan** heap up* only acceptable if stem vowel was *e* (Grimm 1878:27; Diefenbach 1846-51 II: 170); ***bi-reks** at bay*. Not to ***wrikan** persecute*, with loss of *w-* in compounding.

B66. *bi-runains *fi* (only acc sg *bi-runain* Sk 3.4 / IIIa.13) *beguiling* W Bennett 1960:59. Derived from ***bi-runan***; see OE *rūnian*, OS *rūnan*, OHG *rūnēn* wkv *whisper*; see **runa**.

B67. *bi-sauljan wkvI (only nom pl n *bi-saulida* T 1.15, dat pl papl *bi-saulidaim* Tit 1.15) μιαίνειν *spot*; ***bi-saulnan*** wkvIV (only 3pl prt opt *bi-saulnodedeina* J 18.28) μιανθῆναι *become spotted, unclean*; ***bi-sauleins** fi/ō* (only gen pl *bi-sauleino* 2C 7.1A; miswritten *bi-lauseino*) μολισμός *spotting* (**-eins** as in ***ahmateins** in Cod B).

Nor dial *søyla spot, saula, søyla* stf *dirt*; Sw dial *saula, såla* wkv *soil*; OE *sol* stn, *solu* wkf *filth, mire*; OE *sylian* wkv *soil*†, OS *sulwian* wkv *make dirty*; MLG *sol* stm *puddle, pond*, OHG *sol* stm n *mud-puddle*; *solōn* wkv *wallow in mud, sullen* wkv *soil*; *solunga* stf *mud-puddle*.

Skt *súrā an alcoholic drink*, Av *hurā kumiss*; Lith *sulà birch sap, flowing sap, bėržas sulúoja the birch is exuding sap, sùltys sap*; Latvian *sula a fluid, ie secreted tree sap, sulāt produce sap*; OPruss *sulo curdled milk* Fraenkel 1962-65:940.

With *-l-*extension from PIE *sew- flow, rain* in Skt *sunóti*, Av *hunaoiti presses out*; Skt *sómas*, Av *haoma- soma*; Gk ὕει *it is raining* (but not Alb *shi rain* Huld 1984:113); OE *sēaw* n, OS, OHG *sou* n *sap*. Also Hitt *suhha- pour out*, according to Petersen 1934 Lg 10:315. TochA *swase*, B *swese rain, suwam they rain*.

P 1959:912-13.

B68. *bi-smeitan stvI (only 3sg prt *bi-smait* J 9.11) ἐπιχρίειν *anoint*; ***ga-smeitan*** stvI (only 3sg prt *ga-smait* J 9.6) ἐπιχρίειν *anoint*.

OE *be-smītan smear*, OHG *bi-smīzan* stv *smear*. Nor dial *smīta smear*, OE *smītan*, OFris *smīta*, MLG *smīten*, OHG *smīzan* stvI *smear*, NHG *schmeissen smite*†, *throw at*; with short vowel Nor dial *smita* (← ***smitōn***) wkv *smear thinly*. Intensive OE *smittian*, MLG *smitten befoul*, MHG *smitzen* wkv *strike, smear on*; OE *smitta* wkm; MLG *smi/ette spot*, MHG *smitze* stf *smear*; *smiz* stm *spot*.

Definite relationships elsewhere not discovered. Not related to Lat *mittō send*, with orig *sm-* as often proposed (W/H 1938-56 II:97-

99 rejects the connection, pointing also to difficulty in determining origin of *mittō*; similarly not to Av **maēd-* conjectured from *ha-mišta thrown down, hamaēstar- subduer*); nor related to Gk σμήω *smear*, itself obscure, Chantraine 1968-80:1027. Relation to PIE *smē-, sm-ēy-, sm-ey- smear* P 1959:966-67, also dubious. W/H 1938-56 II:98 prefer semantic development from 'apply (wall plaster)' to 'smear' rather than the reverse, without suggesting a credible source.

B69. bi-stugq *na* (also *-ggq*) πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή *stumbling-block* R 14.13, noun beside **bi-stiggan* προσκόπτειν *stumble against*; see **stigqan**.

B70. bisunjane adv and prep κύκλῳ *round about* L 9.12. First adv, then, with reference to **bi** *around*, prep.

Gen pl in adv use of Go **sunjane* ← PGmc *sundjanēm* ← PIE *sn̥t-yo-*, prpl of PIE *es- be* + *-yo*-suffix, compounded with prep **bi**; *-d-* elided, as in *sunja*. Ending in gen often discussed, as in Streitberg 1896:184-85, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:696, Sehrt *F* Collitz 1930:96-97, WP Lehmann 1967:108-11. Grienberger 1900: 49-50, and also Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:696 assume noun **bisunja f surroundings*, comparing NHG *ringe round about*. For other developments of the prpl see P 1959:341-42.

B71. biþe, *biþeh* adv τότε, ὕστερον *afterward* M 5.24; conj ἐπεί, ὅτε *when, after* L 7.1.

MDu *bedi for that reason*, MLG *bedi because*.

Cmpd of **bi** and **þe**, instr of prn *þa-* as in **þata**, + *-h*, see **-uh**.

B72. *biugan stvII (only 1sg prs *biuga* E 3.14, 3sg prs *-giþ* R 14.11) κάμπτειν *bow*; **ga-biugan* stvII (only dat pl papl *eisarnam bi fotuns ga-buganaim* πέδαις καὶ ἁλύσεσιν δέδεσθαι *with foot-fetters on [their* feet] Mk 5.4) *bend*.

Not related ***us-baugjan** σαροῦν *sweep out*.

OI papl *boginn*; *-ū-* in OE *būgan bow, flee*, OS *būgan incline*, MLG *būgen* stvII *bend*; *e*-grade OHG *biogan* stvII *bend*; caus with *o*-grade OI *beygja*, OE *bīegan*, OS *bōgian*, OHG *bougen* wkv *bow*; OI *bjūgr bowed*; OHG *biugu* stm *bow, semi-circle*; CrimGo **boga**; OI *bogi*, OE *boga*, OFris *boga*, OS, OHG *bogo* wkm *bow†, semi-circle*; OI *baugr*, OE *bēag*, OHG *boug* stm *ring*.

PIE *bhewgh-* (Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30: 268, not *bhewk-*, Wood 1907-08 MP 5:270 since there is no morphophonemic variation); in the other IE dialects only *bhewg-* is attested. OI *būkr*, OE, OFris, OS *būk*, OHG *būh* m *belly* not related, in spite of Torp and Falk, eds 1909: 273; Vries 1962:64.

PIE *bhewg- bend*: Skt *bhujáti bend, push away, bhugnás bent, bhújas arm (= bending), bhógas coil of a snake, ring* (: OI *baugr*); possibly OIr *bo-n-gid break, buich broke, conquered* (Vendryès 1959-:B-70-72) and also *bocc* (← **bhuggo-*) *soft* (Vendryès 1959-:B-62), *find-boc* (cf OHG *bogo*) *bow of wood*.

Problems with homophonous PIE 1. *bhewg- flee*, as in Gk φεύγω *flee*, and PIE 2. *bhewg(h)- put away, free*, as in Go **usbaugjan sweep out*, whether or not different from PIE 3. *bhewg(h)- bend* (P 1959:152-53, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:504-05; no solution, though see ***bugjan** and proposal to equate 1. and 2.).

B73. biuhts adj *biuhts was* εἰώθει M 27.15 *accustomed*; *biuhti nia* ἔθος, συνήθεια *custom* J 18.39.

Disputed etymology; *(bi-)uhta* ← PGmc *uŋhta-*, or *ūh-ta* ← PIE *ewk- be accustomed* G Schmidt 1962:237-38.

PIE *ewk- be accustomed to*: Skt *ókas dwelling, úcyati is accustomed to*; Sogdian *ygwtčh accustomed*; OIr *to-ucc-* ← **unk- understand*; Lith *jùnkti become accustomed*; OSl *učiti teach, vyknǫti become accustomed*; Arm *usanim learn, become accustomed to* Greppin 1983 Bazmavep 141:280-81. According to Osthoff 1882 BGDSL 8:269 fn1, semantic considerations and presence of *-n-* in three dialects support this etymology; in addition,

the Arm form is substitute for old nasal present (Solta 1960:264-65; see also Fraenkel 1962-65: 196-97).

P 1959:347.

B74. *biuþs ma τράπεζα *table* L 16. 21.

OI *bjōð table, bowl*, OE *bēod table*, pl *bēodas bowls, dishes*, OS *biod*, OHG *piot, bied* stm *table*.

The borrowed OSl *bljudz, bljudo dish*, Russ, OSl *bljudva basket* has maintained the basic meaning of PGmc *biuδa-* (Berneker 1899 IF 10:151, 1908-14:64; Stender-Petersen 1927: 284,402-03; Lith *bliūdas dish* borrowed from Sl). Meringer 1902:81,92,96 accounts for 'table' from 'food-board of individual'; compare the Gmc borrowing OE *disc*, OS *disk* OHG *tisc* stm *table* (OE also *bowl*) ← Lat *discus disc*, (LLat *bowl*) → Prov *desc long dining-table, desca basket* Meyer-Lübke 1935:2664.

Etymology disputed. Generally derived from *-biudan*, cf ***ana-biudan** offer* with meaning shift 'serving' to 'object on which something is served' (Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:268; Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:537; Stroh 1959a:15, with reference to Tacitus' Germania 24: "each one has a separate seat and his own table").

Other suggestions less satisfactory. Grienberger 1900:50 relates OI *botn* m *bottom (as of vessel)*, comparing MHG *biute* f *baker's trough*, OE *byden(n)* f *basket, vat*; Gk πυθμήν *bottom, foot of a vessel*, proposing PGmc *biuδa- dish* from *utensil with bottom*. Petersson 1908-09 IF 23:395 relates **biuδa* to Go *bauþs* with meaning *something contained*.

P 1959:151.

B75. *bi-waibjan wkvI συνέχειν, περιβάλλειν *surround, clothe* L 19.43.

OE *wæfan clothe, be-wæfan wrap*; OI *veifa be in swinging, trembling movement*, OHG *zeweiben* wkv *scatter*; *weibōn waver, hover*, OI *vīfa arrive as by chance*, MHG *wīfen* wkv *swing*; OE *wafian* wkv *wave*†.

PIE *weyp-* as in Skt *vepáyati, vipáyati set in agitated motion*, caus of *vépate trembles, is agitated, vipas-* (in *vipodhā́s*) *agitation, enthusiasm, vípras trembling, excited, inspired*; as noun *poet*; Av *vip- throw, release (of seed)*; Lith *viẽpti gape about*, Latvian *viept mask*.

Beside PIE *weyp-*, PIE *weyb-*, as in **waips**, ***weipan**, **wipja**; Lat *vibrāre vibrate, vībix*; Latvian *vībele stripe, viẽbt distort (one's face)* Fraenkel 1962-65:1242-43.

P 1959:1131-33.

B76. *bi-windan stvIII (3sg prt *biwand* L 2.7, n sg papl *bi-wundan* L 2.12) σπαργανοῦν *wrap*; **du-ga-windan* stvIII (only 3sg prs *-diþ* 2T 2.4 + *sik*) ἐμπλέκεσθαι *get involved in*; **us-windan* stvIII (nom pl m prpl *-dandans* Mk 15.17, 3pl prt *us-wundun* J 19.2) πλέκειν *weave*; caus ***wandjan** wkvI στρέφειν *turn*; ***inwinds** adja ἄδικος *unjust*; ***wandus** mu *wand*.

OI *vinda*, OE, OS *windan*, OHG *wintan* stv *wind*†; OS *bi-windan wind around*, OHG *biwintan* stv *wrap up*.

PIE *wendh-* in Skt *vandhúram wicker carriage* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:143; Umbr imp *aha-uendu* 'avertito' *turn away!*, *pre-uendu* 'advertitu' *turn to!* (← **wendhetōd*); Arm *gind ring* (← **wendhā*), *gnd-(ak ort'oy) (vine-)branch, tendril* Solta 1960:142-43. Other conjectures, such as Gk dial ἄθρος *wagon* to be rejected; Chantraine 1968-80:492-93 under κάννα.

PIE *wendh-* may be from *wedh-* with nasal infix, as in ***ga-widan** *tie together*; possibly also Hitt *ɣedahhi build (construct a wickerwork building)* P 1959:1116-17.

B77. blandan *sik* stvIII (inf 1C 5.11, 2pl prs opt *blandaiþ* 1C 5.9, 2Th 3.14) συναναμίγνυσθαι *associate with*. On the *a*-vowel in the present stem see Brugmann 1913 IF 32:179ff; Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:121f, and also **gaggan**.

OI *blanda*, OE, OS *blandan* OHG *blantan* stv *mix*; caus **bland-jan* in OE *blenden*, OFris *blenda*, OHG *blenten* wkv *blend*†; ME *blundren* wkv *stir up, confuse*, cf NE *blunder*.

PIE *bhlendh- be or make cloudy, shimmer, err*, an extension of *bhel- gleam* (see ***bala-**), Seebold 1970:115-17; Lith *blę̃sti mix food with flour, blę̃stis become dark*; OSl *blęsti, blędą err*, Lith *blandùs impure, cloudy*; see Fraenkel 1962-65:47-48 for more derivatives; also **blinds**.

P 1959:157-58.

B78. *blauþjan wkvI (only nom pl m papl *-jandans* Mk 7.13) ἀκυροῦν *make void* from 'weak'; ***ga-blauþjan*** (only prpl *-jands* Col 2.15) θριαμβεύειν *triumph*.

OS *blōðian*, OHG *plōden* wkv *make weak, timorous*, derived from PGmc ppl formation *blauþa-* (or *blauþu-*) in OI *blauðr weak, timorous*, OE *blēaþ bashful*; with *-ja*-suffix, OS *blōði bashful*, OHG *blōdi fragile, timorous*; OI *bleyði* stf *timorousness*.

With pre-Gmc *-d-*: OI *blautr weak, fearful*, OE *blēat*, OFris *blāt poor*, MLG *blōt bare*, OHG *bloz proud*, MHG *blōz bare, naked*; OI *blotna* wkv *become soft*.

No certain etymology; P 1959:159 posits *bhlew-* parallel with *bhelew- strike* as in **bliggwan**; Gk φλαῦρος, φαῦλος (both dissimilated from *φλαῦλος) *insignificant, simple*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:1182-83,1207. Probably not related to PIE *bhlew- swell, flow* as in Gk φλέω, φλύω *overflow* (P 1959:158-59; Chantraine 1968-80:1212,1216); from this PIE form, Lith *bliáuju bellow*; OSl *blujǫ spew*. Earlier proposals in F 1939:99.

B79. bleiþs adj οἰκτίρμων *merciful* only L 6.36, φιλάγαθος *loving goodness* only Tit 1.8; *bleiþei* fn (*-ei*, as in ***af-gudei**) ἀγαθωσύνη *benevolence, good will* G 5.22; ***bleiþjan*** wkvI (only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* L 6.36), ***ga-bleiþjan*** wkvI οἰκτείρειν *take pity* R 9.15; ***ga-bleiþeins** fi/ō* (only gen pl *-eino* Ph 2. 1) οἰκτιρμός *pity*, **-eins** as in ***ahmateins**; also ***bleiþeins*** οἰκτιρμός *compassion* Col 3.12, cf Ebbinghaus 1975 GL 15:79-80, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:389, II:21.

OI *blíðr pleasant, mild (of weather)*, OE *blīþe*, OFris *blīd-* (in *blīd-schip*), OS *blīthi*, OHG *blīdi hearty, pleasant*, cf NE *blithe*; OS *blīthōn, blīdōn*, OHG *blīden* wkv *rejoice*; with *-iz*-suffix, OE *blīþs, bliss* stf *joy*, cf NE *bliss*; OE *blīþian* wkv *rejoice*; OS *blīdsea* (Cott), *blizza* f *joy*, *blīdsean*, OHG *blīzzen* wkv *delight*; a root noun in OE *blēo* (← ***blīja-**) stn, OFris *bli(e)*, OS *blī* stn *color*.

Questionable whether related: OE *blāt pale*, OHG *pleiza, plizza* f *bluish discoloration, malice*; OSl *blědz pale*; Alb *blertë green* Huld 1984:45; P 1959:160; Lith *blaĩvas sober* (Fraenkel 1962-65:46).

PIE *bhlĕ̄y-, bhlī- gleam*, an extension of *bhel- gleam*. Older proposals in F 1939:49.

P 1959:155-56,118-20.

B80. *bliggwan stvIII (3pl prs *bliggwand* Mk 10.34, prpl *-wands* Mk 5.3) δέρειν, μαστιγοῦν *strike*; ***us-bliggwan*** stvIII (3sg prt *us-blaggw* J 19.1, 3pl *us-bluggwun* Mk 12.3, papl *us-bluggwans* 2C 11.25), δέρειν *beat soundly*.

Go *-ggw-* ← PGmc *-ww-* (Streitberg 1920: 84, WP Lehmann 1952:38,40,42). Reflexes of Gmc lengthening also in OI *blegðí* stm (← ***blawwiðan-**) *wedge*; OS *ūt-bliuwid hammer out*, ME *blēwe*, MLG *blouwen*, OHG *bliuwan*, stv, NHG *bleuen strike*; ME *blowe* *blow*† Seebold 1970:120-21.

No clear etymology. If from PIE *bh(e)lew- strike*, like ***balwa-(wesei)**, with related forms from PIE *bhlū-*, eg OI *blýgr despondent* from 'struck down', earlier form may have been PIE *bhlewH-* (cf OI *byggja inhabit* ← PIE *bhewH-*), with laryngeal suffix producing length of PGmc *-w-*. Older proposals in F 1939:100.

P 1959:125,159.

B81. blinds adj α τυφλός *blind* J 9.2; ***ga-blindjan*** wkvI τυφλοῦν *make blind* J 12. 40; ***af-blindnan*** *become blind* (only 3pl prt *-dnodedun* marginal gloss in Cod A to *af-daubnodedun* 2C 3.14).

OI *blindr*, OE, OFris, OS *blind*, OHG *blint* *blindt*†; PGmc caus *blandjan* in OE *blendan*, OFris *blenda*, MLG *blenden*, OHG *plenten* wkv *make blind*, cf NE *blend*; zero grade in OI

blunda wkv *close one's eyes, sleep.*

PIE *bhlendh-* *be or make cloudy*, in **blandan**; *blinds* actually 'clouded'; here too Lith *blandùs unclean*, which O Hoffmann 1903 *F* Fick:58 compares.

P 1959:157-58.

B82. *bloma mn (only acc pl *blomans* τὰ κρίνα *lilies* M 6.28) *flower.*

OI *blōmi*, Fris (West) *blām*, OS *blōmo*, OHG *bluomo* stm, *bluoma* stf, OI *blōm* stn (collective) *flower, bloom*†, (OE *blōma*, cf NE *bloom mass of metal*, may not belong here, unless changed in meaning through associations like that in OE *gold-blōma golden mass*; ME *blōme* possibly from OI).

PGmc *blō-* as in OE *blōwan*, OFris *blōia*, OS *blōian*, OHG *bluojen, plōan* wkv *bloom*, cf NE *blow* (in poetic use), from which also with PIE *-ti-*, OE *blēd* stf, OHG *bluot* stf *blossom*; PGmc *blē-* in OE *blǣd* stm *shoot, flower*; PIE *bhlə-to-* in OI *blaδ*, OE *blæd*, OS *blad*, OHG *blat* stn *leaf, blade*†, cf TochA *pält leaf*; with *-s* MDu *blōsen* wkv (though Gmc *ō* usually → MDu *œ*) *bloom*; OE *blōstm* stm, *blōs(t)ma* wkm *flower*, ODan *blōstr*, MHG *bluost* stf *blossom*†; OI *blōmstr* stn *flower.*

PIE *bhel-, bhlō-* *flower*: OIr *blāth flower, blossom* ← *bhlō-* with *-t-* Vendryès 1959-:B-58; Lat *flōs flower, flōrēre* (← **bhlōs-*, Osc *Fluusaí* 'Flōrae' *flower*) *bloom*. See also **bloþ**. P 1959:122, Seebold 1970:122.

B83. blotan stvVII (inf used as noun 1T 2.10, 3pl prs *blotand* Mk 7.7, nom sg f prpl *blotande(i)* L 2.37) σέβεσθαι, λατρεύειν *serve (God), honor (through sacrifice)*; Grimm 1854: 31ff; ***blotinassus*** mu *sacrifice*; **us-bloteins* fi/ō παράκλησις *requesting* 2C 8.4; *gud-blostreis* mia θεοσεβής *worshipper of God* J 9. 31.

OI *blōta*, OE *blōtan*, OHG *blōzan* stv *worship (with sacrifice)*; OI *blōt* n *sacrifice* (*es*-stem, cf Finn *luote magic song* ← PGmc *blōtes* according to Karsten 1928 GRM 16:369), OHG *ploz-hūs* stn *temple*, *bluostar* stn *offering* (: Go **blostr* in **(gud-)blostr-ja-*); OI *blōt-goδ* stm *(heathen) priest*, OE *blōtere sacrificer*, OHG *bluostrāri* stm *sacrificial priest* Wesche 1937 BGDSL 61:4f.

PIE *bhlād-*; probably an extended form of *bhel- swell, flower*, unique to Gmc, as in **balþaba**. Often linked with Lat *flāmen* (← **bhlād-(s)men*) *sacrificial priest* (W/H 1938-56 I:512-13, Puhvel 1965 ZVS 79:5); but P 1959: 154 derives *flāmen* from PIE *bhlagh-men-*, from which also Skt *brahmán- charm, reverence*. Rejected by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 452-56, who cites copious references, returning to the assumption that Skt *brahmán-* orig meant 'structuring' = OI *bragr* stm *art of poetry* (also Vries 1962:53). Intensively argued, in view of its central importance for IE religious thought, as in Dumézil 1935. Older proposals cited in F 1939:100-01; Grazi 1982 AGI 67:1-37 reviews the etymologies proposed in a detailed study contrasting PGmc *blōt-* with *hunsla-*.

P 1959:120-22,154.

B84. *blotinassus* mu σέβασμα, λατρεία *worship* R 12.1. Based on stem of **blotan** with *-inassus*, whose specific origin cannot be demonstrated with the available data, though presumably it resulted from suffix clipping, as follows. Suffix *-inassus* based on (1) *-assus* ← PIE *-ad-* + *-tu-* as in **ufarassus** mu *abundance*, added to stems in *-n-*, as in *ibnassus* mu *equality*, cf OE *em/fnes*, OS *ēbnissi* f *equality*, OI *jafna*, OE *amnettan equalize*; (2) *-nassus* thereupon added to stems in *-i/j-* as in **fraujinassus mastery* based on *frauji(non)*, clipped as (3) *-inassus*. See Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:445; W Schulze 1966:572; Kluge 1926:71-72; Benveniste 1948:106, *-assu-* for nouns of quality; Mezger 1951 ZVS 69:204-05, for nouns of social character; Gusmani 1967 AGI 52:124-30,136-37, *-assu-* for abstract nouns made from verbal bases.

B85. bloþ na αἷμα *blood* M 27.4; *bloþa-rinnandei* f prpl αἱμορροοῦσα *having a hemorrhage* M 9.20; see ***rinnan**.

CrimGo *plut* 'sanguis' (with unexpected *p-*;

Uhlenbeck 1900:30 assumes misprint for *b*; Stearns 1978:149 assumes Busbecq heard initial voiceless [b] as [p]); OI *blōð*, OE, OFris, OS *blōd*, OHG *bluot* stn *blood*†.

Etymology unclear. Possibly with PIE *-to-* from PIE *bhlō-* ← *bhel- swell, gush*, as in ***bloma**; Hamp 1980 FLiH 1:389-92 proposes a distinction between PIE stem *blej-*, from which he derives *bloþ*, and PIE *bleH₂- blow* as in ***ufblesan**, noting semantic similarity between "'shoot, bud' of plants and 'gush, spurt' of liquids" as in the set represented by NE *sprout, spurt*. Torp and Falk, eds 1909:283; Kroes 1955 GRM 36:345-47. Older proposals in F 1939:101.

P 1959:1220-22.

B86. *bnauan stvVII (only nom pl m prpl *-ndans* L 6.1) φώχειν *rub (apart)*.

Probably from **bi-nauan* with *-i-* of *bi-* elided, cf OI **bnūa* stvVII *rub*. Also OI *nūa rub*, OHG *niuwan, nūen* stvVII, MHG *niuwen* stvII *pulverize, grind*; also OI *gnūa* stv VII from **gi-nūan rub*.

Analysis of Go form, as well as etymology, disputed. A Sturtevant 1945 JEGP 44:371-73 considers *bn-* a scribal error for *bi-n-*; rejected by G Schmidt 1962:229, who is very likely correct in considering *bn-* a variant of *gn-*. Forms probably remodeled affectively, also in other IE dialects, such as Gk χναύω *scrape*, as well as κνύω *scrape*, χνόη *box of wheel in which axle turns (scrapes)*, χνόος *light porous substance* Frisk 1960-72 II:1106-07 and Chantraine 1968-80:1265; P 1959:437 proposes PIE *ghnĕw-* extended from *ghen- gnaw apart, pulverize*. Not here OSl *gnusьnz repulsive* in spite of P; Berneker 1908-14:314 and Fraenkel 1962-65:159. Seebold 1972:123-24 has no satisfactory solution.

Other proposals dubious. No other evidence for PIE *nāw- torment*, as under **nauþs**. Not related to Lat *novācula shearing knife* or to Skt *kṇáuti whets, sharpens*, itself disputed. No contributions from even bolder proposals, cited in F 1939:101-02. *gn-* comes to be productive in OI affective words; cf Vries 1962:177-81, supporting assumption of affective initial cluster with *-n-*.

B87. boga CrimGo 'arcus' *bow*. Here *-o-* for *-u-*, PGmc *bugen-*, through *a*-umlaut; also *goltz*, but not before *-n-*, as in *sune, brunna*, Kieckers 1928:15.

OI *bogi*, OE *boga*, OFris *boga*, OS, OHG *bogo bow*†. From PIE *bhewgh-* as in **biugan*.

B88. boka *fō* (according to Kluge 1882 BGDSL 8:513, 1890 ZDA 34:210ff, Stender-Petersen 1927:448, nom pl n of **bok*) γράμμα *letter* (nom sg 2C 3.6, gen sg *bokos* R 7.6; according to Grienberger 1900:72: *something written, document*; dat pl *bokom* γράμμασι G 6. 11; elsewhere pl *bokos* with meaning βίβλος, βιβλίον, γράμμα(τα) *document, book*); **bokareis** *mia* γραμματεύς *scribe* M 8.19, *writer* DeN; *fra-bauhta-boka fō* (n pl = OHG *diu buoh* according to Kluge op cit) *document of sale* DeA; Go *wadja-bokos* (only acc pl Col 2. 14) χειρόγραφον *bond*.

OI *bōk*, pl *bøkr*; OE *bōc*, pl *bēc*; OFris *bōk* stf, OHG *buoh* sg generally stn, pl f *book*†, OS *bōk* stf n *writing-tablet*; OI *bōk-stafr* stm, OE *bōc-stæf* stn, OS *bōk-staf*, OHG *buoh-stap* stm and OS *bōk-stabo*, MHG *buoch-stabe* wkm *letter (of alphabet)* as in ***stafs**. According to J Grimm in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 II: 466-69 actually 'a beech stave for inscribing written symbols'; according to Hoops, ed 1911-19 I:349f, *name for letter of the Lat alphabet in contrast with the Run symbols*, OI *stafr* or *rūna-stafr*. Both *boka letter as part of word* and **stafs isolated letter/symbol* in pre-Wulfila Go, Ammann 1948:11,14. Ebbinghaus 1982 GL 22:99-103 rejects connection of "common Gmc **bōka-* with the word for beech tree", and is supported by Peeters 1982 GL 22:266.

PGmc *bōks*, pl *bōkiz* (Hoops op cit:339) was orig 'a tablet of beechwood for inscribing' ('a sheet of beech bark', according to P Friedrich 1970:110), and accordingly identical to OI *bōk* stf, OE *bōc, bēce* (← **bōkjōn-*), OS *bōk, bōkia*, OHG *buocha* wkf *beech*†. Cf also *silva Bācēnis*, Caesar, Gallic War 6.10; MLat

Boconia, MHG *Buohhunna*, also[?] the *Bakony*-Forest in Hungary.

For the distribution of the beech, see P Friedrich 1970:30,106-15, esp the maps (113, 114), and also for its use in determining the home of the Indo-Europeans; much of the earlier discussion, as cited in F 1939:102-03, now superseded.

PIE *bhāgós beech*; Lat *fāgus beech*; Dor φᾱγός, Att φηγός *oak*; possibly, as Classical grammarians suggested, related to φαγεῖν *eat*, ie *tree with edible nuts*; impossible to verify or to deny, according to Chantraine 1968-80:1194; if so, further related to productive root in Skt *bhájati distributes, bhákṣati eats* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:463 doubtful). Kurd *būz* not related, but a dial variant of *viz elm* (P Friedrich 1970: 107). NI *baukr box, beyki beech forest*, which led to assumption of PIE *bhāwgo-*, rejected by Lane 1967 ZVS 81:202-05; see however Specht 1939 ZVS 66:54-59, Wissmann 1952:15-28, Krogmann 1955 ZVS 72:1-29, 1956 ZVS 73:1-25. Russ *buziná*, dial *buz alder* also dubious, though cf P Friedrich 1970:107-08,111, who on the basis of Lith *bū̃kas, bùkas beech* assumes PBalt-Sl reflex of PIE *bhāǧós* meaning both *beech* and *elder*; highly dubious -- rather, in view of *-k-*, borrowed from either EPruss or Pol *buk beech* (Fraenkel 1962-65:63). Possibly Alb *bungë oak* Huld 1984:76,145,155. Secure cognates only in Lat and Gk, OSl *bukъvi* f pl *document, epistle* and **buky*, attested in dat pl *bukvamъ letter*, as well as other Sl forms, borrowed from Gmc; for dispute on actual source, whether only Go or partly WGmc see Berneker 1908-14:98-99.

P 1959:107-08.

B89. bokareis *mia* calque of γραμματεύς *scribe* M 8.19; *writer*, in DeN.

Derived from **boka** with *-areis* ← PGmc *-arja-*, borrowed from Lat *-ārius* (Wilmanns 1911:283ff, M Jellinek 1926:163-64) like Lat *librārius writer* to *liber book*.

OE *bōcere writer*, OHG *buohhāri* stm *scribe*. On the differing quality of *a*, see Möller 1888:143 and Roethe 1919 SAW 1919:791; Scardigli 1973:161-62,286-88,297.

B90. borrotsch CrimGo 'voluntas' *will* (to be corrected to 'voluptas' *pleasure* Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:361, E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:13); interpreted as **(ga)baurjoþus pleasure*, cf **ga-baurjaba** (Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:129 and Stearns 1978:131, with extensive discussion, also on accuracy of 'voluntas'; cf NE 'What's your pleasure?' = 'What is your wish?', NHG *Lust pleasure, wish*); Stearns deals with attempts to explain *borrotsch* as a borrowing from Turk.

B91. *bota fō (only in verbal expressions *du botai ist* ὠφελήσει G 5.2, *ho mis boto* τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος 2C 15.32) *usefulness, profit*; **botjan* wkvI ὠφελεῖν *aid, improve*; **ga-botjan* wkvI (in 3sg prs *aftra-ga-boteiþ* Mk 9.12) calque of Gk ἀποκαθιστάναι *improve, restore* Weisweiler 1930:8.

From root in PGmc *bata- good* and Go **ga-batnan* ὠφελεῖσθαι *gain* with *ō*-grade; cf ***batiza**.

OI, OE *bōt improvement, substitute*, OFris *bōte*, OS *bōta*, OHG *buoz(a)* stf *improvement, penance*, cf NE *boot* (archaic); OI *bøta*, OE *bētan*, OFris *bēta* OS *bōtian*, OHG *buozen* wkv *improve, do penance for*.

See Weisweiler 1930:6ff,161ff for semantic development; PIE *k^{w}ey-*, *k^{w}oy-nā* as in Av *kaenā vengeance*, Arm *kʿēn*, Gk ποινή *debt to be paid to atone for crime*; OSl *cěna honor, price*, Lith *káina price, usefulness* is not represented in Gmc; substitutes from PGmc *bat-* ~ *bot-* take their place. See Benveniste 1973:340-45 for meaning of ποινή and cognates in PIE social system.

P 1959:106,636-37.

B92. *braƕ (only *in braƕa augins* ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ *in the twinkling of an eye* 1C 15.52) *glance*.

Possibly, stem *brah-* + *-wa-*. If so, see other suffixes: OI *augna-bragδ* stn *twinkling of an eye*; OE *breahtm* stm (beside *bearhtm*) *glance*; further with lengthened grade: OI *brā*

stf, OE *brǣw, brēaw* stm; OS *brāha, brāwa, slegi-brāwa* wkf *eyelid*; OHG *brāwa* stf *brow* (change of meaning after PGmc *brū- brow* in OI *brūn*, OE *brū* stf, Skt *bhrú*, Gk ὀφρύς *brow*†), OHG *wint-prāwa* stf *eyelash*. PGmc *brēhwō, brēgwō, brēhwī* to PGmc *brēh- light up, blink* in OI *brjā, brā* (← PGmc **brehōn*), *braga*, wkv MHG *brehen* st/wkv *light up, sparkle*; with dental extension OI *bregða*, OE *bregdan, brēdan* wkv *move quickly*, OFris *brīda pull, tug*, OS *bregdan braid*, OHG *brettan* stv *pull, tug, weave*.

PIE *bhrēk- gleam*, possibly also *bherək-* (P 1959:141-42). Only doubtful reflexes outside Gmc. Skt **bhrā́śate shines, glitters*, unattested variant of Skt *bhrā́jate shines* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:529-30,532; cf **bairhts**); Hsch φορκόν *white, grey*; possibly OIr *broce*, Wel *broch* (Gaul GN *Broco-magus badger-field*) *badger, brock*† (from the white stripes?), though cf Vendryès 1959-:B-94. Older proposals rejected by F 1939:103-04.

B93. *braiþs adj (only n sg *braid* Mk 7.13) πλατύς *broad*; *braidei* fn (only E 3.18) πλάτος *breadth*; **us-braidjan* wkvI (only 1sg prt *-dida* R 10.21) ἐκπεταννύναι *spread out*.

OI *breiðr*, OE *brād*, OFris, OS *brēd*, OHG *breit broad*†; OHG *breiti* stf *breadth*; OI *breiða*, OE *brǣdan*, OS *brēdian*, OHG *breiten* wkv *spread out*. With different stem vowel, OE *bred*, OFris *brede expanse*, OHG *breta* ← PGmc *briðō* stf *palm of hand*.

No acceptable etymology; conjectures in F 1939:104.

B94. brakja f *jō* (only E 6.12) πάλη *struggle*.

OI *brakan* stf *creaking, brak* stn *creaking noise*, MLG *brak*, MHG *brach* stm *crash*; OS, OHG *braht* stm *crash*, OE *breahtm*, OS *brahtum* stm *noise*.

PIE *bhrag-*: Lat *fragor crash, noise, suffrāgium vote* from 'noisy agreement'; OI *braigd fart*; Lith *barškėti clatter* Fraenkel 1962-65:35.

F 1939:104 assumes PIE *bhrăg- clatter*, distinct from *bhreĝ- break, creak*, under which P 1959:165 lists these forms and those of **brikan**. Onomatopoeia may have led to varying vowels.

P 1959:165.

B95. breen CrimGo 'assare' *roast*.

MDu *brǽyen roast*, MHG *brǽjen* wkv *smell, be fragrant* (Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30: 133); PGmc *brē-* maintaining *-e-* before vowel, as also in CrimGo *geen* in contrast with *mine* (Stearns 1978:132). Not to OI *brǽða, brādna* wkv *melt*, OE *brǣdan*, OFris *brēda*, OS *brādon*, OHG *brātan* stv *roast* (upon loss of dental, Loewe 1896:149,152. Holthausen 1942 BGDSL 66:268 proposed that *breen* was an error for *briden* or *brieden* following *geen*; a hazardous assumption).

PIE *bhrē-*, an extended form of *bher- boil up*: with *-ō-* in MLG *brōien*, MHG *brüejen* wkv *scorch, burn, brüeje* f *brew*†, NHG (Luther) *aus-brüen* wkv *hatch*; with dental suffix OE *brǣþ* f *vapor*, cf NE *breath*; *brōd* stf, NDu *broed* stn, MHG *bruot* stf *brood*†, MLG *brādem* stm *vapor*; possibly also Lat *frĕtum, frĕtus surging (of the sea)* and with *-u*-extension in *fervō seethe*.

P 1959:132-33.

B96. briggan wkvI, 1sg prt *brahta* Mk 9.17, (papl not attested) ἄγειν, φέρειν *bring*. On forms, Gauthiot 1908 *F* Saussure:117ff.

OE *bringan*, papl *brōhte*, OFris *bringa, brochte*, OHG *bringan, brāhta* wkv, OE *brengan*, OFris *brenga*, MDu *brenghen*, OS *brengian* (← **brangjan*) wkv *bring*†. Sw *bringa*, Dan *bringe* borrowed from German.

No satisfactory etymology.

PIE *bhrenk-, bhronk-*: Wel *he-brwng bring, lead* (← PCelt **sem-bronk-*), MCorn *hem-bronk will lead*, MBret *ham-bronc*; TochB *prānk-*, TochAB *präṅk- take away* P 1959:168. Because of Gmc inf vowel **-e-*, and *-g-* rather than *-k-* yielding Go inf **breihan*, Brugmann 1901 IF 12:155ff proposed source in PIE *bh(e)r- carry* + *enké reach* → PIE *bhrenké* → PGmc **bring-* (see **bairan** and ***bi-nauhan**); accepted by

Gauthiot 1908 *F* Saussure:119ff, Blümel 1927 BGDSL 51:97ff with Gk parallels, Fraenkel 1931 ZVS 58:286f, 1936 ZVS 63:198, though only hesitantly if at all by others (W/P 1927-32 II:204, with references to less credible proposals, as also in F 1939:105). More likely, PIE *bher- carry* + *-en-* with velar suffix.

P 1959:168.

B97. *brikan stvIV, 3sg *brikiþ* 2T 2. 5, 3sg prt *brak* G 1.23, κλᾶν *break*, πορθεῖν *destroy*, ἀθλεῖν *battle* (cf **brakja**); **ga-brikan* (sg n papl *ga-brukano* 1C 11.24) κλᾶν, κατακλᾶν *break up*; *uf-brikan* stvIV ἀθετεῖν *despise* Mk 6.26, according to A Sturtevant 1937 JEGP 36:176 used upon breaking of friendly relations; **un-uf-brikandans* nom pl m prpl ἀπρόσκοποι *not giving offense* 1C 10.32; **us-bruknan* wkvIV ἐκκλᾶσθαι *be broken off* R 11.17; ***ga-bruka** fō κλάσμα *crumb*.

OE *brecan*, OFris *breka*, OS *brekan*, OHG *brechan* stv *break*†; OE *bryce breaking, fragment*, OFris *breke*, MLG *broke*, OHG *bruh* stm *breach*; OHG *brocko* wkm (*ck* ← *kn* or emphatic lengthening) *fragment*.

PIE *bhreĝ- break*, according to W/P 1927-32 II:200, parallel with PIE *bhrăĝ- crash* W/P 1927-32 II:193, or *-a*-vocalism introduced onomatopoeically (W/H 1938-56 I:539-40); Osthoff 1910b:100-02 proposed a single source. If PIE *bhrēg-*, with *-ē-* from *-eʔ-*, the Lat vocalism could be accounted for; Lat *frangō break*, with *-ă-* assumed to be from ə by Hirt 1921-37 II:80, with references, perf *frēgi* (: Go pl prt **brek-*, OE *brǣcon*), *frăgilis fragile*; possible Skt cognate in *giri-bhráj- breaking out of the mountains* (RV 10.68.1; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 527). See also **brakja**.

Proposals to relate words without *-r-* to be rejected; other older conjectures in F 1939:105-06. If an extended form of one of the PIE *bher-* roots, probably that with meaning 'move violently', as in OE *brǣd vapor*; cf *breen*; Trier 1952:82,84.

P 1959:165,133-35, Watkins 1985:9.

B98. *brinnan stvIII (only nom sg n prpl *brinnando* Sk 6.5 / VIa.18) *burn*; **uf-brinnan* stvIII (only 3sg prt *uf-brann* Mk 4.6) καυματισθῆναι *burn up*; *brinno* fn πυρετός *fever* Mk 1.31; **ala-brunsts* fi ὁλοκαύτωμα *burnt-offering* Mk 12.33; **ga-brannjan* wkvI καίειν *burn up* 2C 13.8; **in-brannjan* wkvI (only 3sg prs pass *in-brannjada* J 15.6) καίειν *set on fire*.

OI *brinna* (*brenna*), OE *beornan, biernan*, OFris *berna, barna*, OS, OHG *brinnan* stv *burn*†; OI *brenna*, OE *brennian*, OHG *brennen* wkv *cause to burn*; OE *bærnan* wkv *kindle*; *byrne* stm *fire, flame*; OI *bruni* stm *burning*, OI *brandr*, OE *brand*, OFris *brand, brond*, MLG, OHG *brant* stm *blaze*, cf NE *brand*; OI *brundr* stm, OHG *brunst* stf *blaze, heat*.

Etymology disputed.

Probably from PIE *bhrew-*, with nasal infix *bhre-n-w-* → PGmc *brenn-* (P 1959:144-45; *bher-* P 1959:132-33 as in Skt *bhuráti moves rapidly*; possibly Gk φύρω *mix*, but see Chantraine 1968-80:1235-36; OLat *fervō*, Lat *ferveō boil, bubble, fermentum fermentation*; OIr *berbaid cook* Vendryès 1959-:B-40-41; OE *beorma* m *yeast*, with various extensions). Nasal infix in *bhr-ew-* only Gmc; see CrimGo **broe** for different extension in OHG *briwan*.

Relationship to OIr *brenn- bubble up*, caus *bruinn- gush, burst out* less likely, for these are probably from PIE *bhrend-* (Vendryès 1959-:B-103-04). Seebold 1970:137-38 proposed derivation from PIE *gʷher- hot* as in NE *warm*; also unlikely because of proposed development of PIE labiovelar.

P 1959:143-45, Watkins 1985:9.

B99. broe CrimGo 'panis' *bread* (ie *bro* in MDu orthography). Stearns 1978:132 prefers explanation from PGmc *brauða- bread made through fermentation, with yeast*, as in OI *brauð*, OE *brēad*, OFris *brād*, OS *brōd*, OHG *brōt* stn *bread*†; OI, OE *broð*, OHG *prod* ← PGmc *bruða- broth*† (cf **hlaifs**); absent dental in *broe(t)* accounted for as misprint, following E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:13ff and Streitberg 1920:282, rather than, following Kluge 1911:

113, as loss in CrimGo; cf CrimGo *plut* with *-t* maintained. By contrast F 1939:106 compared *broe* with MHG *brüeje* f *broth, brüejen, brüen singe, brew,* MDu *broeijen* wkv *warm, brood.* Either solution possible.

PIE *bhr-ew-H- brew,* as in OI papl *brugginn* based on **bryggja* beside wkv *brugga,* OE *brēowan,* NDu *brouwen,* OHG *briuwan* stv *brew*† *(= prepare through fermentation).* Extension with *-t-* in Lat *dē-frŭtum boiled down cider;* OIr *bruth,* OWel *brwd fermentation* (Vendryès 1959-:B-106); also Thrac βρῦτον *kind of barley beer.* See also ***brinnan** and **brunna.** Not, following Holthausen 1929 IF 47: 329, an error for **broc;* OHG *brocko* wkm, Go ***ga-bruka** *fō crumb.*

P 1959:143-44.

B100. broþar *mr* ἀδελφός *brother* M 5.23; PIE *bhrātēr* (or *-ōr*) with shortening of final syllable, Kieckers 1928:95.

CrimGo *bruder* (cf Stearns 1978:132); OI *brōðir,* OE *brōþor,* OFris *brōther,* OS *brōðar,* OHG *bruoder brother*†.

PIE *bhrātēr- member of extended family, brother, kinsman*: Skt *bhrā́tā*; Av, OPers *brātā*; Hsch φρήτηρ · ἀδελφός, φρᾶτηρ, φρᾶτωρ *member of a brotherhood* = φρᾱτρία; Lat *frāter*; OIr *brāthir*; OPruss *brote, brāti*; Lith *brólis, broterėlis,* Latvian *brãlis brother*; OSl *bratrъ, bratъ*; Arm *ełbayr*; TochA *pracar,* B *procer,* oblique *protär.* Also Ven inscription (dat) *vhraterei* 'fratri' *brother* (Sommer 1924 IF 42:125).

See also Skt *bhrātrám* : Gk φρᾱτρᾱ, φρήτρη; Skt *bhrātryam* : Gk φρᾱτρία, OSl *bratrьja, bratьja brotherhood*; Chantraine 1968-80:1226 summarizes current information on the institution of brotherhoods; see also Benveniste 1973:172-73.

Speculations on the etymology of PIE kinship terms, as noted by Vries 1962:58, have no further support, including Szemerényi 1977:25-28.

P 1959:163-64.

B101. broþrahans *mn* (only Mk 12. 20) ἀδελφοί *brothers (those dealing with one another in a brotherly manner,* according to Delbrück 1893 *F* Roth:17).

Derived from *broþar* with reflex of PIE *-ko-* indicating kinship groups, Kluge 1926:36; also in Umbr *frateks, fratreca directorate of phratry* (Kretschmer 1933 Glotta 21:118; with Lat **frātricus,* Stegmann von Pritzwald 1933 Glotta 21:134-35; see also W/H 1938-56 I:542); OI *feðgar* pl m, OSw, Run *faþrkaz father and son*; cf OI *mæðgin* pl m *mother and son,* OSw, Run *mūþkini,* OI *mæðgur* pl f, OSw, Run *muþrku mother and daughter* (substantivized adj, Hellquist 1891 ANF 7:5; Noreen 1923:214-15). See also Skt *a-bhrātṛkas brotherless, mātṛkas motherly, sanakás old* : Lat *senex old person*; with dim value, Sl *synъkъ* (in Russ *synók*) *little son.* Concerning a *-ko*-suffix with kinship terms in *-ter* in Celt see Pedersen 1909-13 II:31,33,106.

B102. *broþru-lubo *fn brotherly love* R 12.10, with *-ra-*; dialectal development of *-ru-* as also in Umbr *fratru-,* W/H 1938-56 I:542.

-lubo: OE *lufu,* OFris *luve,* OHG *-luba* in *mōt-luba* stf *love*†; cf ***liufs** and ***lubains.**

P 1959:683-84.

B103. bruks adj *i/ja* εὔχρηστος, ὠφέλιμος *useful*; **un-bruks* adj ἀχρεῖος *useless* L 17.10; *brukjan* wkvI, prt *bruhta* χρῆσθαι *use* 2C 1.17.

OE adj *bryce,* (*un-bryce useless*), OHG *brūhi useful*; OHG *brūchan,* prt *brūhta use*; reformed in WGmc, OE *brūcan,* prt *brēac,* OFris *brūka,* OS *brūkan,* prt *brōk* stv *use* (A Sturtevant 1951 MLN 66:302-04).

Lat *frūgī* adj *having merit (for use),* orig predicate dat of *frūx,* gen *frūgis fruit, fruor* (← **frūgvor*) *enjoy, profit from*; W/H 1938-56 I:552-53.

No further cognates. Possibly from PIE *bhrew- cut off* becoming 'removing fruit for one's use', then 'enjoy, use' (P 1959:169,173); this with *-t-* in OI *brjōta,* OE *brēotan break* (Wood 1907-08 MP 5:270-71; P 1959:169).

B104. *brunjo *fn* (only dat sg

brunjon E 6.14; 1Th 5.8) θώραξ *breastplate.*

OI *brynja*, OE *byrne*, OS *brunnia*, OHG *brunja, brunna* stf *cuirass.*

From a Gaul word related to OIr *bruinne*, OWel, Bret *bronn breast*, probably **brunnio-* ← **bhrusnyo-*, Vendryès 1959-:B-104-05; orig 'breast-protector of leather or iron, coat of rings or mail'. (During the La Tène period, circa 500 BC - 1 AD, Celtic craftsmen were predominant in northern and western Europe, esp in the working of iron, Piggott 1965:247-48.) PIE *bhrews- expand*, **bhrus-ō(n)* → OIr *brū body*, **bhrusyo- breast*, as above; cf **brusts**. Earlier proposals of another source, whether borrowed or directly from PIE, are entirely superseded; references may be consulted in F 1939:107-08, who gave precedence to etymology above.

Borrowed from Gmc, OFr *broigne*, Prov *bronha cuirass* Meyer-Lübke 1935:1339; also OSl *brъnja cuirass* Berneker 1908-14:90, Latvian *brunas*, OPruss *brunyos* pl *armor* Toporov 1975- I:255-56.

B105. brunna *mn* (only Mk 5.29) πηγή *fount, source.*

CrimGo *brunna* 'fons', OI *brunnr* stm, OE *brunna, burna*, OFris *burna*, OS, OHG *brunno* wkm *source, fount*, cf NE *burn.*

From PIE *bh(e)r-ew- move rapidly*, given under ***brinnan** (K Johansson 1892 BKIS 18: 37), with *r/n*-stem in Gk φρέᾱρ, φρέᾱτος ← **φρῆϝαρ*, -ατος *well, reservoir* (Chantraine 1968-80:1226-27), Arm *atbiur fount* (Solta 1960:280-81) with *-r* generalized, Gmc with *-n-*; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:303, posits PGmc **brunō, *brunen-, *brunn*, yielding **brunnō *brunnen*. Celt cognates in OIr *tipra* f *source, fountain* (← **to-ess-bher-ī*) according to Vendryès 1959-:T-74, correcting earlier derivation as in P 1959:144 and *brenn-*, Vendryès 1959-:B-85,B-103-04. Russ *bruja current* Berneker 1908-14:88. Not related, Lith *briáutis, braũkti stroke* Fraenkel 1962-65:54-55. See **broe**, with different extensions to PIE *bher-ew-*.

P 1959:143-45.

B106. brusts f cons σπλάγχνα *(entrails) heart*, στῆθος *breast* L 18.13.

OFris *brust, burst*, MLG *borst*, OHG *brust* stf *breast*; differing vocalism in OI *brjōst*, OE *brēost*, OFris *briast*, OS *briost* stn *breast*† (remodeled form of du according to Kluge 1882 BGDSL 8:510, H Wagner 1956 ZVS 74:178-79; not folk etymological influence of an unrelated set, eg OI *brjōta*, OE *brēotan break* or OE *bēost*, OHG *biost beestings*†; according to J Grimm in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 II:443 and Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:271); possibly also MHG *briustern swell*, OS *brustian* wkv *bud.*

PGmc *brus-t-* an extended form of *brus-* ← PIE *bhrews-, bhrus- swell* as in OIr *brū*, gen *bronn* (← **brusō, *brusnos*) *breast, belly*; also *brūach pertaining to the belly* and *bruasach having a large bosom* (possibly an erroneous form) Vendryès 1959-:B-99-100,102; further, OIr *bruinne breast, bosom* (← PCelt **brunnio-* ← PIE *bhrusnyo-*), cf ***brunjo**; Russ *brjucho belly* (← **bhrewso-*), P 1959:169-71.

PIE *bhres-*, an extension of PIE *bhrew- swell* as in Lat *frutex*, gen *-icis shrub* (W/H 1938-56 I:534); with *d*-extension, MHG *briezen bud.* Skt *bhrūṇás embryo* possibly also here, but see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:533-34, with extensive discussion.

For earlier treatments, see F 1939:108-09; not related to PIE *bhrū- brow*, cf **brahv* which has differing OIr reflexes. Objection of Vries 1962:58 to derivation from PIE *bhrews- swell* on grounds that this presupposes basic meaning 'female breast' invalid; for as the additional meaning 'belly' suggests, the word indicates a soft, fleshy area of body. Reflexes stand in place of forms of PIE *ēwdh-*, Skt *ūdhar*, Gk οὖθαρ, OE *ūder*, OHG dat *ūtrin udder*†, Lat *ūber udder, breast*, also probably from root meaning 'swell' (P 1959:347).

B107. bruþfaþs *mi* νυμφίος *bridegroom* Mk 2.19, νυμφών *bridal chamber* (but Benveniste 1963 BSLP 58:[art]41-57, states that *sunjus bruþfaþis* = υἱοὶ τοῦ

νυμφῶνος is a calque of Aram *bənē ḥypāh sons of the bridal chamber = friends of the groom*, and accordingly *bruþfaþs* means only *bridegroom*); cmpd of *bruði-* (cf ***bruþs**) with syncope of *-i-* as in OE *brȳd-guma*, OFris *breid-goma* as opposed to OS *brūdi-gumo*, OHG *brūti-gumo* wkm, NHG *Bräutigam bridegroom*† (P Schmid 1909 ZDĀ 51:280ff); also in OI *brūð-laup, bryllaup*, OE *brȳd-lēop* stn, OHG *brūth-lauft, brūt-louft* stmfn, MHG *brūt-louf* stm, *brūt-leite* stf *wedding* (see Krogmann 1934 WuS 16:80ff on semantic development from simulated abduction). According to Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:320 fn1, only example of syncope in Go; syncope because of accent on second member according to Boer 1917 Neophil 2:266-71, who lists ***þut-haurn** as another possible instance.

Gmc stem *-faði-* of *-faþs* also in **hundafaþs**, **swnagoga-faþs, þusundi-faþs* from PIE *potis master* in Skt *pátiṣ master, husband, pátnī* f *mistress, wife*; Av *paitiš, paθnī* f; Gk πόσις *husband*, πότνια *mistress, revered*, δεσπότης *master (of the house), ruler*, δέσποινα (← *δεμο-ποτνια) *mistress of the house*; Lat *hos-pes*, gen *hos-pitis guest, host* (← **ghosti-potis*), *potis powerful, pos-sum*, OLat *potis-sum can, potior be master of, obtain*; also Bret *ozech master of the house, spouse* (but not after Stokes 1894:49 ← **poti-kos*); Lith *pàts*, OLith *patis married man, self, viẽš-pat(i)s master, Lord* (cf Skt *viś-pátiṣ clan chief*), Lith *viẽšpati*, OPruss *wais-pattin* acc *mistress of the house* (Fraenkel 1962-65:1245-46, with references); OSl *gospodь lord* is inherited (Berneker 1908-14:334-37, with many references), not borrowed from Gmc **gasti-faþiz*; Alb *pata* aor *had* (Geg *fat spouse* is borrowed from PGmc *faði-*, Jokl 1911:107); TochA *pats spouse*. PIE *pótis* is highly important for phonological and cultural inferences, so that it has received considerable attention. F 1939:109-110 followed Schrader 1906-07 II: 337ff, in deriving Lith *pàts, patis*, Latvian *pats self* from the meaning *master*; Schrader compared Russ *sam self, master of the house*. By contrast, Benveniste 1971:259-63, 1973:72-75, took the meaning *self* as original, citing also Hitt *-pet* which he glossed *precisely (him)self* as well as the Lith ptc *pat exactly, precisely*, and also Lat *-pote, -pte precisely* as well as the difficult Av *χvaē-paiθya- one's own*; the meaning 'master' supposedly developed in cmpds like **dems poti the representative of a given social division*. In a lengthy section, Szemerényi 1964: 337-95, objects forcefully to this assumption, largely on the grounds that a ptc PIE *pot self* never existed, but that the basic meaning of **potis* is *master* (copious documentation). For understanding the Gmc cmpds, this meaning suffices; nor are hazardous attempts pertinent which seek an etymology of PIE *potis*, such as Trier 1947 ZSSR 65:232,234,252, from **peəg-close* + *-et-*, ie *master of a closed group*; Mezger 1960 ZVS 76:302, from **(a)po apart from*, ie *one who is apart from others*. Both rejected by Szemerényi.

P 1959:842.

B108. *bruþs f*i* (only acc sg *bruþ* M 10.35) νύμφη *newly married young wife*; stem probably *bruði-* as in *bruþfaþs*.

OI *brūðr beloved, wife, woman*, OE *brȳd young woman, married woman*, OFris *breid* f *newly married*, OS *brūd* f *wife, married woman*, OHG *brūt* stf *newly married woman, young woman*, cf NE *bride*; here (Braune 1907 BGDSL 32:46) also MHG *briuten*, MLG *bruden cohabit with a woman*.

Borrowed from Go through Roman intermediary MGk βρούτις, βρύτις, βρούτα (Go etymon **brudeis*) *married daughter, daughter-in-law, young woman* (Thumb 1902 *F* Paul: 233f; Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:276ff; Domaszewski, in Braune 1907 BGDSL 32:560), according to whom VLat *brūtes, brūtis*, later *brūta daughter-in-law* is attested in inscriptions of the Balkan peninsula (earliest, end of 3rd and beginning of 4th century AD; M Jellinek 1926: 91-92; W/H 1938-56 I:117, with references [from Balkan Gmc]). From Gmc, also Fr *bru*,

NHG (Friulian) *brut*, NHG (Engadine) *brüt* designation of *young woman on wedding day* (Meyer-Lübke 1935:1345).

For semantic development see Braune 1907 BGDSL 32:30ff who takes as basic meaning 'young woman on wedding-day'. Differently Kluge 1909 BGDSL 34:561f, who prefers legal meaning, with reference to OHG glosses *proaton*, dat *prutinnu* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 II:222,36) with suffix *-u/injō* (Schatz 1927:220) *daughter-in-law* (cf Braune 1907 BGDSL 32:41 fn1; Helten 1909 BGDSL 35:306ff, [← **bhrow-*, see below], which he proposes as parallel to OE *hlǣf-dige* *bread-kneader, mistress, lady* and relates to OHG *brōt* n [cf **broe**]); OHG *brūt* (*brōt*), orig 'hostess', was then hypocoristic to a lost base -- dubious according to F 1939:110-11; rejected also by W/H 1938-56 I:555. According to F Kauffmann 1910 ZDP 42:129ff, orig 'adoptive daughter, daughter-in-law' as suppletive to son-in-law (see **aiþei**); Helten objects, ZDP 42:406-07.

No accepted etymology.

Not to Lat *Frutis*, a designation of Venus; itself unclear, though W/H 1938-56 I:554-55 favor Etr origin. Nor to Lat *frutex* *bush, shrub* because of meaning (W/H 1938-56 I:554, with references).

Other proposals even less likely. Not to Skt *bravīmi* *speak*, as reflex of **mrūti-* *one promised, engaged* (Torp and Falk, eds 1909: 282) since PGmc *brūþ-* meant *young woman* (W/P 1927-32 II:313, with references). Nor from PIE *bhṛ-H₂w-ex-ti-* *she who bears a life-giving force* (Langenhove 1939:48-64, with many references), a scarcely credible creation. Similarly incredible for proposed form and meaning, Trier 1947 ZSSR 65:255 from reduced grade of PIE *bhrēwti* ← **bhr-eˀ-w-ti-* based on PIE *bher-* *separate*, indicating the entry into closed group of followers or retinue. See F 1939:110-11 for older conjectures. Kauffmann's suggestion of importation still the best, though source obscure.

B109. *bugjan wkvI (1sg prt *bauhta* L 14.18) ἀγοράζειν *buy*; *fra-bugjan* wkvI (papl *fra-bauhts* R 7.14) πωλεῖν, πιπράσκειν *sell*; **us-bugjan* wkvI ἀγοράζειν, ἐξαγοράζειν *buy, redeem* M 27.7; ***anda-bauhts** *fi* (only 1T 2.6) ἀντίλυτρον *purchase price*; **faur-bauhts* *fi* ἀπολύτρωσις *redemption* E 1.7.

OI *byggja* *marry* (from 'buy'), OE *bycgan*, OS *buggian* wkv *buy*†.

No accepted etymology.

Related by Grienberger 1900:54 to **biugan* *bend* as denom with semantic development 'submit, bring something under one's control'; supported by Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:437, with reference to semantic developments like Gk πωλέω *sell* : πέλω *move*. Benveniste 1973:110-11 prefers to account for **bugjan* by comparing Iran developments. Associating PIE *bhewg(h)-* 1-3 (P 1959:152-53), he sees the semantic development of Av *baog-* as 'undo' to 'set free' to 'save, redeem, liberate'; Gmc meaning 'buy' then from liberating a captive through purchase. Similar patterns of semantic development in other dialects for notions of purchase, sale, and value (107); see also **2. saljan**. Earlier attempts to derive *bugjan* from PIE *bhewg(h)-* as by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:277, Osthoff 1895 IF 5:293ff and Loewenthal 1916 ANF 32:282 thus justified, and also supported through a more explicit explanation based on developments of IE culture.

B110. bwssaun = Gk acc βύσσον of βύσσος *fine linen* L 16.19; borrowed there from Semitic, Chantraine 1968-80:202.

C

C1. cadariou CrimGo 'miles' *soldier*. According to Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:363 = Go **ga-daura*, ***ga-dauka** or *ga-drauhts*; according to Bezzenberger 1879 BKIS 3:81 and Kluge 1911:112 = Go **ga-driugs*; see ***driugan** *serve as a soldier*. Holthausen 1929 IF 47:330 assumed Go **ga-harjo* to **harjis**. Höfler 1957 BGDSL-T 79:246 proposed Go **gadar-comrade*, comparing Go **gadiliggs** *cousin*, OE *gædeling comrade*. All of these require *g* → *k*, (or a misprint), in contrast with maintenance of *g* in CrimGo, as in **gadeltha**, etc, reducing their likelihood.

Other proposals assume a borrowing. Tomaschek 1881:65 proposed Altaic (Chuvash) *kadary at one's side* becoming *auxiliary*; Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:129-30 in support, emended the form as **cadarron*. F 1939:111-12 called attention to Turkic *arkadaš comrade* or *kardaš brother*. After proposing origin in Lat *catervarius pertaining to a troop*, cf Lat *caterva troop (of soldiers or barbarian nations)* Stearns 1978:133-34, assigned greatest likelihood to a proposal of Menner 1937 JEGP 36:168-75, who emended the word to **cadarion* (see *u* for *n* in **schuos**), a borrowing of Lat *centuriō*, VLat **ke(n)dorio̯n*, possibly through Gk (Late) *κεδορίων. Since this etymology involves shift of meaning as well as form, it carries little more conviction than an elaboration by Fowkes of Diefenbach 1846-51 II:436; Fowkes 1946 JEGP 45:448-49 derives word from Celt, cf Wel *kadur warrior*, OBret *catuur*, OCorn *cadvir soldier*, + Lat *-ārius* → CrimGo **kad-arius warrior, soldier*, a form which is nowhere attested. None of these can be established without new data.

C2. chozma (according to its alphabetical order = *kozma*) name of the *k*-rune in Sal; corresponds to OI *kaun* stn *sore, boil*, OE *cēn* stm *torch* (on change of meaning see Bugge 1905-13:74ff; orig **cēan*, dial *cēn*). Expected Go counterpart, Go **kauns*, rune alphabet **chonz* or **choz*. Was *-ma* added because of subsequent *manna* (Bugge op cit)? See also J Blomfield 1941-42 Saga-Book 12:171-94, 209-31 on runes and the Gothic alphabet.

No certain explanation. According to Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:206, as Go **kusma* related to NDu *kossem dewlap of cattle*, Nor *kusma mumps*; similarly Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:151-52, in opposition to Bugge. Finn *kusma*, *kuisma blood boil* is borrowed from Gmc, Setälä 1913 FUF 13:395; also Lidén 1910 SNF 1:30,48. Or *chozma* may orig have meant 'curvature', with cognates in Lat *guttur* n *throat* or Gk γύης *bent wood on plow*, γύαλον *hollow* cf Lat *vola* ← **gwolā hollow of the hand*; OI *kūla* f *knob, hump*, from PIE *gēw- bend, arch* P 1959:393-98; Lidén 1906:116,126. Grienberger 1900 ZDP 32:302 relates Latvian *guzma heap, protuberance*, *guzums protuberance on the breast*, also ultimately from PIE *gēw-*; see also Torp 1919: 338, basic form **kuþsma-* for Nor *kusma*.

C3. criten possibly *kriten*, CrimGo 'flere' *cry* (erroneously *eriten* in the first printings; E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:12). Busbecq groups it among the words differing only slightly from those of his own language -- "nostratia aut parum differentia vocabula"; MDu *crīten*, NDu *krijten*, MLG *kriten scream*, MHG *krīzen cry loudly, groan*, NHG *kreissen* stv *cry out in childbirth* ← PGmc *krītan-* stvI. Beside PGmc *krīt-* cf *krīs-*, MHG *krīselen*, MDu *krisselen scrape*, MDu *crīselen* wkv *grate, creak*; also *krīst-*, MHG *krīsten* wkv *groan*; onomatopoeic.

Possibly a misprint for **griten*, Høst 1971 NTS 25:80; Stearns 1978:134; see **gretan**. Höfler 1956 AÖAW 93:302 also relates to *gretan*, but through change of Go *g* to CrimGo *k*; counterexample in *tag*, not *tac*, versus Go **dags**.

D

D1. daaz name of the *d*-rune in Sal runic alphabet = **dags** with loss of *g* as in **haal** for ***hagls***, **laaz** for ***lagas***; Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:203, Bugge 1905-13:55,64,139; Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:150.

D2. *daddjan* wkvI θηλάζειν *suckle*, only dat pl f prpl *daddjandeim* Mk 13.17.

OSw *dæggia* wkv *suckle*, and possibly LG (Westfalian) *daiern raise on milk* (Holthausen 1922 AinZDA 41:13) ← PGmc *dajj-*, PIE *dhoHy-*, WP Lehmann 1952:44, Lindeman 1964:114-16. Normal grade in OHG *tāju*, inf *tāan suckle* ← PIE *dheH-*, *dhē(y)-*; zero grade in OSw *dia*, MLG *tien*, *dien suckle*; also, with loss of laryngeal, OI *dilkr* stm *young of animal*, Sw dial *del* m, OE *delu* f, OHG *tila* f *teat*. An example of Holtzmann's law, with PIE laryngeal before *-y-* yielding *-yy-* in Gmc. WP Lehmann 1952:36-46 and Lindeman 1964:114-16 give references.

PIE *dhē(y)-* ← *dheγ-* or *dheʔ-*, *dhoγ/ʔ-*, *dhiγ/ʔ-*, *dhi-*, *-ē-*; Skt *ádhāt*, Gk θήσατο *sucked*, Lat *fēlāre*; OIr *dith*, Arm *diem* (possibly ← PIE *ī* not *ē*); Latvian *dêju suck*; Skt *dhārúṣ sucking*, Av *-dāenuš female animal*, Gk θῆλυς *female*, Lat *fēmina woman*, Lith *dėlė̃*, Latvian *dēle leech*, OSl *děti children*. *-oγ/ʔy-* in OSl *dojǫ suckle*; *-əy-* in Skt *dhayati sucks*, Alb *dele sheep*; *-γ/ʔy-* in Skt *dhīta sucked*, Latvian *dīle suckling calf*. For the various root grades see W Schulze 1966:49-56, whose examples of long diphthong roots must be reanalyzed as laryngeal roots; see also **glaggwaba**. Similarly, older treatments of Holtzmann's law, as noted in Lindeman 1964, must be revised, though see Kuryłowicz 1967 Lg 43:445-51.

P 1959:241-42, Watkins 1985:13.

D3. dags ma ἡμέρα *day* J 9.4; ***afardags*** ma ἡ ἐξῆς *following day* L 7.11; gen **gistra-dagis** αὔριον *tomorrow* from 'next day', only M 6.30; with PIE *ō* in *ahtau-dogs* adj ὀκταήμερος *on the eighth day* Ph 3.5; *fidurdogs* adj τεταρταῖος *on the fourth day* J 11.39.

CrimGo *tag* 'dies' *day* (*t-* influenced by Ger spelling; Stearns 1978:156); [Run (Einang) ***Dagaz*** now considered a mistaken form from *-da-gastiz*, fragment of PeN, Krause 1966 I: 143], PeN *-dagr*, OI *Dagr* in Edda; OI *dagr*, OE *dæg*, OFris *dei*, OS *dag*, OHG *tac* stm *day*†; wk inflection in PGmc *dagan* as 2nd member of cmpds, as OI *māl-dagi*, OHG *mahal-tago* wkm; OI *ein-dagi*, OE *ān-daga fixed day*, OS *ēn-dago* wkm *day of death*; OHG *gaburti-tago* wkm *birthday*†; as suffix with weakened meaning in MLG *sūke-dage*, OHG *siech-tage* wkm *sickness*; see also Vries 1962:71-72.

PIE *-es*-stem (cf Skt *áhas- day*) in OE *dōgor* stn (for stem-vowel cf Go *fidur-dogs*) sg and pl; on problems with forms in Beowulf see WP Lehmann 1968:164. OE (Northumbrian) *dæg* stn *day*, OI *døgr* (beside *døgn* n; Collinder 1928-29 APS 3:206) *half-day (12 hrs)*; *r* generalized to all cases. Also in PeN: Go Δαγίσ-θεος, Δαγισ-θαῖος (= ***Dagis-þius***). OHG *Dagi-bert* etc, J Schmidt 1889:151.

Possibly from PIE *dheg^{w}h- burn*, with modifications; Skt *ni-dāghás heat, summer*; Lith *dãgas, dagà heat, sultry harvest time*; OPruss *dagis summer*. Also, Skt *dāhas burning, heat*; OIr *daig*, gen *dega fire*; Skt *dáhati*, Av *dažaiti burns*, Lith *degù*, Latvian *dęgu*, OSl *žegǫ* ← ***degǫ burn***, Alb *djeg burn up*, TochA *tsäk-*, B *tsak- burn*; Lat *foveō* ← PIE *dhog^{w}h-éyō warm up, cherish*, Lat *favilla* ← ***fovilla ashes*** (W/H 1938-56 I:466-67); possibly also Gk τέφρα ← ***dheg^{w}hrā ashes***, though not θέπτανος (Chantraine 1968-80:430,1112). *dags* would then refer to *the period when the sun burns down*, but cf W/H 1938-56 I:466-67, who would accept conflation with reflex of PIE *ăĝhr/n-* as in Skt *áhar, áhan-*, Av *azan- day* J Schmidt 1889:215-16, W/H 1938-56 I:467. Such a conflation supported by Lane 1936 JEGP 35:

25, as solving the problem of PIE *-g^{w}h-* not showing up as *-w-*. Yet Seebold 1967 ZVS 81: 125 accepts change of PIE *dhog^{w}hos* to Go *dags*. Conflation more likely; see also ***tagr**. Ved *śatá-śārada for 100 years (autumns)* has the same phonological relation to *śarád- fall* as *ahtau-dogs* and *fidur-dogs* to *dags*, W Schulze 1966:63.

P 1959:7,240-41.

D4. daigs ma φύραμα *dough* R 11.16.

OI *deigr*, OE *dāh*, MLG *dēch*, OHG *teig* stm *dough*†; OI *deigr*, MLG *dēch soft*, OHG *teic decayed*; Nor dial *digna become weak*; see ***digan**.

Russ *dežá kneading trough*, Arm *dēz heap*, TochA *tseke molded figure* W Schulze 1966: 257-58.

P 1959:244-45.

D5. *dails fi μέρος, μερίς *portion* L 15. 12; **daila* fō μετοχή *participation, community* 2C 6.14, μνᾶ *pound* L 19.13; *dailjan* wkvI μεταδιδόναι, διαιρεῖν *divide, distribute* E 4.28; **af-dailjan* ἀποδεκατοῦν *give tithes*, only 1sg prs *-ja* L 18.12; **dis-dailjan* μερίζειν *distribute* 1C 1.13; **fra-dailjan* διδόναι *distribute*, only nom sg n papl *-liþ* J 12.5; **ga-dailjan* μετίζειν *divide, apportion* Mk 3.24.

Run (Tune) *daliþun* (for **dailiþun* 3pl prt, WP Lehmann 1982:44-45) *divided*; OI *deill*, OE *dǣl*, OFris, OS *dēl*, OHG *teil* stm *part*; OI *deila separation, discord*, OHG *teila* stf *division*; OHG *gi-teilo* wkm, *gi-teila* stf *companion*; OI *deila*, OE *dǣlan*, OFris *dēla*, OS *dēlian*, OHG *teilan* wkv *divide, deal*†; OI *deild*, OHG *teilida* stf *division*. Scarcely related, OHG *tilōn, tiligōn* wkv, OS *far-diligōn*, OE *ā-dilgian exterminate* Wood 1906 MLN 21: 39.

No accepted etymology. Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:372 assumed borrowing from Sl; cf OSl *dělz portion, děliti divide*, Russ *pre-děl boundary* etc; PIE *day-lo-* ← *dā-, dāy- divide* as in Skt *dáyate*, Gk δαίομαι *divide, distribute* P 1959:175-79; Berneker 1908-14:195 doubtful, in view of lack of such borrowings; Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:332 assumed borrowing into Sl from Gmc; E Zupitza 1904 ZVS 37:387ff assumed PIE *dhāy-* parallel to *dāy- cut, divide*, which is generally rejected in spite of other proposed parallels.

Hildebrand 1891 ZDU 5:264f assumes orig use of PGmc *daili-* for 'distribution of booty'.

P 1959:176,195.

D6. daimonareis *mia* δαιμονιζόμενος *one possessed* L 8.36.

Remodeled from Lat *daemoniarius* 'qui habet daemonem', attested once in Jerome, or from Gk δαιμονιάρι(ο)ς, M Jellinek 1926:188-89, on the pattern of cmpds with *-arja-* ← Lat *-ārius*, eg **bokareis**.

D7. *dals m (or *dal* n[?]) φάραγξ *ravine, valley* L 3.5, βόθυνος *pit*; ***ibdalja** m[?] *descent*; *dalaþ* adv κάτω *down*, χαμαί *to the ground* (*-aþ* as in *aljaþ*) M 27.51; *dalaþa* (only Mk 14.66) adv κάτω *below*; *dalaþro* (only in *us þaim dalaþro* ἐκ τῶν κάτω *from those below* J 8.23) adv orig 'from below, below', (*-þro* as in **aljaþro**).

OI *dalr* (pl *dalar* + *dalir*) stm *valley; bow* (from 'bending'); OE *dæl*, OFris *del*, OS *dal* stn, OHG *tal* (pl *talir* + *tal*; therefore old *es*-stem according to Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36: 2) stm, stn *valley, dale*†; OE *dell*, MLG *delle*, MHG *telle* (← PGmc *daljō*) stf *ravine, dell*†; OFris *tō dale*, MHG *ze tal downward*. With different vowel, OI *døl*, OHG *tuolla* ← PGmc **dōljō* stf *small valley*, MDu *doel ditch*; OI *dǣla* stf ← **dēljō channel*; PGmc *dula-*, LG *dole small pit*; OHG *tol, dola channel, pit*, MHG *tol(e)* wk/stf *drain*; OHG *tulli* ← PGmc *duljō* f *spout* (LG *dal conduit*, Wel *dol valley, ring*).

Uncertain etymology; P 1959:245-46 proposes PIE *dhel-, dholo- vault, cavity*, though suggested Gk cognates θόλος f *dome, round chamber* rejected by Chantraine 1968-80:438 as well as -θέλυμνος (427) and θάλαμος *inner chamber* (419-20). Only secure cognates in Wel *dol meadow, valley, ring, dolen afon bend of a river* and OSl *dolě below*, OSl *dolьnъ*,

Russ *dólьnij being below* Berneker 1908-14: 208-09; Meillet 1902-05:242-43; Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:332 assumed borrowing of Sl **dolz* from Gmc, but Berneker objects, 209.

D8. *daufs adj*a* πεπωρωμένος *deaf, stubborn*, only acc sg n *daubata* Mk 8.17; *daubei* f*n* only R 11.25, **daubiþa* f*ō* πώρωσις *stubbornness*, only gen sg *-þos* Mk 3.5, E 4.18; **ga-daubjan* wkvI πωροῦν *harden* J 12.40; **af-daubnan* wkvIV πωροῦσθαι *become hardened* 2C 3.14.

OI *daufr deaf, lazy*, OE *dēaf*, OFris *dāf*, MLG *dōf*, OHG *toub* adj *unfeeling, deaf, senseless*; OI *deyfð* OE *dēafu* stf *deafness*; OI *deyfa*, MHG *touben* wkv *deafen, stun*; with different root vowel, OE *dofian*, OS *dovōn be insane*, OHG *tobēn, tobōn rave*; OI papl *dofinn dull, spiritless*; NDu *dof dull, lusterless*, MHG *tob, top without understanding*. Prov *dauf deaf* borrowed from Go, Meyer-Lübke 1935:2486a.

PIE *dhew-, dhewH- blow, be agitated*, which has various derivatives referring to emotions and senses, eg Gk θῡμός *passion, courage* (P 1959:261-67). PIE *dhewbh-*: Gk τῦφος *smoke; conceit*, τυφλός *blind; unable to perceive*, as in Sophocles, Oedipus Rex 37: τυφλός τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματα 'blind with respect to ears, intellect and eyes', Chantraine 1968-80:1147-48. From PIE *dhewbh-* with nasal infix Go **dumbs**, OHG *tump deaf, dumb*; see also ***hraiwa-dubo**. Not MHG *stump dumb, stupid*, as proposed by Siebs 1904 ZVS 37:311; see P 1959:1012.

P 1959:264; Seebold 1970:155, Watkins 1985:14.

D9. dauhtar fr θυγάτηρ *daughter* M 9.18.

Run (Tune) *dohtriz* pl, OI *dōttir*, OE *dohtor*, OFris *dochter*, OS *dohtar*, OHG *tochter* stf *daughter*.

PIE *dhug(h)ətér-*: Skt *duhitā́* (with *h* for expected *-g-*; also Skt *máhi* : **mikils**, *ahám* : **ik**, *hánuḥ* : ***kinnus**; Kuryłowicz 1935:53-54); Av *dugδar*; Gk θυγάτηρ; Osc *futir*, replacement in Lat by *filia* W/H 1938-56 I:496-97, 557; Lith *duktẽ*; OPruss *duckti*; OSl *dъ̀šti*, gen *dъ̀štere*; Arm *dustr*; TochA *ckācar*, B nom *tkācer*, oblique *tkātār daughter*.

Much early speculation on first syllable, whether based on PIE *dhewgh- milk* or *dhewgh- be useful*, cf ***dugan**. Deroy 1962:160-62 assumes the second, in the sense of bringing food to supplement results of hunting, as is the role of younger women in many primitive societies; P Ramat 1962 AGI 47:77 objects. Jucquois 1976:175ff reviews kinship terms in general. Many consider such proposals pointless glottogonic speculation, Chantraine 1968-80:445. But see now again Szemerényi 1977:22, who derives PIE *dhugətēr-* ← **dhug-*, as in **dauhts feast, person who prepares a meal*; older references in F 1939:116.

P 1959:277.

D10. *dauhts f*i* δοχή *feast*, only acc sg *dauht* L 5.29; 14.13.

The hesitant proposal of F 1939:116 that **dauhts* is a hybrid formation based on δοχή with the reflex of PIE *-ti* as in *-bauhts, -gifts*, **mahts**, etc is the only reasonable explanation. Derivation from ***dugan**, proposed instead by Diefenbach 1846-51 II:616 with reference to Grimm 1878:208, founders semantically as Feist noted, citing OHG *dohta doughtiness*. Other proposals are even less credible, such as Grienberger 1900:79, 'ducking in'; cf ***ga-dauka** *member of household* and MLG *dūken*, OHG *tūhhan duck*; or Holthausen 1898 AinZDA 24:33 τεύχω *prepare*.

D11. dauns f*i* ὄσφρησις *sense of smell*, ὀσμή *smell*, εὐωδία *fragrance* 1C 12:17.

OI *daunn* stm *bad smell*, NE dial *din* (← OE **dēan vapor* Holthausen 1922 AinZDA 41: 13), OS *dununga* stf *raving*; with different suffix MDu *doom*, OHG *toum* stm *steam, vapor*; OS *dōmian* wkv *steam*; OHG *tūmōn* wkv *turn in a circle*; without derivational suffix OI *dýja* wkv *move, shake*.

PIE *dhew-, dhew?- fly about, whirl* -- with various suffixes; Skt *dhūnóti shakes, agitates* (cf OHG *tūmōn* above), *dhūmás smoke*; Av

dunman- *cloud*; Gk θύω *sacrifice*, θύος, θῦμα *offering*, θῡμός *spirit, soul*; Lat *suf-fiō smoke, fumigate*, *fūmus smoke*; OIr *dumacha fog*; Lith pl *dúmai smoke*, *dujà dust, vapor, spray*, *dujóti sprinkle*; Latvian *dūmi* pl *smoky*, *dūmals dark-brown*; OPruss *dumis smoke*; OSl *dunǫti blow*, *dymъ smoke*; Alb *deh intoxicate*; TochA *twe, tweye dust, vapor*.

The homonymous root *dhew-*, P 1959:259-60, as in Skt *dhávate runs*, *dhautí- brook*, OI *dǫgg* stf, OE *dēaw* stm, OS *-dou*, OHG *tou* stn *dew*†, may originally be identical; PGmc *-ww-* ← PIE *-wH*, possibly *-wᵖ-*; cf **triggws**.

P 1959:259-60,261-67, Watkins 1985:14.

D12. daupjan wkvI βαπτίζειν L 3.7, **uf-daupjan* βαπτίσαι *baptize*, papl *-pips* m nom M 16.16, (once, J 13.26 ἐμβάψαι *dip in*); *daupjands* mnd Βαπτιστής *Baptist* Mk 1.9; *daupeins* stn fi/ō βάπτισμα *baptism*, βαπτισμός *washing* L 20.4.

OI *deypa dip*†, OE *dīepan*, *dyppan dip in*, (more rarely) *baptize*, OFris *dēpa*, OS *dōpian*, MLG *doepen*, OHG *touffan* wkv *baptize*.

Causative formation based on stem of ***diups**. Following Raumer 1848 ZDA 6:408, 1845:314, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:131f and Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:421ff assume Go influence on the meanings of OS *dōpian*, OHG *touffan*; summary with references on Go influence in Gmc Christianization in Weisweiler 1959:86-88, as in ***arma-hairts**, **dulþs**, **fastan**, **fra-waurkjan*, **ga-laubjan**, *nasjands*, **1. weihs**, and with greater certainty **diabaulus**, **paintekusten**, **papa**, **sabbato**.

D13. daur na sg θύρα, πύλη, πυλών *door (with single wing)* M 7.13; *daurons* fn pl θύρα, πύλαι *door (with two wings)* M 27.60; **auga-dauro** nn θυρίς *window* 2C 11.33; **faura-dauri* nia πλατεῖα *street* L 10.10, though Scardigli 1973:215 points to possibility of a literal translation here; **daura-warda* fa only dat sg *-dai* J 18.16, *daura-wardo* fn only J 18.17 θυρωρός, *daura-wards* ma θυρωρός, πυλωρός *door-keeper* J 10.3; see ***wardja**.

CrimGo **thurn** 'porta' *gate* (for interpretation, see entry); OE, OS *dor*, OHG *tor* stn; OI *dyrr* (← **dhur-es*) stf pl *opening of door*; OE *duru* (from PIE acc pl *dhur-ns*[?]), OFris *dure*, *dore*, OS *dura*, *duri* pl stf, OHG *turi*, *tura* stf *door*†; OE *duru-weard* stm, OHG *tor-warto* wkm *door-keeper*.

PIE *dhwĕr-*, *dhwŏr-*, *dhur-* (on inflection, see Brugmann 1904-05 IF 17:357ff; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:132-33; Kluge 1890 ZVS 30:562; originally only in pl du). Skt *dvâr-*, pl *dvâras*, acc *dúras door, gate* (*d-* for *dh-* initially; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:83-84; possibly influence of *dvā two*, possibly from dissimilation in *-bh-* cases); Av *dvarəm gate*; OPers *duva-rayā* at *court*; Gk θύρα-ζε (← *θυρασ-δε) *toward the outside*, θύρα-σι *outside*, θύρᾱ *door*, πρόθυρον *porch*, θυρών (Go *daurons*) *vestibule*; Lat *foris door*, pl *forēs gate*, *forās toward the outside*, *forīs outside*; OLith *dures gate*, Lith pl *dùrys door*; Latvian *dùrvis*, *duris*, OPruss *dauris* (*au* ← *ua*, *va*[?]) *door*; OSl *dvьri* f pl *door*, *dvorъ court*; OCorn, Wel *dor*, OIr *dorus* (← *dworestu-*; cf θύρετον *door*), *in-dorus in front of* (possibly also Gaul *doro-* 'ostium', *duros*, *duron*, OIr *dor door* in PeN and GN, eg *Dorchū doorway-dog*; pl *duir* = *fortifications*). Arm pl *dur-kʻ*, otherwise *durn door, gate, court*; Alb *derë door* Huld 1984:49. Not here, Lat *forum marketplace*; W/H 1938-56 I:537-38; possibly however Hitt *andurza within* ← PIE *en-dhur*, Tischler 1983- I:37-38, with copious references.

P 1959:278-79, Watkins 1985:15.

D14. dauþs adja νεκρός *dead* L 15.24; *dauþus* mu, with PIE *-tu-* θάνατος *death* L 1. 79; **dauþjan* wkvI, only 3sg prs *-þeiþ* νεκροῦν Col 3.5, *af-dauþjan* M 14.55, **ga-dauþjan* (only 1pl prs pass *-janda* R 8.36) θανατοῦν *kill*; *ga-dauþnan* wkvIV ἀποθνήσκειν *die* J 12.33; **miþ-ga-dauþnan* only 1pl prt *-þnodedun* 2T 2. 11 συναποθνήσκειν *die along with*. See also ***af-dauiþs** and ***diwan**.

Based on PIE *dhew-* *die*; adj with PIE *-to-* formed in Gmc from *o*-grade as in OI *deyja*;

stem accent points to a late Gmc formation; OI *dauðr*, OE *dēad*, OFris *dād*, OS *dōd*, OHG *tōt* adj *dead*†. OI *dauði*, OE *dēaþ*, OFris *dāth*, OS *dōð*, OHG *tōd* stm *death*†. OI *deyja*, OS *dōjan*, OHG *touwen* wkv *die*†; OI *deyða*, OE *dȳdan*, OFris *dēda*, OHG *tōten* wkv *kill*.

P 1959:260-61, Watkins 1985:14.

D15. *dauþu-bleis adj ἐπιθανάτιος *sentenced to death*, only acc pl *-bljans* 1C 4.9. Possibly a hybrid based on *dauþu-* and *-bleis* remodeled from Lat *-bilis*, as in Lat *patibilis able to suffer (open to suffering)*; cf *-arja-* from Lat *-ārius*. -- Scarcely according to Grienberger 1900:55, who assumes **ubils** as source of second element, comparing OE *dēaþfæge fey, destined to die*.

D16. diabaulus, *diabulus* mu διάβολος *devil* J 6.70; *diabula* fo διάβολος *slanderer*, only acc pl *diabulos* 1T 3.11.

OI *djǫfull* (based on OLG[?]), OE *dēofol*, OFris *diovel*, OS *diubal*, OHG *tiuval* stm *devil*†; Frings 1929 *F* Schrijnen:486-87 assumes OHG form is from Go, not Lat.

Loanword from Lat *diabulus* or Gk διάβολος *slanderer*; Raumer 1845:380-81, Weisweiler 1959:87 with copious references, 90; Scardigli 1973:234. See also **un-hulþa**.

D17. diakaunus mu διάκονος *deacon*; with *a*-stem dat in DeN *diakuna*, *diakona*, though Ebbinghaus 1982 GL 22:193 states that the *u*-declension was maintained in Go.

Loanword from Lat *diaconus* = Gk διάκονος; OE *diacon deacon*† Loewe 1922 BGDSL 46:60-61. See also **andbahts**; Scardigli 1973:285.

D18. *digan stvI (only dat sg m prpl *-gandin* R 9.20, nom pl n papl *kasa digana* σκεύη ὀστράκινα *vessels of clay* 2T 2.20) πλάσσειν *knead, form out of clay*; **ga-digan* (ppl *-gans* Cod A, *-gands* Cod B, + *warþ* ἐκπλάσθη 1T 2.13) *knead, form from clay*; **digrei* fn ἀδρότης *abundance*, only dat sg *digrein* 2C 8.20; **daigs** ma φύραμα *dough*† R 11.16; **ga-digis* na proposed for *ga-dikis* πλάσμα *molded figure* R 9.20A.

OE *hlǣf-dige* stf (← **digjō*) *lady of house* (from 'loaf-kneader'), *lady*†; OI *digr big, stout*, Nor dial *digen fat, digna* wkv *become fat*; MLG *diger, deger*, MHG *tiger(e)* adv *completely*; OI *digull* stm, MLG, NDu *degel* stm *brick*, (but OHG *ziagal*, MHG *ziegel brick, tile* ← Lat *tēgula* according to Kluge/Mitzka 1967:778; and not native, as proposed by Torp and Falk, eds 1909:205-06).

PIE *dheyĝh- knead clay to spread over walls*; Skt *déhmi smear, anoint, dehí wall, bank, dehas, deham body*; Av *daēzayeiti* caus *wall about, heap, uz-daēza- pile, pairi-daēza- enclosure* (borrowed from this is Gk παράδεισος *park, paradise*); OPers *didā* (for **dizā*), Pers *diz fortification* (Meillet 1910-11 MSLP 16:315-16); Gk τεῖχος, τοῖχος *wall*, θιγγάνω *touch*, Lat *fingō form, figulus potter*, OLat *fīlum thread* (← **fig-slō* according to J Schmidt 1889:144), *figura figure* (rejected W/H 1938-56 I:497); Osc *feihúss* 'muros' *walls*; OIr *digen* (OI *digr*) *firm* (Marstrander 1910 ZCP 7:413), Lith *dýžti, díežti whip, beat* (on semantic development cf MHG *smīzen stroke, beat*), Latvian *diezêt offer, talk into buying*, Russ *dežá*, Ukranian *d'ižá baker's trough* Vasmer 1953-58 I:336; Arm *dizanem heap up, dēz heap*; TochA *tseke plastic representation* (W Schulze 1966:260-61, 217), *tsek-*, B *tsaik- form*; Thrac διζος, διζα *fortress* (Kretschmer 1896:229-30; ← **dhiĝhā* or **dhiĝhyā* according to Jacobsohn 1926 *F* Kretschmer:73f).

Probably not OI *diki*, OE, OFris, OS *dic*, MHG *tīch* stm *bank, dike*†, *ditch*†; these rather from PIE *dhēyg^{w}- stick, establish* P 1959:243-44.

P 1959:244-45, Seebold 1970:151-52, Watkins 1985:13.

D19. dis- inseparable ptc *apart, away*.

No accepted etymology. Has no exact correspondences in the other Gmc dialects; those parallel to it are OE, OFris, OS *te-*, OHG *zi-, ze*, later *zar-, zir- to* (according to Rolffs 1908: 43ff not related).

Among proposals, pretonic development from **tis* (cf **twis-standan**) and cognate with Alb *sh-* (eg *shkëpút*) *un(do)*; cf Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36:321, and Brugmann 1904a:478, who suggests διά ← **dis* (*δι[σ]α influenced by μετά) *through*. According to Delbrück 1907 IF 21:356, PIE doublets *dis-* ~ *dwis-*; on initial *d-* see *du*; approved by Meillet 1908-09 MLSP 15:92; doubtful, G Schmidt 1962:347-48; rejected by Voyles 1967 JEGP 66:172-73. According to Kluge 1913:235, borrowed from Lat *dis-* *apart*; also Loewe 1907 ZVS 40:547-50 Voyles 1967 JEGP 66:172-73; rejected by Rolffs 1908:20ff; Kluge/Mitzka 1967:882 now favor origin from PIE *dwis-*. According to G Schmidt 1962:347-48, borrowed from an unknown IE language which maintained PIE *d-*.

Originated in some type of remodeling as prefixes developed in Gmc for which inadequate evidence remains; cf problems with even a widely distributed prefix like OHG *zur-*, *zar-*, *zir-*, assumed to be a conflation of OHG *za-*, cf OE *tō to*†, and OHG *ur-*, *ar-*, *ir-*, cf OE *or-*, Go *us*, *uz-* with variant *ur-*.

P 1959:232.

D20. *dis-hniupan stvII διαρρήσσω *break, tear* (trans), only prpl *-pands* L 8.29; *dis-hnupnan* wkvIV διαρρήγνυμι *break, tear* (intrans), only 3pl prt *-pnodedun* L 5.6.

OSw *niupa*, Sw *nypa* *pinch*, OE *ā-hnēopan* wkv *pluck off*, cf NE *nip*; with expressive gemination[?] Nor dial *nuppa*, OE *hnoppian* *pluck, tear*, NDu *nopen* *compel*; Dan, MLG *noppa* *tuft of wool*; OFris *nōp* *flea* Wissmann 1932:174.

No secure relationships. P 1959:563 derives from PIE *ken-* *scratch, rub* + *-ew* → *knew-* + *b-*; found only in this Gmc set and thus unconvincing, even when paralleled by *-dh-* extension as in OI *hnjōδa* *push, beat*. Fowkes 1949:10-11 sees cognates in Celt, such as early Wel *cnaf* *fleece, cnithio* *pluck*, comparing **wulla** from PIE *wel-* *pluck*, with a further cognate in Latvian *kn(a)usis* *midge*, all of which are derived from PIE *ken-*. See also F 1939:119-20. Probably a Gmc coinage.

P 1959:559-63.

D21. *dis-skreitan stvI διαρρήσσω *tear* (trans), only prpl *-tands* Mk 14.63; *dis-skritnan* wkvIV σχίζεσθαι *tear apart* (intrans), 3sg prt *-tnoda* M 27.51, Mk 15.38; 3pl prt *-tnodedun* M 27.51.

NHG dial (Swiss) *schrissen*, *schreissen*, (Bavarian, Tirol) *schritzen* *tear*, *Schritz* *cleft, tear*. According to E Schröder 1898 ZDA 42:61 also NDu *schrel* = NHG *schrill* *shrill* (**skrid-lo-*). E Zupitza 1900 ZVS 36:243 compares ODan *skrade* *rattle*, ← **skrēd-n-*, cf OIr *scret* *cry*; accepted by Loth 1926 RevCelt 43:151, but rejected by Vendryès 1959-:S-54 in exchange for derivation from **skri-zdā*, based on **skrey-*.

No secure etymology; possibly from PIE *skrěy-* *out, separate*; with *-d* OIr *scrissid* *scrape*; without *-d-* Gk κρῖνω *cut, decide*; Lat *cernō* *separate, recognize*; see **hrains**.

P 1959:938-47 *(s)ker-* *cut*, 945-47 *skrěy-*, Seebold 1970:420-21.

D22. *dis-tairan stvIV ῥηγνύναι *tear apart*, 3sg prs *-riþ* G 5.9; *ga-tairan* καταλύειν *tear down, remove*, among others 1sg prt *-tar* G 2.18, sg n papl *-tauran* G 5.11; ***af-taurnan** wkvIV σχίζειν *tear off* (intrans), only 3sg prs *-rnid* L 5.36; **dis-taurnan* wkvIV ῥηγνύναι *tear apart* (intrans), only 3pl prs *-rnand* M 9.17; **ga-taurnan* wkvIV καταργεῖσθαι *vanish*; *ga-taura* mn σχίσμα *tear* M 9.16; **ga-taurþs* *fi* καθαίρεσις *destruction* 2C 10.4. See ***ga-tarnjan**.

OE *teran*, OFris *tera*, OS *terian*, OHG *zeran*, *fir-zeran* stvIV *tear apart*, *zerren* wkv *tear*†; NDu *tornen* *undo*; OS *far-terian*, MHG *ver-zern* wkv *devour*; ME, MLG *terren* *quarrel*, LG *terren* *excite*; NDu *torn* *division*; OE, OS *torn*, OHG *zorn* stm *anger*; OFris *tornig*, MHG *zorn*, *zornig* *angry*.

PIE *der-* *skin, flay, split* : Skt *dárt* *burst*, *dṛṇáti* *cause to burst, tear*, *dīrṇás* *split, confused*; *dṛtas*, Av *dərətō* *split*; Gk δέρω *flay*, δέρας, δέρος, δέρμα *skin*, δορός *leather bag*, δέρρις

skin; Corn, Wel *darn piece, portion*; OIr *drenn quarrel, drennach quarrelsome*; Lith *dìrti flay, dernà board* (but *dur̃nas mad*, Latvian *dur̃ns confused* borrowed from Sl *durnyj mad*); OSl *derǫ flay, tear apart, u-dariti strike* (← **dor-*); Arm *terem flay*; TochAB *tsär- separate*.

Identical in form with *(ga)-taurþs*, Skt *dṛ́tiṣ leather bag*; Gk δάρσις *flaying*, Russ *dertь cleared land*.

Relationship of MHG, NHG *zart delicate*, cf OHG gloss *zartōn* 'blandiri' *flatter*, MLG *tert-lik pampered* : MPers *dart harassed* rejected by F 1939:120, though proposed by Grimm 1878:403, W/P 1927-32 I:798 and Kluge/Mitzka 1967:876-77.

For further relationships see W/P 1927-32 I:797-803,806, where connection with PIE *derew(o)- tree, oak* is rejected; proposed again by Trier 1952:122; see also P 1959:206-11; also 214-17 on *deru- tree*, ***triu**. Seebold 1970:502-03, Watkins 1985:12.

D23. *dis-winþjan wkvI λικμᾶν (actually 'throw asunder') *crush*, only 3sg prs *-þeiþ* L 20.18; ***winþi-skauro** fn πτύον *winnowing shovel* L 3.17.

OE *windwian*, OHG *wintōn* wkv *winnow*†; OHG *winta, wint-scūvala* stf *winnowing shovel*†. PGmc stem **winþja-* based on ppl formation like **winds** *wind*.

PIE *wē- blow, winnow*, as in ***waian**, Lat *ventilāre winnow, ventilābrum winnowing shovel, ventus wind* W/H 1938-56 II:751-52; Lith *vėtyti winnow, vėtýklė winnowing shovel*; OSl *vějati blow, winnow*; also Lat *vannus* (from which OHG *wanna* wk/stf *van*† is borrowed) *winnowing van or basket* ← **wə-tnos*; cf OHG *wadal, wedil* (← **wə-tlo-*) m *winnowing van or basket*.

Gk αὔνω *winnow* may also belong here (← **ϝᾱν-i̯ω*); Chantraine 1968-80:36 uncertain.

P 1959:81-84, Watkins 1985:73.

D24. *diups adj*a deep*, only nom sg n *-po* 2C 8.2 and gen sg f *-paizos* Mk 4.5; *diupei* only E 3.18 fn, *diupiþa* fō βάθος *depth* L 5.4; **ga-diupjan* wkvI (only 3sg prt *-pida* L 6.48) βαθύνειν *dig deep*; **daupjan** wkvI βαπτίζειν *baptize*.

OI *djūpr*, OE *dēop*, OFris *diap*, OS *diop, diap*, OHG *tiuf, tiof deep*†; OE *dīep(o), diepe*, OS *diupī*, OHG *tiufī* wkf *depth*; OI *dȳpt*, ME *depthe*, OS *diupitha*, MLG *dēpede*, NDu *diepte* stf *depth*†. OI *deypa*, OE *dīepan*, OFris *dēpa*, OS *dōpian*, OHG *toufen* wkv *immerse, dip*†, *baptize*. Probably also with nasal, Nor *dump* m *pit*, NE dial *dump deep hole in pond*, ME *dimple hollow (in the ground, in the cheek or chin)*, OHG *tumphilo* m *deep place in water*, NDu *dompen, dompelen* wkv *dive*.

(PIE) **dhewb- deep*, which has assured reflexes only in Balt and Sl beside Gmc; possibly also in Celt, though scarcely in Gk βυθός *depth (of the sea)* ← **dhub-*, Chantraine 1968-80:201; cited in support of PIE *-b-*, though the stem is probably post-IE. Lith *dubùs*, Latvian *duôbs deep*; Lith *daubà ravine*, OPruss *padaubis valley*; with nasal, Lith *dùbti become hollow, duñblas slime* Fraenkel 1962-65:108-09; OSl *dъbrъ ravine, valley*; Gaul **dubno-, *dumno- world* in GN *Dubno-rīx, Dumno-rīx*, OIr *domun world*; OIr *domain*, Wel *dwfn*, Corn *down*, Bret *doun deep* (← **dhubni-*).

Alternating final **dhewp- deep*, OI *dūfa*, OE *dūfan, dȳfan dive*†, MDu *be-dūven* wkv *be covered*; MHG *tobel ravine*, OI *dūfa* stf *wave*; OSl *dupina*, Slov *dúpa cave*.

P 1959:267-68. Older speculation in F 1939:121. Seebold 1970:155-56.

D25. *dius na θηρίον *wild animal*, only dat pl *-uzam* Mk 1.13, 1C 15.32.

OI *dȳr*, OE *dēor*, OFris *diar, dier*, OS (Ps) *dior*, OHG *tior* stn *wild animal*, esp *deer*†; OE *dēor bold*, OHG *tior-līh wild*.

Like Lat *animal animal* beside *anima soul*, cf ***uz-anan** *breathe out*, **dius* is related to PIE *dhews- breathe* (Burda 1874 ZVS 22: 190-91; Saussure 1879:81) as in Lith *dùsti*, Latvian *dust gasp*, OSl *duchъ, duša breath, spirit, soul, -dzchnǫti, dychati breathe* (Berneker 1908-14:234-36,243,249). An extended form of PIE *dhew-* as in Go **dauns**. PIE *dhwes-*: Lith

dvěsti give up the spirit, (of animals) die, dvasià breath, spirit; Latvian *dvèst gasp, dvēsele, dvaša breath*; MHG *ge-twās ghost*. Probably also Gaul *dusios incubus*; OIr *dāsacht fury*; *dāistirimmum become furious*. Other proposed relationships dubious; F 1939: 121-22. Chantraine 1968-80:429-30 rejects θεός *god*, though proposing no certain source. Also, 448-49, dubious about Gk θύω and Lat *furō rage*; further discussion in W/H 1938-56 I:571-72. Grienberger 1900:58 relates to Gk θέω *run*; see **dauns**.

P 1959:268-71.

D26. *diwan stvV *die*, only acc sg n papl *þata -no* τὸ θνητόν *mortal* 1C 15.53,54A, 2C 5.4; **undiwanei* fn ἀθανασία *immortality*, only dat sg *-nein* 1C 15.53,54, 1T 6.16.

OI *deyja*, prt *dō* stv; OS *dōjan*, OHG *touwen* wkv ← **dauwjan*, NE *die* (itself based on OI *deyja*).

PIE *dhew- die*; unextended root only in Gmc. **dhwī-n-* in OI *dvīna*, OE *dwīnan decrease, dwindle†, vanish* Persson 1912:744; also OIr *dith end, death* ← **dwī-to-*[?], Lidén 1906:40f; Arm *di, dīakn corpse*; Hitt *dandukessar mortality, danduki- mortal; human being* Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 475. Doubtful, Lat *fūnus death, burial*; etymology uncertain according to W/H 1938-56 I:568; but cf Seebold 1970:148-49,171 who derives PIE *dhew- die* from PIE *dhew(ə-) smoke*. Not here, OIr *duine mortal* W/H 1938-56 I:568,654-55 ← PCelt *donio-* = Gk χθόνιος; see also Meid 1976:13-14. Lat *homō human being, humus earth*. Nor to Gk θέω *run*, as in Grienberger 1900:58. See also ***af-dauiþs, dauþs**.

P 1959:239,260,415, Watkins 1985:14.

D27. *doms ma *discernment, distinction*, only acc sg *dom* Sk 2.17 / IIc.9, 6. 16 / VIc.4; W Bennett 1960:57,73,140; Benveniste 1961 BSLP 56:[art]21-45 = *condition* or *destiny*; M Jellinek 1919 AinZDA 38:152; *domjan* wkvI κρίνειν *judge*, διακρίνειν *distinguish*, δικαιοῦν *justify* L 10.29; *af-domjan* καταδικάζειν *condemn* M 26.74; **bi-domjan* (only 3sg opt prs *-jai*) κρίνειν *judge, criticize* Col 2.16; *ga-domjan* κατακρίνειν *judge* 2C 10.12; **af-domeins fi/ō condemnation* Sk 8.8 / VIIIb.3; **faur-domeins fi/ō* πρόκριμα *prejudice* 1T 5.21.

OI *dōmr*, OE, OFris, OS *dōm* OHG *tuom* stm *judgment*; OI *dœma*, OE *dēman*, OFris *dēma*, OS *ā-dōmian*, OHG *tuomjan* wkv *judge, deem†*. Derived with PIE *-mo-* from root in OE *dōn*, OFris *dua*, OS *dōn*, OHG *tuon do* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:246ff, Kluge 1926:80.

Cf Gk θωμός *heap*, Lat *ab-dōmen abdomen*, Phryg δουμο· σύνοδος *assembly* Solmsen 1897 ZVS 34:53. Also ***ga-deþs**. PIE *dhē-* ← *dhe?-, dhō- place, establish*: Skt *dhāman- dwelling-place, law, order*, Av *dāman- dwelling-place, creature*; Gk (ἀνά)θημα *something set up, votive offering*, θέμις *law*; Lith *domĕ attention*. Russ *dúma thought* probably borrowed from Gmc, Vasmer 1953-58 I:380.

P 1959:235-39, esp 238; Seebold 1970:157-60, Watkins 1985:13, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:810.

D28. *dragan stvVI (only 3pl prs *-gand* 2T 4.3B; in Cod A, *ga-dragand*) ἐπισωρεύειν *accumulate, take on*; cf OHG *an sih tragan take on oneself*.

OFris *draga, drega*, OS *dragan*, OHG *tragan* stv *carry*; OS *gi-dragan* also = *bring*. Different meaning in OI *draga*, OE *dragan* stv *draw†, drag†, pull*.

Etymology uncertain. PIE *dh(e)rāgh- pull* W/P 1927-32 I:862, possibly Lat *trahō pull*; according to Walde 1906 IF 19:106 by dissimilation from **dhraghō*; W/H 1938-56 II:698-99 propose either this or PIE *trăgh-*, from which OIr *traig foot*; cf Vendryès 1959-:T-122-23 and ***þragjan**. Possibly also OSl *draga valley*, Russ *doróga way* Berneker 1908-14:212-13. For meaning relationships see the widespread meanings of NE *draw*, including obsolete *carry* and NE (American) noun *gulley*. For older suggestions, see F 1939:123. -- Probably an extended form of PIE *dher- hold*, with theme II **dhr-eH-gh-, dhr-a-gh-* represented in

Gmc.

P 1959:257; Seebold 1970:160-62, *dherhold*, P 1959:252-55.

D29. *drakma mn δραχμή *drachma*, only dat sg *-min*, acc pl *-mans* L 15.8; gender after **skatts** or ***skilliggs**, E Schröder 1906 ZDA 48:161-62; borrowed from Lat *drachma*; *drakmein* in L 15.9 is the Gk acc sg as in δραχμήν, though an error for *drakmin*, W Schulze 1966:510 fn2; according to M Jellinek 1926:180, modified as demonstrated by the following rel *þammei*.

D30. drauhsnos fō (*drausnos* Sk 7. 24 / VIId.15-16) stf pl κλάσματα *fragments*, ψιχία *crumbs* J 6.12.

Without secure relationships in or outside Gmc. Possibly an extended form of PIE *dherew- crush*, cf *dhrew- hold* W/P 1927-32 I:856-60,872-73; Gk θραύω *break, shatter*; Latvian *druska crumb*, Lith *druskà salt*; Latvian *sadruskât crumble*. **dhrus-kno-* with *-ks-* metathesis in Go, Bezzenberger 1897 BKIS 23: 298 fn1, 1905 BKIS 29:247f; problem simplified if *drausnos* is original form, as by Bernhardt, ed 1875:53, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:27. Less likely, from base in OI *draugr dry wood*, OE *druh* stm *dust* + *-snō*, Grienberger 1900:58-59. See Dick 1965:320.

P 1959:274-75.

D31. drauhti-witoþ na (only acc sg 1T 1.18) στρατεία *campaign* from 'military service'. Cmpd of *drauhti-*, as in *ga-drauhts* mi στρατιώτης *soldier* 2T 2.3 and **witoþ** *law*; PGmc *druhtiz* a *ti*-abstract = *activity* with *ga-* in a possessive cmpd, Grienberger 1900:80.

OI *drōtt*, OE *dryht*, OFris *dracht*, OS *druht-* (in *druht-folc army*, *druht-scepi authority*), MHG *truht* stf *troop*, based on stem in ***driugan** with PIE *-ti-* and meaning change from 'activity' to a 'troop performing an action', according to Grienberger 1900:80. Without suffix in OE *ge-drēag* stn *troop*. Derived with *-ina*, Go **drauhtina-* as in Go **drauhtinon* wkvII στρατεύεσθαι *perform military service* 2C 10.3. From this, Go **drauhtinassus* mu (only gen sg *-saus* 2C 10.4) στρατεία *campaign*. OI *drōttinn*, OE *dryhten*, OFris *drochten*, OS *drohtin*, OHG *truhtin* stm *lord*. For the OI f *drottning queen* see Heinertz 1935-36 APS 10:145-62.

PIE *dhrewgh- hold firm*: OIr *drong troop*, Lith *draũgas companion*; OSl *drugъ friend*, *družina troop*.

P 1959:255.

D32. *dreiban stvI *drive* (only 3pl prs *-band* J 16.2); *us-dreiban* (3pl prt *-dribun* Mk 6.13, 3sg prt opt *-drebi* for **us-dribi* Mk 5. 10, papl *us-dribans* M 9.33) ἐκβάλλειν *drive out*; **draibjan*, iterative according to Brugmann 1913 IF 32:189, ἐλαύνειν *drive*, σκύλλειν *trouble* L 8.49.

OI *drīfa*, OE *drīfan*, OFris *drīva*, OS *drīban* stvI *drive*† (trans), *move rapidly* (intrans); OHG *trīban* stvI *drive*; OI *drīfa* f *driving snow*, *drif* n, OE *ge-drif something driven off*; OI *drift* f *driving snow*, MHG *trift* stf *driving*; cf NE *drift*.

Based on PIE *dher- hold* + *-ey-bh- sprout, grow, shoot up (of vegetation)* Dick 1965:364-65; then, 'driving of cattle to pasture', also Vries 1962:83; cf ***driugan** ← PIE *dhr-* + *-ewgh-*. May then be related to Lith *drìbti fall down in flakes*; so, Grienberger 1900:59-60, comparing OI *drīfr snær the snow drifts* with Lith *sniẽgas driñba the snow is falling thickly*, and Seebold 1970:162-63; not to Gk θρίψ, θρῖπός *wood-borer*, itself unclear, Chantraine 1968-80: 442.

P 1959:274, though on Lith see Fraenkel 1962-65:104; P 1959:252-55.

D33. drigkan, *driggkan* stvIII (3sg prs *-kiþ* Mk 2.16, 1C 11.29, prt sg not attested; 3pl prt *drugkun* L 17.27, 28, papl *drugkans* 1C 11.21) πίνειν *drink*; **ana-drigkan sik* (only 2pl prs opt *-kaiþ izwis* E 5.18) μεθύσκεσθαι *get drunk*; **ga-drigkan* (only 2sg prs opt *-kais* L 17.8) πίνειν *drink*; *dragk* (*draggk*) na πόσις *drink* R 14.17; **dragkjan* wkvI ποτίζειν Mk 15. 36, **ga-dragkjan* wkvI ποτίσαι *give to drink* Mk 9.41; **drugkanei* fn μέθη *drunkenness* G 5.

21; **af-drugkja** mn μέθυσος M 11.19, *wein-drugkja* mn οἰνοπότης *drunkard* L 7.34.

OI *drekka*, OE *drincan*, OFris *drinka*, OS *drinkan*, OHG *trinkan* stvIII *drink*†; OI *drykkja*, OSw *drykkja* stf *drink, drinking-bout*; OI *drykkni*, OHG *truncheni* wkf *drunkenness*, derived from OI *drukkinn*, OE *druncen*, MLG *drunken*, OHG *trunchan drunk*†; OI *drykkr*, OE *drync*, MLG *drunk*, OHG *trunch* stm *drink*.

No accepted etymology. Possibly from PIE *dherə-gh*: Lith *dìrgti, drẽgti become damp; dreñgti drizzle; drẽgnas damp*; TochB *tärkär cloud*; with *-n*-infix in factitive sense, 'make wet'. PIE *dher- dregs* W/P 1927-32 I:854-56; earlier, Wood 1903 MLN 18:15-16; P 1959:251-52. Or from PIE *dhreĝ-, move, glide*, Skt *dhrájati glide* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:115 dubious; Lith *drẽzti tear*, Latvian *dragât pull* [with metaphoric shift in Gmc like NE *draught* = *drink*]. According to Cahen 1921:23ff, borrowed as religious term from pre-Gmc source; unverifiable. Other proposals in F 1939:125 and Vries 1962:82.

P 1959:273, also Seebold 1970:165-66.

D34. *driugan stvII (only 2sg prs opt *-gais*) στρατεύεσθαι *wage, carry on* 1T 1. 18; **drauhtinon* wkvII *campaign* 1C 9.7; **drauhtinassus* mu, **drauhti-witoþ** na *campaign, ga-drauhts* mi *soldier*.

PGmc *dreug- perform, carry out* (specialized for military service in Go), OE *drēogan* stvII *carry out energetically, perform, endure*; OI *drýgja* wkv *carry out*; *drjúgr*, Fris *driech enduring*. For OI *drōtt, drōttinn* see **drauhti-witoþ**. Dick 1965:284-87 considers the meaning 'perform' the last stage of a development from a concrete to an abstract significance (285); in the context of human society **dreug-* was applied to such relationships as marriage, friendship, companionship and in part military functions. Ambrosini 1958 ASNSP 27:229 proposes as basic meaning 'carry out'. Thus, words like OS *bi-driogan*, OHG *triogan* stvII *deceive*; OI *draugr* stm *ghost*, OS *gi-drōg mirage*; OHG *gi-trog* stn *deception* are from the same base. Here too also OI *draumr*, OFris *drām*, OS *drōm*, OHG *troum* stm *dream*†, (from 'deceptive image'), OE *drēam* stm *joy*, orig 'religious ecstasy in groups'.

PIE *dher- hold* as in Skt *dhārāyati hold*, PeN *dhārayát-kṣiti- upholding the tribes*, OPers *Dāraya-vahu- 'upholding the good', Darius*; + *-ew-gh-* also in Celt and Balt; OPruss *drāktai firmly, podrūktinai confirm* Toporov 1975- I:377-79. See F 1939:125-26 for older discussion.

P 1959:254-55, Seebold 1970:167.

D35. *driusan stvII (3sg prt *draus* L 5.8, 3pl prt *drusan* Mk 3.10,11; papl not attested) πίπτειν *fall*; **at-driusan* ἐπιπεσεῖν *fall into* L 8.47; **disdriusan* (only 3sg prt *-draus* L 1.12) ἐπιπεσεῖν *fall on*; **us-driusan* ἐκπίπτειν *fall out* R 9.6; *af-drausjan* wkvI κατακρημνίσαι *throw down* L 4.29; **ga-drausjan* wkvI καθελεῖν *plunge down* L 1.52; **driuso* fn κρημνός *cliff* M 8.32; *drus* m πτῶσις *fall* M 7.27; **us-drusts* fi τραχεῖα (ὁδός) *rough road* L 3.5.

OE *drēosan, drūsian*, OS *driosan* stvII *fall*; Nor dial *drjōsa fall off, drysja trickle off*; OI *dreyra drip blood* from 'let drop', OHG *trōran* (= Go *-drausjan*) wkv *drip, pour away, discard*; OE *dryre* m *fall*; OI *drøri, dreyri* wkm (← PGmc *drauzan-*); OE *drēor blood* from 'flowing liquid'; OS *drōr blood*, MHG *trōr* stm n *dripping moisture; rain, dew, blood*.

No certain extra-Gmc cognates. Gk δρόσος *dew*, related by Windekens 1956 ZVS 73:26-27; doubted by Chantraine 1968-80:298-99. Possibly from PIE *dhrew- break apart, crumble* (then, 'fall down, drip down') with *-s-*, W/P 1927-32 I:872-73; cf **drauhsnos**.

P 1959:274-75, Seebold 1970:170-71.

D36. *drobjan wkvI ταράσσειν *stir up* G 1.7, ἀναστατοῦν *unsettle* G 5.12; *drobnan* wkvIV, only inf θροεῖσθαι *become restless* 2T 2. 2; **ga-drobnan* wkvIV only 3sg prt *-bnoda* L 1. 12; **in-drobnan* wkvIV ταράσσεσθαι *become*

disordered J 13.21; **drobna* wkm/n, only nom pl *-nans* ἀκαταστασία *disorder* 2C 12.10.

OE *drēfan stir up*, OHG *truoben disturb*, OS *gi-drōbian* wkv *afflict*, derived from PGmc *drōb(j)a-* as in OE *drōf confused, gloomy*, OS *drōbi confused, cloudy*, OHG *truobi gloomy*. PGmc *drab-* in OI *draf* stn *sediment, yeast*, ME *draf* stm, NDu *drabbe yeast* Uhlenbeck 1892 BGDSL 16:563, MLG *draf* stm/n, OHG *trebir* stn pl *dregs*; cf also OI *drafli* stm *curdled milk*, *drafna* wkv *dissolve*.

Probably from PIE *dher- sediment* (W/P 1927-32 I:854-56) with extension *dhr-eH-bh-*; OIr *drab dregs, yeast*; Russ *drobá, drobína sediment, yeast* Berneker 1908-14:224-25, unless this is a LG loan word; denied by Vasmer 1953-58 I:370. Although W/P 1927-32 I:856, 876, like F 1939:126-27 object to the relationship, Vries 1962:80 proposes relationship to Gk τρέφω *fatten, nourish*, admitted also by Chantraine 1968-80:1135. If *dhrebh-* (W/P 1927-32 I:876) is taken as a theme II to *dher-*, there is no problem; Gk θρόμβος *coagulated mass* (Chantraine 1968-80:442) would be a theme II form with nasal infix; cf OI *drambr knot in charcoal*. Lith *drìbti fall in flakes*, with many related forms (Fraenkel 1962-65:104) has a base form corresponding to τρέφω.

P 1959:252.

D37. *drunjus mu φθόγγος *sound*, only R 10.18.

OI *dryn-hraun* n *roaring stones*, Nor *dryn* m *booming*; OI *drynja*, LG *drönen* wkv *rumble*; lengthened vowel in OE *drān* f *drone*†; also Dan *drone*, OS *dren(i)o* m, OHG *treno* m *drone*. On *-ju-*, see Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:224-25; for verbal abstracts, also in ***stubjus** *dust*; Friesen 1912 *F* Lidén:235ff.

PIE *dhren- drone*; possibly Skt *dhráṇati resound*, though Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:115-16 takes this as an Indic onomatopoeic creation; Gk θρῆνος *funeral lamentation* (Chantraine 1968-80:440 with references, θρώναξ *drone*, τεθρήνη *kind of wasp*); Arm *drnčim toot, resound* (Solta 1960:243-44). Cf M Bloomfield 1894 IF 4:76 on further words for sounds in *-n*.

With *-s-* in NHG dial (Hess) *drensen groan*, LG *drunsen moo softly*; MIr *drēsacht rattle*. See also Lat *drēnsāre*, from Gaul, *sounds of swans* W/H 1938-56 I:374. W/P 1927-32 I:860-61; P 1959:255-56 suggests also TochA *träṅk-*, B *treṅk- speak*.

P 1959:255-56.

D38. du prep and adv εἰς, πρός, παρά, ἐπί *to, towards* M 5.23; fourth in frequency of Go words.

Isolated in Go.

Parallel in other dialects, PGmc *tō, tĕ*, cf **unte** 16th in frequency; OE, OFris, OS *tō, te*, OHG *zō, zuo, ze, za to*†, Lat *dō-* in *dōnec up to, quan-dō when, dē from*, OLat *(en)-do in*; Av *-da* (in *vaēsmən-da to the dwelling*); Gk *-δε* (eg οἰκόν-δε *to the house, homeward*) *towards*; Lith *da-*, Latvian *da*, OSl *do up to*; OIr *de, dī away from*.

Among attempted etymologies the most likely takes *du* as proclitic of PGmc *tō* in verbs like ***du-ginnan**; cf *ga-* (J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:24; Delbrück 1907 IF 21:355f; Rolffs 1908: 46ff). Less likely sources, G Schmidt 1962:240 assumes non-Gmc origin; Voyles 1967 JEGP 66:173-74 derives *du* and **und** from PIE *n̥-dh-* + unidentified vowel, possibly *u*.

P 1959:181-83.

D39. *dugan prt-prsII (only 3sg *daug* συμφέρει 1C 10.23, χρήσιμον 2T 2.14) *be useful*.

OI *duga*, OE *dugan*, OFris *duga*, OS *dugan*, OHG *tugan* wkv *be useful*; OE *dugub*, OFris *duged*, MLG *doge(n)t*, OHG *tugund, tugint* stf *usefulness, fitness*; OHG *tuht* stf *usefulness*; OE *dyhtig*, MHG *tühtec doughty*†, *valiant*. Caus, OE *ge-diegan carry out, prevail*, OS *ā-dōgian arrange*, MLG *dögen* wkv *endure*.

PIE *dhewĝh- meet* (also, *meet a goal*, ie *succeed*); possibly Skt *duhâti, dogdhi extracts, milks* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:66); Gk τυγχάνω *meet, attain a goal*; τύχη *success, fortune*; τεύχω *prepare*, τεῦχος *equipment* (Chantraine 1968-80:1142-43); OIr *dūal fitting* ← **dhugh-lo-*, *dūan poem* ← **dhugh-nā*; Lith *daũg,*

daugi(a), Latvian *daũdz much*; Russ *djužij, djužoy healthy, strong* (Fraenkel 1962-65:84, with references); Seebold 1970:149-51, esp on meaning relationships. See also P 1959:271, who accepts the Skt relationships in contrast with W/P 1927-32 I:847.

D40. *du-ginnan stvIII (1sg prs *-nna* Ph 1.18, 3sg prt *-gann* M 11.7, 3pl prt *-gunnun* Mk 2.23, both prt forms frequent) ἄρχεσθαι *begin*, ἐπιχειρεῖν *attempt*.

OE *be-ginnan, on-(ā)ginnan*, OS *be-ginnan*, OHG *bi-(in-)ginnan* stv; OFris *bi-ienna* (← **bi-gannjan*) wkv *begin*†.

Disputed etymology; possibly from PIE *ghend- seize* (a form of *ghed- seize*, as in **bi-gitan** with nasal infix). PIE *ghend-nō* as in Gk χανδάνω, Lat *praehendō seize*, with *-ndn-* → *-nn-* as in OIr *ro-geinn*, Wel *genni is contained* Collitz 1922 MLN 37:274ff; Holthausen 1912 IF 30:47; G Schmidt 1962:240-41. W/P 1927-32 I: 589-90 favor origin in PIE *ĝhen- seize* as in Alb *zë seize* Wiedemann 1902 BKIS 27:193ff. Other proposals unlikely, cited in F 1939:128.

P 1959:437-38.

D41. dulve adv (*u* rather than *aú* under weak stress; Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:57 fn3, Kieckers 1928:15) τί, διὰ τί *why* M 9.4. See **du** and **hve**.

D42. *dulgs ma[†] (only gen sg *twai dulgis skulans* δύο χρεοφειλέται *two debtors* L 7.41) *debt*; **dulga-haitja* mn (only dat sg *-tjin* L 7.41) δανειστής *creditor*; see **haitan**.

No cognates in other Gmc dialects. Compare OE *scyld-hǣta*, OFris *skeltāta*, OS *sculd-hētio*, OHG *scult-heizo* wkm, NHG *Schultheiss village mayor* (orig 'royal executory officer'; Seeliger in Hoops, ed 1911-19 IV:144). Probably like other legal terms (***aiþs, arbi, freis**) borrowed from Celt (Scardigli 1973:54); cf Wel *dlēd, dyled obligation, dleu, dyl(e)u owe*; OIr *dliged duty, law, dligim earn, have a claim*. OSl *dlъgъ debt* (and related forms) presumably borrowed from Go; Berneker 1908-14:244. Relationship with OI *dolg enmity*, OHG *tolc* stm/n *wound* and related words to be rejected; cf Vries 1962:78-79 and F's 1939:128-29 summary of relevant bibliography.

P 1959:271-72 doubtful; may ultimately be non-IE.

D43. dulþs f*i* or cons ἑορτή *festival* J 6.4; **dulþjan* wkvI (only 1pl prs *-jam* 1C 5.8) ἑορτάζειν *celebrate*.

OHG *tult, dult* stf *festival*, NHG dial (Swiss) *tult, dult*, (Bav) *dult* stf *fair*.

No secure etymology. According to Senn 1933 JEGP 32:513,528, borrowed from ecclesiastical language; cf NHG *Indult indulgence, favor, market, fair*. Attempted derivations from PIE dubious. Dietrich 1845 ZDA 5:224-25 proposed relationship to OI *dvali* m *delay, dylja conceal*, MHG *tolde* f *top*. Delbrück 1869 ZDP 1:9, to Skt *dhṛtíṣ resolution; a specific evening oblation*; taken up by Trier 1952:55, who relates it to PIE *dhel- weave*. This proposal is firmly rejected by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:111-12. Grienberger 1900: 60 assumes a *ti*-abstract to PIE *dhwel-* as in OS *-dwelan*, OHG *twelan stay, delay*; cf ***dwals**; Brugmann 1904a:106 approves, with former meaning 'period of rest', and comparable Skt form *-dhvṛt- harming*; maintained in Kluge/Mitzka 1967:146-47.

Relationship to OPruss *tuldīsnan* (instr sg f[†]) *joy* unclear. Berneker 1896:322 assumes a verb **tuldīt rejoice*. Trautmann 1910:452 takes it as a borrowing from Go with metathesis of *d-t* to *t-d*. Older proposals in F 1939:129. Cf also W/P 1927-32 I:825-26; not in P 1959. Meaning probably changed on adoption of Christianity, and transmitted to other Gmc dialects, as with **daupjan**.

D44. dumbs adj*a* κωφός *dumb* L 1.22; wk nom *-ba* M 9.33.

OI *dumbr*, OE *dumb dumb*†, OFris, OS *dumb simple*, OHG *tumb mute, dumb, unintelligible*.

No secure etymology, like other designations for infirmities; cf **blinds, *halts**. Possibly from PIE *dhewbh- darkened*, also of the senses; Gk τύφω *make smoke*, τῦφος *smoke*,

mist, vanity; Go ***daufs***; with nasal infix (W/P 1927-32 I:840-41; P 1959:264). W/P 1927-32 I: 851-52 rejects derivation from PIE *dhem-smoke, blow*, as proposed by Torp 1896:179-80, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:201 with reference to Sw dial *dimba steam*, OI *dumba* f, Nor *damb* n *dust*. Other proposals in F 1939:129.

P 1959:261-67, esp 264.

D45. duþe (*duhþe, duþþe*) conj and adv διὰ τοῦτο J 6.65, *duþe ei* διότι *because* L 1. 13.

Cmpd of **du, uh, þe**.

PIE *to-, tā-*; Av *tā*, Gk τῶ *then*; Gk τῇ, Lith *tè here, take it* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:365, 714, based on instr.

P 1959:1086-87.

D46. *dwals* adja μωρός *foolish* M 7. 26; *dwala-waurdei* fn μωρολογία *foolishness*, only E 5.4, cf **waurd**; *dwaliþa* fō μωρία *foolishness* 1C 1.18; ***dwalmon*** wkvII μαίνεσθαι *rave* J 10.20.

MLG *dwal foolish*; OE, OFris, OS *dol*, OHG *tol, tulisc foolish, dull*, cf NE *dolt*; OI *dulinn conceited*, OE *ge-dwolen*, OS *far-dwolan confused*, OFris *dwilith err*, OHG *(gi-)twellen* wkv *delay*; caus, OI *dvala*, OE *dwelian mislead*, OFris *dwelia rest*, OHG *twaljan* wkv *hold up, put off*; OI *dvǫl delay*, OE *dwala* m *error*; OE *dwolma confusion*, OS *dwalm fascination*, OHG *twalm* m *confusion*; OE *dwola*, OHG *gitwolo* m *heresy*.

PIE *dhew- whirl, blow* as in **dauns**, + *-el-*; Gk θολός *mud*, θολόω *make muddy*, θόλερος *confused*; OIr *dall blind, clūas-dall 'hearing-blind', deaf*, Wel, Bret *dall blind*. Not here Skt *dhvárati injure*, but rather with PIE *-r-* as in Lat *fraus harm*, W/H 1938-56 I:543-44, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:118-19, P 1959:277. Yet PIE *dhew-* has many reflexes, as with *-m-*: Skt *dhūmás smoke*, Gk θῡμός *spirit*, Lat *fūmus smoke* and others cited under **dauns**.

P 1959:261-67, esp 265-66; Seebold 1970: 172-73.

E

E1. ei conj, seventh in frequency of Go words; various uses, though, according to Benveniste 1951 BSLP 47:[art]52-56, a general conj. Meanings determined partly by accompanying verb forms; ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅτι *that, so that, whether*, rel marker; καί *and*; *ei-þan* οὖν, ὥστε *therefore, accordingly*; *ei-þau* (only L 14. 32) εἰ δὲ μήγε (generally translated **aiþþau**) *if not*; emended however by Uppström; cf Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:141.

Generally related to the PIE pronominal stem *e-, i-* (P 1959:281-86), which has a wide range of derivatives; yet in view of the minimal forms, secure derivational histories cannot be posited. OSl *i also, and, i-že who* (rel); Gk εἰ *thus, if* (possible, if εἰ has loc sg n ending of PIE prn stem *e/o-*, like **þei** from PIE *to-*; Chantraine 1968-80:316 labels origin of εἰ uncertain); this stem also in Skt gen sg *a-syá this, a-saú that*, and in Arm ablative ending *-ē* (Junker 1910 ZVS 43:348); also in Gk ἐκεῖ *there*, ἐκεῖνος *that one*; Osc *e-ko- here, e-tanto*, Umbr *e-tantu so many*, Lat *e-quidem to be sure*; OSl *(j)e-se this one, jedinz one*; Go **is** [?], OHG *er* (Brugmann 1904b:32ff,188, with further derivations).

General meaning of Go *ei*: *in that case, under those circumstances, there, so* (Brugmann 1904a:669-70; on this, A Sturtevant 1933 AJP 54:348), cf also OIr *ī* in *intī he who, indī she who, an-ī that which* (Pedersen 1909-13 II:184-85 and Thurneysen 1918 ZVS 48:52-53). Hirt 1921-37 III:104 derives Go *ei* from PIE *ey*; and (ibid:111) the rel ptc *-ei* is related to PIE *-ī* (Marstrander 1930 NTS 4:456 supports this). Syntactically the use of Go *ei* is parallel to that of Sl *i(jo)*. Yet, many reject any connection with the proposed rel stem, PIE *yo-* in Skt *yás*, Av *yō*; Gk ὅς (Sütterlin 1894 IF 4:93-94; Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:264; Diels 1910 AinIF 26:51; Delbrück 1909:686); there are no other derivatives in Gmc, which develops its own relative pronouns.

For other proposed relationships, see F 1939:131.

E2. *eisarn na (only dat pl *-nam*, acc pl **-na** as translation of Gk αἱ πέδαι *fetters for the feet* Mk 5.4) *iron*; **eisarna-bandi fiō* (only dat pl *-djom* L 8.29) ἅλυσις *chain* (cf **bandi**); **eisarneins* adja (only dat pl f *-rnaim naudibandjom* ἁλύσεσιν *with chains* Mk 5.3,4) *of iron*.

Various forms in Gmc. OE, OFris *īsern*, OS, OHG *i-arn*; OI *īsarn* (borrowed from WGmc); also OI *jārn* ← *ēarn, īarn*, (borrowed from Celt, Marstrander 1915:123, though not from OIr *īarn*); beside PGmc *īsarn-*, also PGmc *īsar*, MDu, MHG *īser*; PGmc *īsan*, OHG *īs/zan*, OE *īren iron*† Noreen 1888 ANF 4:110 fn; Much 1898 ZDA 42:164f, 1917 AinZDA 37:66f; Kluge 1918 BGDSL 43:516-17; Evans 1981 BBCS 29:250 urges caution in attributing Gmc forms to Celt, as does Polomé 1983 JIES 11:288.

Borrowed at various times from Celt, as the OI form *īarn* illustrates; the Celts introduced iron technology to Gmc peoples (Pleiner 1980:394-401). Cf Gaul GN *Isarnodurum*. Pokorny 1914 ZVS 46:292, P 1959:300, however, assumes Gmc borrowing from Ven-Illyrian **eisarnon* before Gmc change of *ei* to *ī*, comparing Ven river name Ἰσάρας, later *Isarcus*, in contrast with Celt names having short *i*, *Isaros*, *Isara*; see also Polomé 1954 Ogam 6:162-63; these in turn from PIE *eys-move rapidly, forcefully* as in Skt *iṣirá-*, Gk ἱερός *strong* P 1959:299-301, Frisk 1960-72 I:712-14. Others assume the Celt forms, eg **īsarno-*, to be from PIE *ayos metal* as in Skt *áyas-*, Lat *aes*, Go **aiz** (W/P 1927-32 I:4; Pedersen 1909-13 I:73). See F 1939:131 for older proposals, Onions 1966:485 for NE forms.

E3. enguz (Go **Iggws*) name of ŋ-rune in Sal.

Identical with OE rune name *ing*; also in the EN *Ingaevones*. According to Bugge 1905-13:124, *Ing* was a Go tribal hero; see also Arntz 1944:226-29, with references.

Etymology disputed. Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:219 relates it to Gk ἔγχος *spear*; yet ἔγχος may be a borrowing, Chantraine 1968-80:311. Loewenthal 1917 ANF 33:101ff compares OIr *ing difficult situation*; MIr *ong groaning*; Gk νύσσω *thrust*; etymology of these differs, P 1959:42,322,767.

E4. Ermeniricus, *Ermenericus*, *Hermanaricus* (in Jordanes, eg 77,7); the various forms of the names are listed by Schönfeld 1911:76-77. Name of the Ostrogothic king who commited suicide 375 AD on the invasion of the Huns (Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI:3, 2); Go **Airmana-reiks*[?], OI *Jǫrmunrekr*, OE *Eormenric*, MLG *Ermenrik*, MHG *Ermenrich*.

PGmc *ermuna-* (*-mana-*, *-mina-*) also in OI *Jǫrmunr* [name of Odin], OI *jǫrmungandr* stm *Midgard serpent*, OE *eorman-*, *eormen-* (as in *eormen-þēod*), OS, OHG *irmin-* *great* (OS *irmin-thiod*, OHG *irmin-deot great people*), Gk ὅρμενος *rushing furiously*. OSl *raměnz powerful*, Lith *ẽrmas monster*, Latvian *ęrms*, *ęrms marvelous apparition* Müllenhoff 1879 ZDA 23:3; A Brückner 1913 ZVS 45:107f; Fraenkel 1962-65:122. From PIE *er-* with ptc *-meno-* (Schnetz 1926 ASPh 40:73f) as in Skt *ṛṇóti*, *ṛṇváti rises*, Gk ὄρνῡμι *move*; Lat *orior rise*, Hitt *arnuzi set in motion*, Go ***rinnan** (P 1959:326-32; Meid 1967:131, comparing also PGmc *germi/ana-* as in WF PeN's *Germenulf*; *Germani*, etc). Vries 1962:295 objects on the grounds that there are no other forms with middle participle suffix in Gmc, also because of the ablauting suffix; he proposes instead a noun suffix *-mana-* as in Skt *Aryaman god of hospitality*; the Gmc words also belong to the religious sphere. This proposal suffers from Vries's tie with Skt *arya-*, which is generally derived from PIE *alyo- other*, in keeping with Thieme 1938:135,141.

Scarcely from PIE *ar- fit* as in Gk ἄρμενος *fitted*, ἁραρίσκω *prepare*; Lat *ars art*, *arma weapons*, *armentum herd of cattle*, in spite of W/P 1927-32 I:72-73, P 1959:58; esp since Vries 1962:295 aligns OI *jǫrmuni ox*, *horse* securely with *Jǫrmunr*.

On *-ricus* see **reiks**.

E5. eyz name of the *e*-rune in Sal.

Various interpretations. Arntz 1944:221 takes it as a scribal error for **aihs horse*; this is its name in English runes, OE *eoh*. Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:204-05 interprets it as **ē-is* ← **ehwīz*, Go **aihveis* or **aiweis* ← **egwiz*; with lengthy discussion, Bugge 1905-13: 61-62,147 proposes Go **ehws*, as does Holthausen 1929 IF 47:330 (cf CrimGo *seis*, Go **saihs**). Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:67ff equates *eyz* with *(su)-eus* of the Kylver stone, taking *eus* as the Gotlandic for *horse*; maintained by Krause 1966 I:14. Antonsen 1975:47 treats Run *sueus* as an uninterpretable palindrome. See ***alhatundi**.

E6. ezec rune name for *z* in Sal.

Many attempted interpretations. According to Wimmer 1887:272, should be read *ezet* (possibly = *azet*, cf ***azets**). Holthausen 1929 IF 47:330 assumes *ezet*, comparing OFr *ezed* = Gk ζῆτα. Zacher 1855:10-11 derives it from **aizik*, dim of **aiz**, as does Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:219; Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:157 from Go **Aiza*, **Aiziþa* = OI *Eir* [name of a goddess]; cf OI *eirð mercy*, OE *ār*, OHG *ēra* stf *honor*; also in WGmc name of Matrons *Alaesiagis*, *Al-aisiagis* as in ***aistan**; Arntz 1944:230 favors this suggestion; cf Vries 1962: 97. Older attempts in Bugge 1905-13:89ff, favoring Wimmer.

F

F1. fadar mr *father* (only once as voc *abba fadar* ἀββα ὁ πατήρ G 4.6; otherwise **atta**) *father*; PIE *pətḗr*. On shortening of final syllable, see **broþar**.

Run *fadiz* (Strö), *faþur* (Jellinge), *faþir* (Rök), *faþur* (Grinda); OI *faðir*, OE *fæder*, OFris *fader*, OS *fadar*, OHG *fater* stm *father*†.

Skt *pitā́*, Av *ptā*, OPers *pitar-*; Gk πατήρ; Lat *pater*, Osc *patír*; OIr *athir father*; OWel *-wal-atr*, Wel *-(g)wal-adr*, OBret *-wual-art* (= OI *Val-fǫðr* epithet of Odin as *lord of the fallen*, Loth 1894 RevCelt 15:225) as second component of names for men, eg MWel *Catwaladr*; Arm *hair*; TochA *pācar*, B *pācer*, oblique *pātär*.

OI *feðgar* pl (Gk πατρικοί) *father and son, feþgin* pl *parents*; OE *faþe/u*, OFris *fette* stf *father's sister* (Kluge 1888 *F* Böhtlingk:60). PIE derivation in *-wyo-*: Skt *pítṛvya-*, Av *tūirya-*; OE *fædera*, OHG *fatureo* stm *father's brother*. Also Gk πατρυιός *stepfather*; πάτρως, Lat *patruus*, Arm *yauray father's brother*.

Lith *tẽvas father* a nursery word (Fraenkel 1962-65:1085-86, in spite of Szemerényi 1977: 7); nursery word also in Sl *otьcь*, Hitt *atta* as in Go **atta**.

Much speculation on source of root syllable in PIE. Benveniste 1973:169-71 takes it as a classificatory term rather than term for physical parent; on similar grounds, Trier 1947 ZSSR 65:234-36,252 derives it from PIE *pō-protect*, assuming earlier meaning 'chief of a closed social group'. F 1939:133 vigorously rejected this derivation, held by earlier scholars such as Bopp and Curtius, preferring derivation from nursery word, *pa-pa* (Gk πάππα, Lat *pappa*); similarly Szemerényi 1977:6-7,150. Both proposals cited in W/P 1927-32 II:4, who prefer nursery source, and P 1959:829, who questions each.

F2. *fadrein na πατριά *descent, race* E 3.15; *γονεῖς parents* J 9.2, as collective, according to Grimm 1893:611; Hellquist 1891 ANF 7:5; *προγόνοι ancestors, grandparents* 1T 5.4B (see Ebbinghaus 1972 GL 12:32-34). **fadreins fi* (only as gen sg *-reinais* L 2.4) πατριά *race*, formed according to *i*-declension, rather than like *-renis* in E 3.15, though the reconstruction is opposed by B/E 1981:76, who consider the form a scribal error; Ebbinghaus 1972 GL 12:33; earlier related to *ni*-abstracts by Losch 1887 Germania 32:231-32.

OE *fæderen fatherly*.

Elliptical formations with other suffixes; OI *feðgar father and son, sons, feðgin* n *parents* Krause 1924 ZVS 52:224.

F3. *fagrs adja (only nom sg n *fagr* L 14.35) εὔθετος *fitting*; **un-fagrs* adj (only dat pl *-gram* L 6.35) ἀχάριστος *ungrateful, unsuitable*.

OI *fagr*, OE *fægr*, *fǣger*, OS, OHG *fagar fair*†, *light, beautiful*, OHG *fagarī*, *fagarnessī* stf *splendor*. OE *ge-fæg*, OHG *ge-fag contented*, *fagunga* stf *compliance*; from PIE *-ā-*: OI *fægiligr fine*; OHG *fuoga* stf *joint*, *gi-fuogi fitting*; OE *ge-fēgan make fitting, tie together*, OS *fōgian*, OHG *fuogen* wkv *put together*, *ga-fagōn* wkv *satisfy*.

With nasal infix and grammatical change, Go **fahan** (Sverdrup 1913 *F* Torp:111); Go *fulla-fahjan* wkvI ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, λατρεύειν *satisfy, serve* Mk 15.15; calque of Lat *satisfacere*, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:502; Go **ga-fahrjan* wkvI (only nom sg f prpl *ga-fahrida* L 1.17) κατασκευάζειν *prepare*; possibly also here, *ga-fehaba* adv (only 1Th 4.12) εὐσχημόνως *gracious*.

Possibly PIE *pāk̑-*, *pāǧ-* *make firm*, PIE *pak̑rós*; Skt *pajrás firm, solid*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:186; also Skt *pā́śas chain, fetter*, ibid:265; Gk πηγός *firm*; Lat *pāx peace*, Umbr *pacer favorable*; OIr *āil suitable, desirable* ← **pāgli-*, Strachan 1894 BKIS 20:24, or ← **pōkli-*, P 1959:787-88. Pokorny however posits a root

pe$\hat{k}$- **adorn**, only for **fagrs*, *fulla-fahjan* etc and Lith *puõšti*, Latvian *pùost* **adorn** P 1959: 796-97; less likely, in view of *a*-vocalism, Seebold 1970:189.

F4. fahan stvVII (← PGmc *faŋχana-*) πιάζειν **capture** J 7.44 (3sg prt *faifah* J 8.20); *ga-fahan* (3pl prt *ga-faifahun* R 9.30, papl *ga-fahans* Ph 3.12) πιάζειν, καταλαμβάνειν **capture, seize**; **ga-fah** na (only gen sg *-ahis* L 5.9) (W Schulze 1966:548) ἄγρα **catch**.

OI *fā*, OE *fōn*, OFris *fā*, OS, OHG *fāhan*, OS *fangan* stv **capture**; OI *fengr*, OE *fang*, OFris *feng*, OHG *fang* stm **catch**; OE *fēgan*, OFris *fōga*, OS *fōgian*, OHG *fuogan* wkv **join**; MLG *vōge*, MHG *vuoge* stf **joint**; OE *fæc* m/n **period of time, division**, OFris *fek*, *fak* **division**, OS *fac* m, OHG *fah* stn **enclosure**; MLG *vake(n)*, MHG *ge-vack* **often**. See also ***fagrs**.

PIE *pă$\hat{k}$-* (*pākh-* according to Meillet 1935 BSLP 36:[art]110ff): Skt *pā́śas* **snare, tie, chain** (not *pā́ś-* according to Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:239, and probably not *pañjaram*, ibid:188); Av *ava.pašāṭ* **one should chain together**, *fšābīš* **with fetters**; Gk πάσσαλος (← *πακ̯αλος) **peg**, πάγη **sling**, ἁ-παξ **simple**, πηγός **strong**. πήγνῡμι (aor pass ἐ-πάγην) **make firm, join**; Lat *pangō* (perf *pe-pig-ī* ← **pe-pag-ī*) **fortify**, *com-pāg-ēs* **joint**, *pāx*, gen *pācis* **peace**, *pancra* **booty** (Holthausen 1921 IF 39:63), *pāgus* **village, district**; Lith *puõšti* (PGmc *fōgjan*, cf OS *fōgian*) **adorn**; OSl *pasti* **guard, pasture**, Cz *pás* **girdle**, Russ, Slov *paz* **joint** Vasmer 1953-58 III:300-01; Arm *p'akem* **close** Meillet 1935 BSLP 36:[art]110; not OIr *accai* dat sg ← **pa$\hat{k}$ni-* **fetter**, rejected by Vendryès 1959-:A-9.

P 1959:787-88; Seebold 1970:185-86.

F5. faheþs *fi* (stem *faheði-*; unique formation; cf Brugmann below) χαρά **joy** J 15. 11; *faginon* wkvII χαίρειν **rejoice** L 15.32; *miþfaginon* **rejoice with** L 1.58; *fulla-fahjan* **satisfy, serve** Mk 15.15.

OE *ge-fēon*, OHG *gi-fehan* wkv **rejoice**; OE *ge-fēa*, OHG *gi-feho* wkm **joy**; OS *gi-fehōn*, OHG *fehōn* wkv **cherish, adorn, celebrate**; OHG *fagēn* wkv **rejoice at**, *gi-fag(o)* **content**; OI *fagna* **rejoice**; OE *fægnian*, OS *faganōn* OHG *faginon* wkv **exult**; OI *feginn*, OS *fagan*, OE *fægen* adj **joyful**, NE *fain* (on the set, cf Gutmacher 1914 BGDSL 39:69-71; Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:367); OI *fāga* **adorn**; OS *fegōn*, MLG, MHG *vegen* wkv **clean**.

No etymology. Proposed relationship to PIE *pă$\hat{k}$-*, as for **fahan**, unlikely for forms and meaning, in spite of W/P 1927-32 II:2-3, P 1959:787-88; similarly doubtful, PIE *pe$\hat{k}$-*, *pē$\hat{k}$-*, *pō$\hat{k}$-* **make attractive**, Lith *puõšti* **adorn** W/P 1927-32 II:16, P 1959:796-97; not OIr *āil* **agreeable**, according to Vendryès 1959-:A-30. See also Seebold 1970:189.

Proposed PIE *-ēti-* → PGmc *-ēδi-* (Bremer 1886 BGDSL 11:32) rejected by J Wackernagel 1918 SAW 1918:385, see also Gdr 1897-1916 II. 1:436.

F6. *faian stvVII[?] (only 3pl prs pass *-anda* R 9.19) μέμφεσθαι **blame**; Go *ai*-diphthong according to Jacobsohn 1916 ZVS 47:92, Specht 1932 ZVS 59:30, Krause 1968:83, but according to B/E 1981:31 Go *æ(j)*.

PIE *pēy-* **be inimical** W Schulze 1966:49-56, esp 53; zero grade *pī-* as in **fijan**: Skt *pī́yati* **revile, blame**, *pīyúṣ* **reviler**; with loss of resonant in long diphthong, and reduplication, *pāpás* **bad**, *pāpman-* m **suffering**; Gk πῆμα n **suffering, misfortune**, though see Chantraine 1968-80:897 and **fijan**; also possibly Arm *hivand* ← **pē-mn̥-to-s* **weak, sick** Bugge 1893 ZVS 32:15,71; Gdr 1897-1916 I:403,510. Not here Lat *paene* **almost** W/H 1938-56 II:234-35; nor *peior* **worse** W/H 1938-56 II:275. Older references in F 1939:135. W/P 1927-32 II:8-9 reject relationship to PIE *pē-* as in Gk πῆμα; P 1959:792-93 accepts it.

F7. faihu nu ἀργύριον, κτήματα, χρήματα **money, movable goods** L 18.24; **faihu-friks** adja **avaricious**; *faihu-frikei* fn **cupidity** E 5.3; **faihu-gairns** **desirous of money** 2T 3.2; **faihu-gairnei** fn **cupidity** Tit 1.11.

OI *fē*, OE *feoh*, OFris *fiā*, OS *fehu* **cattle**,

property, money, cf NE *fee*; OHG *fihu* stn *cattle*; OI *fær*, OSw *fār* stn *sheep* (← PGmc *fahaz*).

Skt *páśu* (accent as in Gmc), *paśú* n, *paśúṣ* m; Av *pasu- cattle*; Oss *fus, fys sheep*; Lat *pecu, pecus*; Umbr *pequo*. Lith *pẽkus, pẽkas*; OPruss *pecku cattle* (with *k* not sibilant; see also **swaihra**); inherited from PIE in Balt according to Fraenkel 1962-65:564-65, in spite of W Schulze 1966:69 fn2.

PIE *pék̑u* widely assumed to mean *animal having wool, sheep* and derived from PIE *pek̑- pluck wool* in Arm *asr*, gen *asu* (← PIE *poku-*) *sheep's wool, fleece*; Gk πέκω *shear*, Lith *pešù pluck*; Gk πόκος *a fleece, tuft of wool*, OI *fax mane*, OE *feax*, OS, OHG *fahs* stn (with *s*-extension) *hair*: with *t*-prs, Gk πέκτω *shear*, Lat *pectō comb*. OE *feohtan*, OS, OHG *fehtan fight*† (if from *pluck, tussle*; Seebold 1970:190-91 convinced of relationship, pointing to parallels in Lith); OSw *fæt* (← **fahti-*) *wool, fleece*, Du *vaht* wkf *shearing, wool* (with *ti*-suffix); older references in F 1939:135-36, including Falk 1919:1, who points to plucking rather than shearing of wool in ancient times, comparing **wulla** *wool*, Lat *vellō pluck*. By this origin the meaning of *faihu* changed like that of Lat *pecūnia money, pecūlium possessions* (under Lat influence according to Velten 1930 JEGP 29:495); Vendryès 1925 RevCelt 42:391-92 cites Ir parallels. Benveniste 1973:40-51, however, vigorously asserts 'movable personal possession' is basic meaning of PIE *pek̑u*, with details in Benveniste 1970:307-20. According to that view, Go preserves the orig meaning, which was specialized to mean 'livestock', then 'small livestock', then 'sheep'. Decision difficult; yet Benveniste overstates arguments for his position, as when citing meanings for OI *fē*. By his view, PIE *pek̑u* is isolated, with no connection to PIE *pek̑-*.

Finn *pihatto animal barn* has been analyzed as containing borrowed Go **fihu*; Setälä 1913 FUF 13:425, with references; approved by Mikkola 1912 *F* Thomsen:175; Ojansuu 1920 NM 21:12ff, though PGmc *fehu*, not *fihu*; opposed by Karsten 1908 IF 22:298,307 fn on the grounds that there are no Go loanwords in Finn.

P 1959:797.

F8. faihu-friks adja φιλάργυρος, πλεονέκτης *greedy for money* 1C 5.11; *faihu-frikei* fn πλεονεξία *cupidity* E 5.3.

Cmpd of **faihu** and *friks* = OI *frekr greedy, hard, stern*, OE *frec*, MLG *vrek*, OHG *freh desirous*; OE *freca* wkm *hero in battle*; with different vowel, Nor, Sw dial *frak rapid, courageous*, OE *fræc desirous*, MLG *vrak quick, courageous*, OE *frēcen* stn *danger*; OI *frøkn, frøkinn*, OE *frēche courageous*, OS *frōkni insolent*, OHG *fruohhan bold, daring*; OHG *frehhi, frihhida* stf *greed*.

No assured etymology. Wel *rhewydd lascivious, lasciviousness* according to Lane 1933 Lg 9:258, though opposed by Thurneysen (F 1939:136). Proposing PIE *preg-* for both, W/P 1927-32 II:88-89 relate them to Gk σπαργάω *be full to bursting, wanton*; further, P 1959:845 relates PIE *(s)p(h)ereg-*, ibid:996-98, to which P assigns meanings as diverse as *twitch, strew, burst open, spray* as in Lat *spargō strew, spray*, OE *spearcian sparkle*, Latvian *spiřgt become vigorous*. Supported also by Torp 1896:183f, Förster 1908 EngS 39:339, Boisacq 1950:891, though Chantraine 1968-80:1032 characterizes the family of words in P 1959:996-98 "vaste mais confuse". Scarcely with F Kauffmann 1887 BGDSL 12:514 and Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:352 to Lat *precāri request* (cf **fraihnan**; PIE *preĝ-* beside **prek̑-*, as also for **taikn**, ***gateihan**).

F9. faihu-geiro fn or Go *faihu-geigo* πλεονεξία *avarice* C 3.5, 1T 6.10. The reading *faihu-geigo* of Uppström approved by Braun (Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:429); certain in one manuscript according to Friesen 1927:19-20. See ***gairnei**.

OS *fehu-girī* wkf *greed*; similar cmpd but with 2nd member *gĭr-*, MHG *gīre desirous*; Nor dial *gīr*, OS *giritha* stf, OHG *girī* wkf, *giridī*,

girida stf *greed.* **gir-* is an extension with *-r* of **gī-* in OHG *gīēn* (= Go **gijan*) *yawn*; MHG *gīt* stm, *gīte* stf *greed, cupidity* (back formation from *gītesen, gīzen* beside *gīten be greedy*), later (Younger Tituriel 3338) *gīze* stf, NHG *geiz, geize* stm *greed.*

PIE *ĝhēy-, ĝhī-* in Lat *hiō*, Lith *žióti*, OSl *zějǫ yawn*; Gk χά-σκω (← **ghə-skṓ*) *yawn, gape* (cf Lat *hīscō yawn* from *(the greedy) gape*; W/P 1927-32 I:548-49). MHG *gīt* possibly from PIE *gheydh- desire, be greedy*, as in OSl *žьdati expect*; Lith *geidžiù, geĩsti expect, wish* (W/P 1927-32 I:553).

If *-geigo*, from PIE *gheyĝh- desire, be greedy*, as in Skt *jéhamānas gaping, yawning* (W/P 1927-32 I:552 with references). W/P take both extended forms from *ĝhēy-*; see also P 1959:419-22,426-27, and **gaidw.**

F10. fair- inseparable ptc.

OE *fyr-*, OHG *firi-* as in OE *fyr-wit*, OS *firi-wit*, OHG *firi-wizzi* stn *curiosity.*

PIE *per, peri* adv, prep, and prefix (Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:865-71) *over, through, about.* Here also Go *fri-* in **frisahts** according to J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:24. Brugmann proposes that **peri* was a locative of a root-noun *per*, comparable to the root in Skt *píparti brings over, surpasses*, also in ***faran**; inherited prepositions would then be frozen case forms; cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:864-73, also Leopold 1907.

Skt *pári* adv *around*, prep *about, towards, from*; Av *pairi*, OPers *pariy* adv *in front, earlier*, prep *before, towards, around*; Gk πέρι, περί, dial πέρ *about, over*; Lat *per*, OIr *air, er, ir before, for* (Thurneysen 1946:497-99 suggests merging of PIE *peri* with PIE *par*, Go *faur*, as the principal source of OIr *air* etc); Lith *pér- over, peĩ-* asseverative ptc, as prep *peĩ through*; OSl *prě-*, Russ *pere- through, over*; Alb *për for, about* (but cf Jokl 1929 WuS 12: 89); Hitt *pariyan besides.*

P 1959:810-11.

F11. fairguni *nia* ὄρος *mountain, mountain range* J 6.3; *-gunja alewjin Mount of Olives* M 11.1.

OE *firgi/en- + -holt mountain wood, -strēam mountain stream* (Weyhe 1906 BGDSL 31:68-69 discusses *-i-* of stem), SouthSw GN *Færghin(s)gyl* (1349 AD), now *Färgegöl, Firghelanda* (1403 AD), now *Färgelanda, Färgaren*; Lat-OHG *Fergunna* (805 AD entry; cf Müllenhoff 1879 ZDA 23:168-69), *Firgunnea mountain chain with mines or pine trees; Virgunnia, Virgundia waldus a range of hills between Ellwangen and Ansbach*; MHG *Virgunt* f (name in Wolfram's Willehalm 390.4 beside *Swarzwalt*; cf Grimm 1878:175 fn2) with epenthetic dental stop.

OI *Fjǫrgynn* m *father of Frigg (Freya), Fjǫrgyn* f *mother of Thor = Jǫrð mother earth*, also *earth, country (forested area*, according to Much 1898 *F* Heinzel:205ff); Vries 1962:126 discusses proposed relationship at length with references, labeling relationship to *fairguni* attractive, but citing other possibilities, including his earlier proposed relationship with *fjǫr life*, **fairhvus** *world*, which he now labels less attractive.

fairguni is one of the most widely discussed Go words, with intriguing implications for earlier relationships among IE sub-groups, for religious practices, and for phonological developments as well as semantic complexities. P 1959:822-23 assumes derivation from PIE *perk^{w}u-s oak*, thereupon *strength, life, world-tree* and *tree of thunder-god Perk^{w}uno-s*, plus modifications from association with PIE *per-(g-) strike* P 1959:818-19. This assumption is accepted and amplified by P Friedrich 1970: 133-40.

PGmc *fergunjō* assumed to be a borrowing from PCelt *perkuniā*, later *erkunia* as attested in Lat (Caesar, Gallic War 6.24.2) *Hercynia silva Hercynian forest* (*-y-* reflects Gk source). Borrowing precedes Gmc consonant shift and loss of *p-* in Celt, Kossinna 1897 IF 7: 284-85, S Muller 1901 BGDSL 26:282; others assume direct development from PIE, Much 1888 ZDA 32:454ff and Hirt 1892 IF 1:479ff.

Decision impossible on the basis of linguistic evidence; if, as seems likely, Gmc peoples took over the Hercynian area from Celts, cultural evidence favors borrowing. The likelihood is even greater if according to Müllenhoff 1890-1920 II:241-42 the name was first used of the Alps and only later of the central German highlands. Attested forms Ἑρκύνιος δρυμός *Hercynian forest* (Strabo), Ἑρκύνιος σκόπελος *Hercynian peak* = *Alps* (Apollonius of Rhodes); Ἀρκόυια ὄρη *Hercynian range* (Aristotle, Meteorologica I:13; *e* : *a* interchange frequent in Celt names, *Germani* : *Garmani*, *Bastarnae* : *Basternae*); Ὀρκύνιος δρυμός *Hercynian forest* (Ptolemy II:11, VII:26; *o*- unexplained); *Orcynia* (reported by Caesar, Gallic War 6:24. 2, of Eratosthenes and other Gk authors); *Hercynius saltus Hercynian forest* (Tacitus, Germania 30). Diefenbach 1839-40 II.1:303ff. notes the name of a people inhabiting a high wooded area in Pannonia, presumably Celts, Ἐρκουνιάτες (Ptolemy), *Hercuniates* (Pliny). Cf Much 1888 ZDA 32:454ff; Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:8ff; Simon 1930 ZDP 55:138ff; Karsten 1928:93ff.

If from PIE *perk*^{w}- *oak*, other cognates are OI *fura*, OE *furh*, OHG *for(a)ha* f *pine*, OHG *fereh-eih* f *oak*, Lang *fureha Italian oak*. Doubtful, Ir *ceirt* (*quiert*) *apple tree*, Wel *perth bush, hedge*, as if from PCelt *k*^{w}*erk*^{w}*ti* (Vendryès 1927 RevCelt 44:313ff; cf **qertra**). By initial assimilation, Lat *quercus oak* ← *k*^{w}*erk*^{w}-. Probably not Skt *parkaṭī sacred fig tree* or *parjányas rain-cloud, god of rain* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:221-22, though see P Friedrich 1970:134-35 who also cites Hitt *peruna cliff*).

Lith *Perkūnas thunder* [also name of thunder-god], Latvian *pẽrkũns*, *pẽrkuons*, OPruss *percunis thunder*, have been explained as borrowed from EGmc (Karsten 1915:75-76) or as a native development of **per- strike*, as in Lith *pẽrti* (Fraenkel 1962-65:575); cf also P Friedrich 1970:136, who derives them from **perk*^{w}- *oak*, with subsequent influence from **per-*. Hamp 1967 JL 3:83-90 and Maher 1973 JIES 1:457-59 espouse the borrowing hypothesis. Gimbutas 1973 JIES 1:466-78 sees the origin of Lith *Perkūnas* and PIE *perk*^{w}- *oak* in the root *per-*. Moreover, she relates OSl *Perunŭ* [name of a god] in her discussion of the thunder god of the Balts and the Slavs, linking to them as well the Skt words, Arm *harkanem strike* and Hitt *peruna- cliff*. It may be noted that J Friedrich 1952:167-68 does not relate Hitt *peruna-* to the Lith cognates, but only to Skt *parvata- mountain*; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:228 accepts this relationship, but derives the Skt form from *paru-*, *párus knot*, ibid:220. Vasmer 1953-58 II:345-46 even questions the relationship of the Sl and Balt godnames. On the other hand, Polomé 1983:545-55 relying heavily on Nagy 1974 *F* Güntert:113-31 accepts relationship of Lith *Perkūnas* and Sl *Perun*, deriving both from **per- strike*; Lat *quercus oak* is also assumed to be based on the root, as well as *fairguni* and Celt *Hercynia*. See now the extensive treatment in Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:613-19, who posit PIE *perk-* and *peru-*.

The recent speculations follow those of the 19th century, reported in F 1939:137-39 at some length. Proponents of relationship among the various IE branches, some even including Alb *perëndí god*, rely on conclusions resting on mythology, and reconcile the problems by calling on folk etymological reshaping. Those separating the forms rely on phonological and morphological evidence. The discussion will doubtless continue.

P 1959:822-23.

F12. fairhus mu κόσμος *world* J 17.5; also [?] **wai-fairhjan* wkvI *wail*.

OI *fjǫr* (*a*-stem) stn *life*, OE *feorh* stm n *life, living person*, OFris *ferch*, OS, OHG *fer(a)h* stn *soul, spirit, life*; CrimGo **fers** *man*; *ja*-derivative in OI *firar* (← **firhw-jōz*, Pipping 1912 *F* Lidén:142-43), OE *firas* stm pl *men*, OHG gen pl *u/i/rho* (Muspilli 56), *fireo* (HL 10) *of men, people*; OS *mid firihun*, OHG

mid firahim among people, in the world, OHG *firihi* stm *people*. Also inscriptions, dat pl (*matronis*) *Alaferhuiabus* (CIL XIII:7862.12012 from Altdorf near Jülich); calque of Lat *matronae omnium matrons for all* [?], W Schulze 1966:477-79.

Etymology disputed.

Possibly with **fairguni** from PIE *perk*^{w}-, following J Grimm in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 III:1527 under NHG *Ferch* (based on Stalder, Schweiz. Idiotikon I:363), who propose connection with life in vegetation; also P Friedrich 1970:137, with reference to OI *fjǫrr tree, man*. Others derive stem from PIE *perk̂-surround*, as in Skt *párśuṣ rib*, Av *pərəsu- rib, side*, Oss *fars side, region*, Gk πόρκης *ring on spear-shaft which secures tip*, Lat *compescō* ← **com-parc-scō confine* (W/H 1938-56 I:256-57; **filhan**; also Torp and Falk, eds 1909:234); Lith *pir̃štas finger*, OSl *prsi breasts, prstz finger*. See also Vries 1962:125, and **fairguni**.

P 1959:822,620.

F13. fairina fō αἰτία *fault* J 19.6, μομφή *reproach*; **un-fairina* (only acc pl n 1Th 3.13B, also in Cod A beside Cod B *us-fairinona* 1Th 5.23) wkadj *blameless*; *un-fairinodaba* (only 1Th 2.10) adv ἀμέμπτως *blamelessly* (← papl **unfairinoþs*); *us-fairina* wkadj ἄμεμπτος *blameless* Ph 3.6; **fairinon* wkvII μωμᾶσθαι *reproach* 2C 8.20; *un-ga-fairinoþs* (papl to *un-ga-fairinonds* prpl) ἀνεπίλημπτος *blameless* Tit 1.7, ἀνέγκλητος *irreproachable* 1T 3.2.

OI *firn* n pl *abomination, monstrous thing*, *firna* gen pl as adv *excessively*; OE *firen*, OFris *fi/erne*, OS, OHG *firina* stf *crime, fault, sin*; OS adv dat pl *firinun extremely*; OI *firna blame*, OE *firenian*, OHG *firinōn* wkv *sin*; OS, OHG *firin-lust* stf *criminal pleasure*; OE *firen-dǣd*, OS *firin-dād*, OHG *firin-tāt* stf *wicked deed*.

Basic meaning of *fairina* 'delictum' *fault* (Grimm 1878:177), later also 'blame, reproach'; *firin-* thereupon intensifying like NHG *erz-*, NE *arch-* (Weisweiler 1923 IF 41:29ff).

Etymology disputed. According to Uhlenbeck 1896:41 from **fair-** (also Torp and Falk, eds 1909:231) + *-in-* as in ***inilo**, yielding a cmpd *what passes beyond the fitting*; cf Skt *inóti press upon, inás strong, énas sin*; Gk αἰνός *terrible*; PIE *ay- overwhelm, insult* P 1959:10; also Krogmann 1935-36 EngS 70:40ff, who relates OI *ein-dagi*, OE *ān-daga* m *fixed day*, OS *ēn-dago* stm *day of death*. Grienberger 1900:63 compares Gk πεῖρα, Aeol πέρρα (← **περϱα*) *attempt, undertaking*; further, Lat *experior try, perīculum danger*; OHG *fāra* st/wkf *persecution, ambush*, Go ***ferja** *spy*. Meillet 1921 BSLP 22:[rev]224 relates to OIr *pargo through, beyond*, comparing Arm loan *partk'* *fault*; cf Vries 1962:121, who relates OI *fjarri far, remote*, from same root as OIr *par-*.

P 1959:10,810-18, esp 810.

F14. *fairneis adj*ia* παλαιός *old* L 5.39; **fairniþa* (only dat sg *-þai* R 7.6) fō παλαιότης *antiquity*.

OHG *firni*, OE *fyrn old* ← **furni-*, OI *fyrnd* f *old age*. Not to be equated with ***fairns** (W Schulze 1966:536-40), from which it was formed, with *-ja-*, on the pattern of **niujis**, like Lith *seniaĩ* adv *old* versus *naujaĩ* adv *new*. Ultimately from PIE *per-*. Not related to Umbr *pernaiaf* 'anticas' (Frederik Muller 1926:334), since this means 'previous', not 'old' (J Hofmann in F 1939:140).

F15. *fairns adj*a* (only in *af -nin jera* ἀπὸ πέρυσι 2C 8.10 and 9.2) *in the previous year*.

OS (Heliand 217) *fernun gēre* (Mon), *fernun iāra* (Cott), MHG adv *verne in the previous year*; with zero grade, OI *forn old*, OS, OHG adv *forn previously*; OS *an forn-dagun in the old days*; OHG *fernērig of the previous year*.

Comparable adj only in Lith *pérnai*, ELith *pérniai mētai* (Fraenkel 1962-65:576, 1930 ZVS 57:175f), Latvian *pę̃rns in the previous year*. Extended forms of PIE *per-* in Skt *páras previous, strange*; Av, OPers *para- beyond*; Arm *herí distant*; Gk πέρᾱν, Ion πέρην *on the*

other side; Osc *perom* (Skt *páram*) prep *without* (cf **faura**) and zero grade *-n-* (like *-ut-* ← PIE *wet-*) of PIE *eno-*, Hsch ἔνος· ἐνιαυτός *year*, Gk δί-ενος *two years old*, Hom ἦνιν acc sg, ἤνῑς acc pl (supply βοῦν, βοῦς) *yearling*; Russ (dial), Cz *lo-ni* (← **ol-ni-*) *of last year* (Meillet 1929 BSLP 29:[rev]229-30). Gk ἐνιαυτός *year* (← ἐνο- + ἰαύειν *when the year rests, at year's end*) according to Meillet 1929 MSLP 23,iv:274f; see Chantraine 1968-80:348-49 for further discussion; also Szemerényi 1965 Sprache 11:7-8 for a critique. Less probably, in view of cognates cited above, derived from adv **fair-** + PIE suffix *-no-* as in **fulls** (W Schulze 1966:537-40, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:270). With the same initial member *per-* and zero grade of PIE *wetos* year: Skt *parút*; Gk πέρυσι, Dor πέρυτι; OI *í fjorð*, MHG *vert*; OIr *urid*, *inn-uraid*; Arm *heru in the previous year*. PIE *wetos* in Skt (further formation) *vatsás*, *vatsarás*; Gk ϝέτος; Alb *vjet last year*, Hitt *u̯itt-*, Luw *uššali-*, HieroglyphicHitt *usa-* year; Lat *vetus*, *vetus-tu-s*, OLith *vẽtušas*, OSl *vetzchz old*; cf **wiþrus**.

P 1959:810-11.

F16. fairra adv prep μακράν, πόρρω (ἀπό) *far (from)* M 8.30; *fairra-þro* adv (ἀπὸ) μακρόθεν *(from) afar* M 27.55.

OI *fjarri*, OE *feor(r)*, OFris *fĕr*, OS *fer(ro)*, OHG *ferro* adv *far*†. PGmc *fererō* (not comp **fer-izō* with *i*-syncope according to Grienberger 1900:64, but rather) from PIE *per* (cf **fair-**) with *-ero-* as in PIE *upero-* (cf **ufar**), PIE *n̥dhero* (cf **undar**) etc, also **afar** according to Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:300-01. According to Kluge 1913:247 Gmc *-ō* in *fairra* = PIE acc f *-ām*; according to Torp and Falk, eds 1909: 231 = PGmc *-ai*. Skt adj *páras further*, adv *pára in addition*, *párā away*, *parás distant, beyond*; Av *para-* *more distant*, prep *parō* *apart from*; Gk πέρᾱ *further*, πέρᾱν *across*; Lat *porrō forward*, Osc *perom* prep *without*; OIr *ire* (← **peryos*) *further*; Arm *herˇi distant from*; Hitt *pariyan in addition, besides*.

P 1959:811.

F17. fair-weitl na (only 1C 4.9) θέατρον *spectacle*, made from Go **fair-weit* with PIE *-lo-* on pattern of Gk θέατρον to θεάομαι *view*; cf *fra-weit* Velten 1930 JEGP 29:343. PIE *-lo-* in Gk εἴδωλον *picture, figure*; Lat *speculum mirror*; Lith *pa-vìdalas figure*; OPruss *weydulis pupil*; Skt *nābhīla-* *navel* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:362-64). Hitt *-ul-*, as in *assul welfare*, thematized in *assulas kindness*, beside *assu-* *good*, may point to development of *-lo-*; cf J Friedrich 1960:38-39, Tischler 1983- I:87-90; but see also Seebold 1970:173-76, who takes *fair-weitl* from a verb meaning 'appear'.

P 1959:1127.

F18. fairzna fō (only acc sg J 13.18) πτέρνα *heel*.

OE *fiersn* fi; OS, OHG *fersna* wkf *heel*. Go *-z-* by assimilation to neighboring voiced sounds, Streitberg 1903 IF 14:498, 1920:98.

Skt *pā́r̥ṣni-*, Av *pāšna-*; Gk πτέρνη *heel*; Lat *perna haunch*, *pernix swift*, cf 'take to one's heels'; Hitt *parsna upper thigh*, *parsnai-squat, sit on one's haunches*. PIE *-ē-* shortened before nasal or liquid + obstruent; also in **mimz**, **winds**, and possibly **hairto**, Kieckers 1928:27.

P 1959:823.

F19. *falþan stvVII (only 3sg prt *faifalþ* L 4.20) πτύσσειν *fold, roll together*.

OI *falda*, prt *felt*, papl *faldinn* stv *cover one's head*; wkv, OE *fealdan*, MLG *volden*, OHG *faldan*, *faltan fold*†; OI *faldr fold, tip*, *feldr* stm *cloak*, MHG *valte* stf *fold, corner*.

Possibly Skt *puṭas* (← MInd **pr̥ta-* ← PIE *pl̥to-*) *fold, pocket*; Gk δι-πλάσιος, Ion δι-πλήσιος (← **πλατ̯ο-*) *double*; Go ***ain-falþs** *single, simple*; possibly OIr *alt joint, kind* Vendryès 1959-:A-63.

t-extension of PIE *pel-* *fold* in Gk ἁ-πλός (← **sm̥-plós*) *simple* (though this is attested only once and late), ἁπλόος, διπλόος (-πλοος ← **πλοϳος* on basis of δοιός) *twofold, double* (Brugmann 1917-20 IF 38:128ff, but see Chantraine 1968-80:97); Lat *sim-plus simple*, *du-plus double*; Go ***tweifls** *doubt*; OIr *diabul*

double (uncertain according to Thurneysen 1921 ZCP 13:107); Alb *palë fold, row, yoke*; also OI *fel* f *belly* Vries 1962:116. PIE *plek-braid* may also be an extended form of PIE *pel-*; cf ***flahta**.

W/P 1927-32 II:55-56,97-98; P 1959:802-03,834-35; Seebold 1970:183-85.

F20. *fana mn ῥάκος *piece of cloth, rag,* σουδάριον *cloth to wipe off sweat* M 9.16.

OI *(gunn-)fani*, OE *(gūþ-)fana*, OFris *fona*, OHG *fano flag*, OS *fano* wkn *cloth*. Also related according to Specht 1927:40, OHG *fandōn* (only Otfrid I.11.43) *wrap up* (derived from PIE *-tā*-abstract). F **(gund-)fano* borrowed into OFr as *gonfanon*, into It as *gonfalone* (Meyer-Lübke 1935:3918).

PIE *păn- web* may be tentatively assumed (W/H 1938-56 II:247-48) in spite of phonological and semantic problems (see Chantraine 1968-80:897); Gk πήνη *thread on the shuttle*, Hsch πηνός· ὕφασμα, Hom πηνίον *thread of the woof*; Lat *pannus cloth*; possibly MIr *anart linen garment* Vendryès 1959-:A-73.

May be a variant of PIE *(s)pen-*, as in ***spinnan**, Lith *pìnti pleat*; OSl *opona curtain, ponjava linen cloth, shawl, pǫnǫ span*, Arm *henum weave*, (Osten-Sacken 1913-14 IF 33: 238; see also Fraenkel 1962-65:594). Specht 1927:40, however, compares **fana* (*-a-* ← PIE *-o-*) with OSl *opona* and explains Lat *pannus* from PIE *pənno-* (W/P 1927-32 II:5,660-62; P 1959:788,988). Trier 1951:27-28, relating weaving to the wooden lattice-work used for walls, connects **fana* with **fani**.

F21. fani n*ja* πηλός *clay, mud* J 9.6.

OI *fen* n, OE *fen(n)* m/n, OS *fen(n)i* n *swamp, fen*†; OFris *fenne* m *meadow*, OHG *fenna* stn *swamp*. With variant vowel, OE *fyne* m *dampness, morass*; MLF *vunse musty*; further, with *-k-* and *-tyo-*, PGmc **fuŋχtja-* in OE *fūht*, OHG *fūhti*, *fūht* adj *damp* (← PIE *pṇkt(y)o-*; Lidén 1896 BKIS 21:93). PIE *k*-formant, as in Skt *paṅka-* below, probably also in PGmc *fangō*, from which was borrowed Romany **fango*, **fanga mud*, It, Sp *fango*, Prov, OFr *fanc*, Lombardian *fanga*, Prov *fanha a damp woods* (Meillet 1902-05:204; also Meyer-Lübke 1935:3184a).

OPruss *pannean bog*; Gaul *anam swamp*, OIr *an* f *water, urine* (Vendryès 1959-:A-71); Latvian *pane liquid manure, peńava puddle* (Endzelin 1924 ZVS 52:116); Skt *paṅkas* m, *paṅkam* n *mud, mire* (with *-k-*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:184-85). W Schulze 1966:716, however, takes *fani* as *fire-colored* with **fon**; Gk πῦρ *fire* like Lith *pur̃vas dirt* to Gk πυρρός *fiery red, reddish*, Gk Πυρ*ϝ*ός *Fire-color* [Corinthian horse-name], cf Frisk 1960-72 II: 631-32; OPruss *pannean moor, panno fire* (cf Fraenkel 1962-65:675 with references; objections in W/P 1927-32 II:6).

P 1959:807-08.

F22. *faran stvVI (only 3sg prs opt *ni -raiþ* μὴ μεταβαίνετε L 10.7) *wander, travel*; **farjan* wkvI ἐλαύνειν *travel*, πλεῖν *go by sea*; **at-farjan* (only 3pl prt *-ridedun* L 8.26) καταπλεῖν *put into port, land*; ***us-farþo** *shipwreck*.

OI *fara*, OE *faran*, OFris *fara*, OS, OHG *faran* stv *travel*, cf NE *fare*; OI *ferja*, OE, OS *ferian*, OHG *ferjen*, *ferren* wkv trans *lead, ferry across*; also PIE *-ō-*, OI *fœra* wkv *bring, convey*, OE *fērgan carry, convey, ferry*†, OFris *fēra*, OS *fōrian*, OHG *fuoren* wkv *lead, convey*; OE *fōr journey, course*, OHG *fuora* stf *journey, way*, *gi-fuori suitable*, Skt *pāryas successful*.

PIE *per-*, from which no simple verbs are made, except OSl *peru move, fly*, reflecting basic meaning *go across*; see forms below. Treating *per-* as an *-e/o-* root meaning *convey across* Brugmann 1913 IF 32:189, ascribed Gmc *-a-* to an iterative **farjan* (also Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:122). Prokosch 1939:173-75 recognizes the formal and semantic problems, but fails to apply his theory here, ie, that Class VI verbs are from monophthongal heavy bases, with normal grade in the prt. In the root *pe/or-* a lengthened *o*-grade may have fallen together with heavy bases like *stōþ*, and an *-a*-present

may have been formed secondarily in Gmc; Hiersche 1963 IF 68:150ff proposes a primary *o*-grade present.

Skt *píparti convey across, save*; *pārāyati*, same meanings as reduplicated form, Av *-pārayeite convey across*; Gk περάω *penetrate*, πείρω *pierce*, πορεύομαι *travel*, πόρος *passage, ford*, πορθμός *strait, passage*; Lat *perītus experienced* (*-ēy*-extension), *porta gate, portō carry*; Gk παρών, Lat *parō barque*, borrowed from Gk and this from Illyrian, according to W/H 1938-56 II:257; OSl *pьrati move, fly, pariti hover*; Russ *porόm ferry*; Arm *hordan go away*; Alb *shpie take away*.

From PIE *pr̥tú*; Av *pərətuš bridge*; Lat *portus harbor*; Gaul *-ritu-*, in GN like *Augusto-ritum, Ritu-magus*, Wel *rhyd*, OBret, Corn *rit ford*; OE *ford*, OHG *furt* stm *ford*†. With different root vowel OI *fjǫrðr* m *fjord*; *ferð*, OE *fierd*, Angl *færd*, OFris *ferd*, OS *fard*, OHG *fart* stf *trip*.

P 1959:816-17; Seebold 1970:186-88; Watkins 1985:50.

F23. farwa m or *na* dat sg μορφή *form, appearance* Mk 16.12; only previously unattested word in Speyer fragment (Scardigli 1973:302-80, esp 363-64, who proposes *na *farw*).

OFris *ferwe*, MDu *verwe*, OS *farawi*, OHG *far(a)wa* st/wkf *color, appearance* (Tollenaere 1972 TNTL 88:7-8); substantivized form of *wo*-adj (Meid 1967:75).

PIE *perḱ- speckled*, + *-no*-suffix, Skt *pr̥śni-spotted*, Gk πορκνός *dark*, OE *fōrn(e)*, OHG *forhana* stf *trout*; possibly also Lat *porcus kind of fish*; PIE *por(k)-wo-*, PGmc *farwa-*, OHG *faro*, MHG *vare, varwer colored* (P 1959:821, Hamp 1973 IF 78:142-43).

Meaning of the Go noun and its gender have led to questions on its origin, esp by Szemerényi 1972 Lg 48:5-9; he proposes as base PIE *k*^{w}*erp-*, as in Skt *kr̥p- form, beauty*, Lat *corpus*, MIr *crī body*; from this base probably also OE *hrif*, OFris *hre/if*, OHG *(h)ref* stn *body, womb* (W/P 1927-32 I:486-87; P 1959: 620, who cites Specht 1944 ZVS 68:193ff suggesting PIE *k*^{w}*erp-* as a taboo metathesized form of *perk*^{w}- as in Go *fairhus life, world, oak*). By this proposal, cf Szemerényi 1972 Lg 48:5-9, PIE *k*^{w}*orpó-* → PGmc *farhwá-* → *fargwa-, farwa-* (Stutz 1971 ZVS 85:89-91, Garbe 1972 IF 77:118); unlikely in view of proposed metathesis, and presence of OE *hrif* etc in Gmc with no metathesis.

P 1959:820-21.

F24. *faskja m or **faski* n (only dat pl *faskjam* J 11.44) κειρία *bandage*.

OHG *faasgi* (OHG Gl I:622,37), *faske* stn, MHG *fasch* st/wkf; MDu *vaesche*, NHG Swiss *fāeš* f *bandage*.

Borrowed from Lat *fascia bandage*; *-ā-* according to Kluge 1913:28, W Schulze 1966:511 fn2.

F25. fastan wkvIII (3sg prs *-taiþ* J 8. 51, 3sg prt *-taida* J 12.7) τηρεῖν, φυλάσσειν, φρουρεῖν *hold, guard, fastan* (*sik silban*) τηρεῖν, νηστεύειν *fast* M 6.16; *ga-fastan* (δια)τηρεῖν *keep* J 17.6; ***fastubni** *nia* τήρησις *vigilance*, νηστεία *fasting* L 9.43; *witoda-fasteis mia* νομικός *lawyer* L 10.25.

In the ecclesiastical sense (general Gmc[?]) calque based on Lat *observāre* in *jejunium observāre observe a fast* [?] (Wessén 1928 ANF 44:104-05, Velten 1930 JEGP 29: 502-03; see however Pisani 1941 AGI 33:128-29 and Mazzuoli Porru 1971 AGI 56:19-28, who suggests LLat *statiō* as basis for the calque). Solari 1975 ILRL 109:433-36 suggests φυλάσσειν *guard, shun*.

OI *fasta*, OE *fæstan*, OFris *festia*, OHG *fastēn, fastōn* wkv *fast*† *(not eat)*, derived from base in adj OI *fastr*, OE *fæst*, OFris *fest*, OS *fast* (*u*-stems), OHG *fasti ja*-stem *firm*; OI, OS, OHG *fasta* stf, OHG *fasto* wkm, OE *fæsten*, OS *fastunnia* stn (suffix as in ***fastubni**) *fasting*†.

Arm *hast firm* Solta 1960:439-40; possibly Skt *pastyám dwelling* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 241-42, with alternative explanations. Scarcely from PIE *sed-*, cf **sitan** with *po*-prefix; older

suggestions in F 1939:143-44. OSl *posts fasting, postiti sę fast* from Gmc; according to Stender-Petersen 1927:432, directly from Go **fasta* m *fasting, fastan (sik) fast*; cf also M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:132-33 and Vasmer 1953-58 II: 415-16.

P 1959:789; Lamberterie 1980 Sprache 26: 139-44 derives from PIE *pā-* + *-s-to-*, P 1959: 787.

F26. *fastubni *nia* τήρησις *maintenance* 1C 7.19, νηστεία *fasting* L 9.43.

Derived from **fastan** with *-ub/fni* suffix (also ***witubni, waldufni**; f in **fraistubni*, ***wundufni**). Variation *b/f* by dissimilation of voicing from preceding obstruent; Streitberg 1920:91-92 with references, such as Thurneysen 1898 IF 8:208ff; often known as Thurneysen's law.

PGmc *uƀnia-* ← PIE *-m̥nyo-* as in Gk ποίμνιον *herd* vs ποιμήν *shepherd*; PIE *-m(e)n-* as also in **hliuma**. Forms of *-m(e)n-* in Skt *nā́man-*, Av, OPers *nāma*; Gk ὄνομα, Lat *nōmen*, OIr *ainm n-*, OSl *imę*, Arm *anun*, Alb *emër*, TochA *ñom*, B *ñem*, Hitt *laman*, Go **namo** *name*† (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:234-37). For Gmc extension, see Gdr 1897-1916 I:383, II.1: 244-45; Kluge 1926:46-47,79-80; Krahe 1932 IF 50:280-81.

F27. *faƀa *fō* φραγμός *hedge, dividing wall* M 12.1.

MHG *vade* wkf *hedge, fence*; ONor GN *Fǫð* (actually 'border', Olsen 1907 ANF 23: 90ff).

According to Meringer 1898 *F* Heinzel:174, related to OI *faðmr embrace, bosom, thread*; OE *fæþm embrace, fathom*†, *bosom, thread*; OS *fathmos* stm *fathom* Vries 1962:109; objections by Heinertz 1927:24ff, who proposes for *faƀa* the meaning: *thread, cord*, which OI *faðmr* etc also mean, and hence scarcely cogent.

PIE *pet- spread out (one's arms)*; Gk πετάννυμι, πίτνημι, πίτνω *spread out*, πέταλος *extended, flat*; Lat *pateō stand open, patulus open, spread out, passus* ← **pattos fathom*; OWel *etem* ← **petemā*, Wel *edau, edaf thread*, Gaelic *aitheamh fathom* Lane 1933 Lg 9:249; Lith *petỹs shoulder* Fraenkel 1962-65:581-82.

This derivation preferable to one from PIE *pōy- protect* as in **fodr**, suggested by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:274-75 and Trier 1947 ZSSR 65:242-43.

P 1959:824-25.

F28. *fauho *fn* (only nom pl *-hons* M 8.20, L 9.58) ἀλώπηξ *fox*.

OI *fōa* f *fox* (not specifically *vixen*, according to Lidén 1931 NB 19:87-88), MLG *vohe*, OHG *vōha* wkf *vixen*; with *-s-* (Kluge 1926:16) OE *fox*, OS *fohs*, MLG *vos*, OHG *fuhs* stm *fox*† (OI *fox* n *treachery* from OE *fox deceiver, foxung* f *treachery*, according to Björkman 1904 *F* Noreen:168).

Possibly related to Skt *púcchas tail, hind part* (← **puk-sko-*), Russ *puch down, fuzz* Uhlenbeck 1897 BGDSL 22:538-39, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:298-99, Vasmer 1953-58 II:469-70; not to Av *pusā- headband* (see P 1959:849 for the two sets). Meillet 1921 BSLP 22:[rev]243 doubts PIE origin; for speculation on origin see F 1939:144-45, and Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:299, who cites other words for 'fox' related to 'bush'.

F29. faur adv prep παρά *in front of, along*, πρό *in front of*, ὑπέρ *for* M 8.29.

OI *for-* prefix *pre-* (emphatic), prep OE, OFris *for*, OS *for, fur*, OHG *for for*†, *in front of*; see **faura**.

PIE *pr̥- forward*, Gk πάρ *along* Günther 1906-07 IF 20:37ff, esp 62; for Chantraine 1968-80:856-57, apocopated παρά; Lat *por-*, in *por-tendō announce, por-rigō stretch out*; probably also in Skt *pr̥ṣṭhám*, Av *par-šta- back*; Lat *postis door-post*; Lith *piršt̃as*, OSl *prъsts finger*; MDu *vorst* stf *ridge of roof* (OE *fierst* f, OHG *first* stm *ridge of roof* based however on *per-*).

P 1959:813 zero grade of *per- (take) across* P 1959:810-18; G Schmidt 1962:322-24.

F30. faura adv πρότερον, ἔμπροσθεν *in front*, prep πρό *in front of* M 6.2, verbal prefix

= Gk προ- *fore*.

OE *fore* prep *in front of, before*†, OS, OHG *fora* adv prep *in front of*.

PIE *perā*, also with reduced first vowel; inst of PIE *per*, Skt *purā́* adv *formerly, before*; Av *parā̆*, OPers *parā* adv and prep *before*; Gk παρά *near*; OIr *ar, air- for, in front of*, Gaul *are- near*, as in GN *Are-morica, Are-late*, Vendryès 1959-:A-37-38; Arm *ar near, at*. Also derived from PIE loc *p(ə)rai*, as in Gk παραί *near*, Lat *prae*, Osc *prai before* Collitz 1891 BKIS 17:17, Solmsen 1911 ZVS 44:165; doubted by Walde 1900:197.

P 1959:810-18, esp 813; G Schmidt 1962: 322,324-25.

F31. *fauratani n*ja* τέρας *miracle* J 6.26.

No etymology. According to Grienberger 1900:65 *-tani* ← **tandja-* (cf *sunja-* ← **sundja-*) beside **tandjan** *kindle*, comparing proposed earlier meaning 'fiery appearance of light' with Gk τέρας *sign, miracle* beside ἀστήρ *star*; Chantraine 1968-80:1106 rejects that derivation. Other proposals even less likely, such as relation to Du *tenen*, OHG *zenen irritate, attract*, with no accepted cognates (proposed by Bugge 1899 BGDSL 24:447; cf F 1939:145-46 and W/P 1927-32 I:776 for objections and other references).

F32. *faur-dammjan wkvI (only 3sg prs pass *-jada* 2C 11.10) φράσσειν *fence in, hinder*.

OE *for-demman dam up*, OHG *far-temmit*, MHG *ver-temmen* wkv *fence in*; OI *demma*, OE *demman*, OFris *demma, damma* wkv *fence in*, derived from PGmc *damma-* in OI *dammr*, OFris *dam*, Du *dam*, MHG *tam*, gen *tammes* stm *dam*†.

Uncertain etymology. Possibly from PIE *dhē-*, as in **doms, *ga-deþs*; cf Gk θέμεθλα pl *base, foundation*, θεμέλιοι λίθοι *foundation stones*, θεμός *arrangement* [?] (see Chantraine 1968-80:428); Grienberger 1900:66, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:201-02, though proposed PIE *dhə-mnó-* yielding Gk θάμνος *thicket, bushes* (θαμά *close, often*) is rejected by Chantraine 1968-80:421 because of -α- rather than -ε-; Wood 1920-21 MP 18:84 thus loses the basis for his comparison of **dhəm-wo-*, Gk θαμύς *thick*, PGmc *damma-*. If from PIE *dhē-*, Gmc *-mm-* has no parallels elsewhere. W/P 1927-32 I:850 admit possible derivation from PIE *dheb- thick, packed* as in OSl *debelъ thick*, OI *dapr heavy, melancholy*, OHG *tapfar heavy, weighty*, following E Schröder 1898 ZDA 42:66, though not (ibid:852) from PIE *dhembh-* as in Gk θάπτω *bury*, Arm *damban grave*, as by Wijk 1909 IF 24:31-32 nor (ibid:824-25) from PIE *dhabh- fit suitably*, as in Lat *faber artisan*, Go **ga-daban** *fit*. According to Güntert 1932: 30 from a pre-IE term for rock construction; dubious.

P 1959:239.

F33. *faurhts adj*a* δειλός *fearful, afraid* Mk 4.40; *guda-faurhts* εὐλαβής *god-fearing* L 2.25; *faurhtei* f*n* δειλία, ἔκστασις *fear* L 8.50; **faurhtjan (sik)* wkvI φοβεῖσθαι *be afraid* M 16.6.

OE *forht*, OS, OHG *forht, foraht fearful*; OE *fyrhto*, OFris *fruchta*, OS, OHG *forhta* st/wkf *fear, fright*†; OE *forhtian*, OFris *fruhtia*, OHG *for(a)htan* wkv *fear*, nom pl papl (Tatian 218.1) *ar-forhte* 'consternati' *affrighted*, OE *fyrhtan* wkv *frighten*†; OE *god-fyrht*, OHG *got-forht God-fearing*†.

PIE *perg-*, possibly in TochAB *pärsk-*, A *prask-*, B *prāsk- fear*; A *praski*, B *prosko, proskye fear* (*-sk-* ← *-k-sk-*) Holthausen 1921 IF 39:65, P 1959:820. Older suggestions in W/P 1927-32 II:48-49 and F 1939:146-47 not credible.

F34. *faur-muljan wkvI (only in *ni -ljais auhsau* οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν 1C 9.9) *muzzle*.

PGmc *mūla-*, OI *mūli*, OFris *mūla* stm; MLG *mūl* stn; *mūle*, OHG *mūla* stf, *mūl* stn *mouth, muzzle*.

Probably like Gk μύλλα *lips* and related forms in Gk, from onomatopoeic *mū-* + *-l-*, Grienberger 1900:66, Chantraine 1968-80:721-22; see W/P 1927-32 II:309-10, P 1959:751-52

for other extended forms; also Schwentner 1924:24ff for *mū* as interj.

Among other derivatives, OI *mušla*, OHG *mutilōn* wkv *murmur*; MHG *mūhen* wkv *moo, bellow*; MLG *mummelen*, NE *mumble*; such words are not necessarily ascribable to PIE, but may be independent creations.

F35. *faur-stasseis *mia* προιστάμενος *superior*, only acc pl *-ssjans 1Th* 5.12; calque based on *-stass standing* + *-ja-*; cf **af-stass** and **standan**.

F36. faurþis adv πρῶτον, πρότερον *before, earlier* M 5.24; *faurþiz-ei* conj based on adv + **ei** πρίν, πρὸ τοῦ *before* M 6.8.

Like OHG *fore des before that*, a conflation of **faur** + gen of **þata**; probably a calque based on Gk πρὸ τοῦ in spite of different verbal constructions.

F37. fawai adj*a* pl *few* M 7.14, dat sg n *du -wamma* πρὸς ὀλίγον *somewhat* 1T 4.8; comp *fawizo* (only *ni -wizo* 2C 8.15) *less*.

OI *fār little, taciturn*, OE *fēa*, pl *fēawe*, OFris *fē*, OS *faho, fā*, OHG *fao, fō* (infl *fōwēr*) *little, few*†. On alternating **fauh-* : *fahw-* see Pipping 1921 SNF 12:64; Kluge 1913:65 assumes PIE *-kw-* → PGmc *-χw-* after accent : *-gw-/-w-* before accent.

PIE *pōw-, pəw- small, little*, with *-ko-*: Lat *paucus little*, OHG *fōhēr* (dat pl *fōhem* Hl 9) *few*, or this may be from **fauhwa-* (Kluge 1910 Glotta 2:56; W/H 1938-56 II:265-66); Lat *pauper* (← **pauco-parus* or **pau-paros acquiring little*) *poor* (W/H 1938-56 II:267-68); with *-ro-*: Gk παῦρος *little, minute*, Lat *parvus* (with metathesis, Thurneysen 1907 IF 21:177) *small* W/H 1938-56 II:259. W/P 1927-32 II:75-76, P 1959:842-43 also cite noun derivatives.

F38. fe rune-name in Sal.

Corresponds to OE *fe, fech, feoh* in rune alphabets; see **faihu**. Arntz 1944:171-73,188.

F39. fenea (in Anthimus, De observatione ciborum 64; Scardigli 1973:15) Go name of a barley dish (Gundermann 1906-07 ZDW 8:115-16; he adds on 133 *fingia* from Ugutio, Liber derivationum) = **finja* f *barley*.

Possibly PIE *pen- feed*, Lat *penus store of food*; Lith *pēnas nourishment*. Scarcely Skt *panasás breadfruit tree* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 209; not Gk πανός *bread* Chantraine 1968-80: 855.

P 1959:807.

F40. fera *fō* μέρος *side, limb or member of the body* Mk 8.10, κλίματα *region* G 1.21.

OHG *fera, fiara* stf *side, part* (Sievers 1892 BGDSL 16:249-50); on PGmc *ē²* cf **her** (also Feist 1907 BGDSL 32:501-02).

Various theories of origin; most likely from PIE *(s)phēyrā*, noun from *sphēy- extend*, in Skt *spáyate become fat, increase*; *sphīta- abundant*, *spirá- fat*; Lat *spēs hope* W/H 1938-56 I:573; Lith *spėti be fast enough, capable*, Latvian *spēt be able*, OSl *spěti flourish*; OE *spōwan*, OHG *spuon succeed*; also Lith *spėrus rapid, energetic* Fraenkel 1962-65:865,866, with references; W Schulze 1966:54, WP Lehmann 1952:66-73. Relationship to Skt *pārám opposite bank, goal* far less likely; this to *píparti bring over, protect*, Go **faran travel*. Similarly, Gk πείραρ, πεῖρας *limit, end*; this to PIE *per-*, Gk πείρω *pierce*. Other proposals even less likely; see F 1939:148.

P 1959:983-84.

F41. *ferja *mn* (only acc pl *-jans* L 20.20) ἐγκάθετος *spy*.

Derived from PGmc *fēra- danger* as in OI *fār* stn *harm, treachery, misfortune, anger*, OE *fær* stm, OS *fār* stn, OHG *fār* stm, *fāra, fārī* st/wkf *ambush, lurking danger*; also OI *fāra damage*, OE *færan frighten*, OS *fārōn lurk*, OHG *fārēn lie in ambush*, MHG *vā/æren* (← **fārjan*) wkv *lie in ambush, endanger*.

No certain etymology. Possibly from PIE *per-* in Gk πεῖρα, Aeol πέρρα (← *περ̥ια) *attempt*, πειράω, πειράζω *try*, also πειράτης *pirate*, based on meaning of root 'go forward, penetrate into'; then also Lat *perīculum attempt, danger, experior try, perītus experienced*. Probably not Arm *p'orj attempt*; Meillet's 1935 BSLP 36:[art]110 explanation of *p'-* through expressiveness not convincing

(Solta 1960:342-43); nor Gk ταλαί-πωρος *plagued, unlucky* (Chantraine 1968-80:962); nor OI *ferligr monstrous* (Vries 1962:118).

W/P 1927-32 II:28-38, esp 29; P 1959:818.

F42. fers CrimGo 'vir' *man*.

Origin disputed. Probably related to OI *firar*, OE *firas*, OS *firihōs* pl *human beings*, OHG *mit firahim* (dat pl Wessobr Gebet) *among human beings*; then PGmc *ferχw-ja-*; Go **fairhvus**; see Stearns 1978:135 for phonological development and recent references, F 1939:139 for older references. Not a direct equivalent of OE *ferhþ*, *ferþ mind, spirit*, as by Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:128, cf Stearns 1978:135; nor a loanword, from Hung *ferj man*, since explanation within Gmc is credible.

F43. *fetjan wkvI (only nom pl f prpl *-jandeins* 1T 2.9) κοσμεῖν *adorn*; **ga-feteins fi* καταστολή *clothing* 1T 2.9.

OI *fata find one's way*, OE *fetian fetch*†, *marry*, OFris *fatia*, OHG *fazzōn* wkv *equip, prepare*; these related to *fat-* as in OI *fat vessel, covering, dress*, OE *fæt*, OS *fat*, OHG *faz* stn *vat*†, *vessel*; lengthened vowel, as in Go *fētjan*; OI *fāta have to do with* (Cleasby/Vigfusson 1874:185), OE *fǣtels* m *vessel, pouch*, OHG *gi-vāzi* stn *vessel*; OE *fǣted adorned*.

No secure etymology; possibly derived metaphorically from PIE *ped- foot*, which has many independent formal and semantic developments in the IE dialects, Gk πέζα *foot, lower edge, hem, small fishnet* (not πέρα as in F 1939:149); also OI *fit web (of feet of waterfowl), arm*, OE *fitt section of poem or song*, OS *vittea section* (see Skt *padá foot, etc, section of verse*), OHG *fizza* stf *skein, end of thread*; other dial developments in Fraenkel 1962-65:561-63,668.

Trier 1948-49 ZDP 70:354 sought to account for Gmc developments from 'clay-smeared woven vessels', ie 'wickerwork'; possible, though not compelling. Cf semantic development in Gk πεδάω *bind with fetters* (πέδη 'fetter'), *bind fast, shackle, constrain* (Chantraine 1968-80:866-68). Fraenkel 1962-65: 563 ascribes meaning *sheaf* of Lith *pėdas* to use of foot as measure. Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:206-07 proposes meaning *fall* to PIE *pedy-* on basis of Skt *pádyate falls*, OE *ge-fetan*, OSl *pasti fall*, though these could be independent developments. Skt *pállas large granary*, scarcely related; may be from Dravidian, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:236.

P 1959:790-92.

F44. fidur- (or *fidūr-*) in *fidur-dogs* (only J 11.39) τεταρταῖος *four days* (*-dogs* under **-dags**); **fidur-falþs* adja (only n sg *-falþ* L 19.8) τετραπλοῦς *fourfold* (*-falþs* under ***ainfalþs**); **fidur-ragini* n*ja* (only dat sg *-nja* L 3. 1) *tetrarch* (see **ragin**).

OI *fjǫgur* (← **feður*) n *four*; OSw *fioþer-*, *fiæþer-* (eg *fioþer-tiugher containing forty*), OE *feoþor-*, *fyþer-* (in *fyþer-fēte four-footed*†; Kluge 1879 BGDSL 6:394[also 576]); NHG SalishF *fitter-thuschunde four thousand* (Grimm 1868:385; Helten 1900 BGDSL 25:514-15); OE *fēower-feald*, OFris *fiuwer-fald*, OHG *fier-valt four-fold*†.

PIE *k^wetwṛ-*, *k^wetur-* → PGmc *fiður-* (for *f-* see **fidwor**), Skt *catúr-aṅgas four-membered*, Av *ā-χtūirim four times* (with zero grade in first syllable); Skt *turīyas*, *turyas*, Av *tūiryō fourth* (with loss of first syllable); Gk τετρα- (in τετρά-πολις *of four cities*), Myc instr pl *qe-to-ro-po-pi four-footed animals*; with loss of first syllable attested as Gk τρα- (in τρά-πεζα *table*) and τρυ- (in τρυ-φάλεια *helmet*); Lat *quadru-* (eg in *quadru-pēs*); Umbr *petur-*; Lith *ketur-* *four-*; Av *čaþru-(gaoša-)*; Gaul *petru-*, *petur-* *four* (in *Petru-corii possessing four armies*, *petor-ritum wagon with four wheels*); Hitt *duyanatti-* *an official* ← **tuyana-*, **tu(r)ya fourth* Sommer 1949 IF 59: 205-07. Cf J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:43ff; Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:13-16,54-55; P 1959:642-44; Szemerényi 1960:79-85.

F45. fidwor τέτταρες *four* J 11.17.

CrimGo *fyder* (Stearns 1978:136 = *fidur-*), OI *fjōrir*, OE *fēower*, OFris *fiuwer*, *fiur*, OS

fi(u)war, fia/or, OHG *fior four*† (see Jansson 1936:272-87 for Gmc forms).

PGmc *χʷeθwōr-* → *fēðwōr* by analogy with *fimf- five* E Zupitza 1896:7, Persson 1912:503 fn1, Lane 1939 JEGP 38:193; this preferable to Helten 1905-06 IF 18:94ff who posits *f-* ← *χw-* under influence of following *-w-* in reflex of pre-Gmc *kʷekʷor-*; *-d-* thereupon from **fidur-**. On OI *fjōrir* ← **fioðrir* see Noreen 1923:215; sporadic loss of *-ð-* before resonants. WGmc forms probably from **kʷekʷor-* → *χwe(g)war-*, Hamp 1976 MGS 2: 1; Markey 1979 JIES 7:199-211.

PIE *kʷetwŏres, kʷetosres,* Skt *catvā́ras,* f *cátasras;* Av *čaϑwārō,* f *čatąrō;* Dor τέτορες, Att τέτταρες, Ion τέσσαρες, Aeol πεσ(σ)υρες, Hom (Lesb) πίσυρες, Myc *qe-to-ro-;* Lat *quattuor,* Osc *pettiur;* OIr *cethir,* f *cethēoir* (← **kʷetesores*); Lith *keturì* (*ja*-stem); OSl *četyre;* Arm *čork'*; TochA *štwar,* B *štwer four.* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:13-16.

P 1959:642-44.

F46. *fidwor-tigjus τεσσεράκοντα *forty* L 4.2.

CrimGo *furdei-thien* (= **furde-tin fourth ten* according to Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:132; **fiirdeithien* [?] according to Stearns 1978: 135-36, also *fourth ten*) 'quadraginta' *forty;* OI *fjōrir-tiger* (OI *-tiger* is pl of *-tigr set of ten* ← PGmc *tegus* ← PIE *deḱú-;* cf A Sturtevant 1928 JEGP 27:371-82), OE *fēower-tig,* OFris *fiuwer-tich, fior-tig,* OHG *fior-zug forty*†.

Attested forms of *-tigjus*: gen *-tigiwe* (in *þrije-tigiwe* L 3.23), dat *-tigum* (in *twaim-tigum* L 14.31; *saihs-tigum* 1T 5.9), acc *-tiguns* (in *fidwor-tiguns* Mk 1.13 etc); *u*-stem from PIE *deḱú-* as in Lat *decu-ria tenth, section,* Umbr *dequ-rier, teku-ries* 'decuriis', *teku-ias* 'decuriales' (W Schulze 1904:145-46; Meillet 1911-12 MSLP 17:293; W/H 1938-56 I: 327-29, with many references). This explanation preferable to derivation of dat *tigum* from PIE *dekṃtmis* → PGmc *tegunðmiz, tegummiz* with reference to Skt *daśát(is);* Gk δεκάς, δεκάδ-ος; Lith *dẽšimt(is);* OSl *desętь decade.*

P 1959:642-44,191-92.

F47. *figgrs *ma* (only acc pl *-grans* Mk 7.33) δάκτυλος *finger; figgra-gulþ na* (only acc sg L 15.22) δακτύλιον *ring (for finger)* (cf ***gulþ**).

OI *fingr,* OE, OFris *finger,* OS, OHG *fingar* stm *finger*†; see also OI *fingrgull,* suggesting that cmpd was formed before the Goths migrated from the Baltic (Carr 1939:276).

Etymology not fixed. Often associated with *fimf;* cf Stewart 1906 BKIS 30:238; Meillet 1896 MSLP 9:151; 1929 BSLP 29:[art]36 as PIE *peŋkró* with Arm **hinger five* (OIr *cōicer set of five persons; -er* probably ← *fer man* as in *nonbor, dechenbor set of 9, 10 persons;* Thurneysen 1946:243-44) in Arm *hinger-ord fifth* (cf Solta 1960:453). Bugge 1889 BKIS 14:79 proposed PIE *peŋkʷres;* see also Pedersen 1893 ZVS 32:272. Also from PIE *peŋkʷ-*, in zero grade PIE *pŋkʷ-*, OE *fȳst,* OHG *fūst* stf *fist*† ← PIE *pṇk-sti-*. Lith *kúmstė fist* (← *puŋk-sti-* according to Gdr 1897-1916 I:586, II.1:438; Fraenkel 1962-65:309-10 posits **punkstė* → **kùmpstė* → *kúmstė*); OSl *pęstь fist* (W/P 1927-32 II:84 raise questions on derivation, esp for Lith; P 1959:839 relates WGmc and OSl forms either to **penkʷe* or to PIE *pāk-* as in **fahan**). Grienberger 1900:67 sees comp *-ero-* as suffix and dissociates OHG *fūst.* W Schulze 1966:193 relates **figgrs* to *fāhan grab,* as did Grimm 1878:60 ('finger' = 'grabber'). Other proposals less credible, such as Loewenthal 1919 ANF 35:229 to OI *fimr rapid,* OIr *ēim quick*; these from **pey-m(i)-*, P 1959:795.

W/P 1927-32 II:25-26, P 1959:808.

F48. fijan, *fian* wkvIII (among other forms, 3sg prs *-(j)aiþ* J 12.25, 3sg prt *-jaida* R 9.13) μισεῖν *hate, -(j)ands* prpl *mnd* ἐχθρός *enemy* M 5.44; *fi(j)aþwa fō enmity* E 2.15.

OI *fjā,* OE *fēogan, fēon,* OHG *fi(j)en* wkv *hate;* OI *fjándi, fjándr* (A Sturtevant 1932 JEGP 31:249-50), OE *fēond,* OFris *fia/und,* OS *fio/und,* OHG *fi(j)and* stm *enemy;* cf NE *fiend,* OE *fēogaþ* stf *hatred.*

PIE *pēy-* as in ***faian**, *peʔ-y-, pʔy-* → *pī-*,

W Schulze 1966:49-56, esp 53; Skt *pīyati revile, pīyant- one who reviles, pīyúṣ reviler, piyāruṣ evilly disposed.* Possibly also Gk πῆμα *suffering, misfortune,* though this is disputed because word is isolated (Frisk 1960-72 II:529; Chantraine 1968-80:897; both admit relation to Av *pāman-* n, Skt *pāmán-* m *skin disease,* then to Skt *pāpman-* m *suffering* based on *pāpás evil;* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:255); also Arm *hivand weak, sick* (Gdr 1897-1916 I:403-510).

W/P 1927-32 II:8-9; P 1959:792-93.

F49. filhan stvIV (only inf M 8.22, 1T 5.25) θάψαι *bury,* κρυβῆναι *conceal;* **af-filhan* (only 2sg prt *af-falht* L 10.21) ἀποκρύπτειν *conceal;* *ana-filhan* παραδιδόναι *deliver* (1sg prt *-falh* 1C 11.2, 3pl prt *-fulhun* M 27.2; n sg papl *þata -fulhano* παράδοσις *tradition* Mk 7. 9); *ga-filhan* θάψαι *conceal, bury* J 8.59; *us-filhan* θάψαι *bury* M 27.7; *ana-filh* n*a* παράδοσις *tradition* Mk 7.3; **ga-filh* n*a* J 12.7, **us-filh* n*a* ἐνταφιασμός *burial* Mk 14.8; **fulhsni* n*ja* τὸ κρυπτόν *secret* M 6.4; in addition with grammatical change: *(ga-)fulgins* (papl with PIE *-no-*: OI *folginn*) adj κρυπτός *hidden;* ****filigri** n*ja* *den.*

OI *fela* stv *hide, conceal, fela ā hendi commend* (papl *folginn*), *fyl(g)sni* n *hiding-place,* OE *fēolan* stv *conceal, commit, befēolan conceal, entrust to,* prt pl *fulgon,* OFris *bi-fella conceal, commit,* OS *bi-felhan commit, entrust, bury,* OHG *en-phelhen commend, felahan, bi-fel(a)han* stv *transmit, entrust, bury.*

If OSw Run *fulku* (Kolunda) = **fulgum we buried* (Neckel 1909 BGDSL 34:580f), the meaning: 'bury' or even older 'cover, conceal' (Güntert 1919:64) may underlie Go. Cf also Grimm 1899:116,139 on legal symbolism in burials (E Schröder 1897 AinZDA 23:156).

Therefore PIE *pel- cover, skin* may be the source, + *k*-suffix, cf ****filleins***; OPruss *pelkis cloak* (Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:25ff; Heinertz 1927:29-46, dubious, W/P 1927-32 II:59, Seebold 1970:191-93; but approving, P 1959: 803-04; also Trier 1951:24-25, with reference to names including *Falhen Falchovarii, Ostfalen, Westfalen*).

Older suggestions listed in F 1939:151-52. Seebold 1970:191-93 is dubious about any PIE source and assumes as original meaning 'penetrate', trans 'conceal, bury'. Benveniste 1973:128-30 takes 'hide, bury' as original meaning, and explains meaning *deliver, entrust,* as of *anafilhan,* to custom described in Germania 16 of burying (entrusting) valuables in subterranean pits; this credible, but no PIE source with other reflexes from **pelk-* has yet been found.

F50. *filigri n*ja* (only dat sg *-ligrja* Mk 11.17, *-legrja* L 19.46) σπήλαιον *den.*

Based on **filhan** as *-r-ja-* formation, Uhlenbeck 1900:45; bisyllabic *pelek-*; Grienberger 1900:67-68; Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:21; on anaptyctic *i* see Gdr 1897-1916 I:821, with assumption of restructured form after ****ligrs** lair.*

Cmpd based on ****ligrs** lair* less likely; Kluge 1913:236 takes *fi-* as nominal prefix; K Johansson 1904 *F* Noreen:483 supports this, deriving *fi-* from PIE *(e)pi-*, Gk ἐπί *on,* cf ****iftuma***; W Horn 1920 EngS 54:71-72 takes *fi-* as form of **fir* : **fair-** which lost *r* through dissimilation; Holthausen 1910 WuS 2:211f, 1934b:29 hesitantly derives *fi-* from **fili-*, Hsch πέλλα· λίθος *stone;* OHG *felis* m, *felisa* f *rock;* OIr *all cliff* with haplological shortening; cf Gk ξύλοχος ← *ξυλο-λοχος *thicket.* All of these are dubious.

F51. *filleins adj*a* (only acc sg *-leina* Mk 1.6) δερμάτινος *leathern;* derived from *-fill,* cf **þruts-fill** n*a* *leprosy, *þruts-fills* adj*a* *leprous; faura-filli* n*ja* *foreskin* G 5.6.

OE *fellen,* OHG *fe/illīn* adj *leather,* derived from PGmc *fella-* like Lat *pellinus leather* from *pellis skin.* OI *-fell* in cmpds, OE, OFris, OS *fell,* OHG *fel* stn *skin* (*n*-derivation, PIE *pel-n-*); *m*-formation in OE *filmen* n, OFris *filmene membrane on the eye, foreskin;* cf NE *film.* But not OI, OE *full* n *beaker* (not 'leather beaker' in spite of Holthausen 1909 IF 25:152).

PIE *pel- skin*, Gk πέλας *skin*, ἐρυσί-πελας *inflammation of skin*, πέλμα (OE *filmen*) *sole of foot*, zero grade with *-ew-* in ἐπί-πλοος, ἐπί-πλοον (← *πλοϝο- cf Lith *plėvė̃*) *peritoneum*, Hom πέλλα *milk pail (of leather* Schrader 1890 ZVS 30:480), Hsch πελλίς· λεκάνη *dish, beaker* (according to W Schulze 1892:83-84 to Lat *pēlvis dish*, Skt *pālavī kind of vessel*) ← Gk *πηλϝια; Lat *pellis* (← **pelnis* like Go **-fill* ← **pelnom*) *skin*; Lith *plėvė̃ thin skin (on milk), plėnė̃ skin, membrane*; OSl *polz ladle*; *pelena cover*; Russ *plená, plevá thin skin*; OPruss *pleynis* (Solmsen 1905 ZVS 38:444 fn2). These from PIE *plē-* beside *pel-*; Hirt 1921-37 II:63,151, P 1959:833-34.

W/P 1927-32 II:58-59 (56-57 for vessels); P 1959:803-04.

F52. fīlu n adv noun with gen πολύς *much* M 9.14, λίαν *very*, with comp πολλῷ *by much*; also adv gen *fīlaus* with comp *very*.

OI *fjǫl-* (only in cmpds), OE *feolu, fe(a)la*, OFris *fel(o)*, OS, OHG *filu/o much, very*.

PIE *pélu-*, Skt *purú-*, Av *pauru-*, OPers *paruv-* (← **p$_e$lú-*); Gk πολύ (also from **p$_e$lú*, or according to Benveniste 1935a:54-55 from **polus*; Chantraine 1968-80:927), πολλοί (with *-lo-*, as in μεγαλο- *great*) *much, many*; OIr *il* (*hil*) *much*. PIE *pel-* also in Skt *píparti fill*; extended form *pl-e$^{?}$-, plē-* in Skt perf *pa-prā-tha*, aor *aprās*; Gk πίμπλημι *fill*, πλήθω *be full*; Lat *plēre fill*. Also Skt *prāyas* adv *for the most part*; Av *frāyah-*, superl *fraēštō much, most*; Arm *li full*. Gk comp πλείων (← *πλή-μων, but cf Chantraine 1968-80:913-14), πλέων, n πλέον, superl πλεῖστος (← *πλή-ιστος); OLat comp *pleōres* (← **plēyō-ses*, if correctly transmitted; cf Grienberger 1906 IF 19:158), Lat *plūs more* (W/H 1938-56 II:327-28); OI *fleiri more, fleistr most* (← PIE *plē-y-*); OIr *lia* (← **pleyis*) *more*, OWel *laus* (← **plēyōst-*) *quantity*. See **fulls**.

W/P 1927-32 II:63-65; P 1959:800,799; Szemerényi 1964:255-57; Watkins 1985:48.

F53. *fīlu-deisei *fn* (only dat sg *-sein* 2C 11.3, E 4.14) πανουργία *cunning*.

No acceptable etymology.

Probably, according to C Hofmann 1863 Germania 8:2, **fīlu-leisei* = *lubja-leisei*; W Schulze 1966:543 fn2, Marstrander 1927 *F* Falk:293-95, 1930 NTS 4:421, assume dissimilation of *lei-* to *dei-* (cf ***lubja-leis** and **lais**; also M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:122).

By others explained as cmpd of **fīlu** and *-deisei*. Wood 1908 MLN 23:147 relates *-deisei* to Nor dial *dīsa gaze fixedly*, which Torp 1919: 63 suggests is related to Skt *dhīṣ thought*, Av *-dī- seeing*, a root noun to Skt *dídheti see, note; appear, dhíras clever*. Further relation to Gk σῆμα *sign* doubtful (Chantraine 1968-80: 998); nor to Lith *mán diñga it seems to me* (Fraenkel 1962-65:88-89), or other proposed parallels. See also Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:106, 105,45; W/P 1927-32 I:831-32; P 1959:243. Older, rejected suggestions cited in F 1939:153.

F54. *fīlu-faihs *fa* (only nom sg *-ho* E 3.10 Cod A = *manag-falþo* Cod B) πολυποίκιλος *many-colored, manifold*.

Cmpd of **fīlu** and *-faihs* = OE *fāh*, OS, OHG *fēh*; OI *fāinn colored*, *fā* (← **faihōn*; cf Einang runic *faihido colored (wrote)*), OE *fāgian shine, vary*, OHG *fēhjan, fehen* wkv *color, adorn*; according to Trier 1951:12, also OHG *fihala* remodeled form of *fīla* stf (cf OE *fīl*, OS *fīla file*[t]) *instrument for smoothing a wall*; adorning and forming it requires leveling.

PIE root *pey-k̂-* in Skt *puru-péśas* (Go **fīlu-faihs*) *of many forms*, cmpd of *péśas form, color, piṁśáti adorn, peśalás artfully formed, adorned*; Av *paesō form, color*; OPers *ni-pištanaiy write*; Gk ποικίλος *colored*; Lith *piešiù*, inf *piẽšti draw, write*; OPruss *peisāi writes*; OSl *pьstrz colored*, inf *pьsati write*; TochA *peke tablet, painting, pek-*, B *paik-write* Fraenkel 1962-65:526-27,587. Parallel base *pey-g-*, Skt *piñjáras reddish yellow, piñgalaś, piñgas reddish brown*; Hsch πίγγαλος *lizard*; Lat *pingō paint, pictor painter*; OSl *pěgota variety*.

P 1959:794-95.

F55. fimf πέντε *five* J 6.13; PIE *pénk^{w}e*; in Gmc, *-k^{w}-* assimilated to *-p-*; E Zupitza 1896:7-8, Helten 1905-06 IF 18:84; Persson 1912:503 fn1; Lane 1939 JEGP 38:192-93. According to Sabler 1892 ZVS 31:280, basic meaning 'the five fingers of a hand', cf ***figgrs***; according to Polomé 1966 RBPH 44:229-33, 1968 *F* Kuiper:98-101, 'totality' to 'total number of fingers' to 'five'; cf also WP Lehmann 1970:1-10, and Weitenberg 1984:128-29,425.

CrimGo *fyuf*, to be read **fynf* (according to Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:363 and E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:6,12; *fyuf* defended by Loewe 1896:170 and Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30: 132; *fyuf* = *fyvf*, ie *fiff*); Stearns 1978:136 follows Massmann. OI *fimm*, OE, OFris, OS *fīf*, OHG *fimf*, *fi/unf* *five*† Gdr 1897-1916 II. 2:55, Markey 1979 JIES 7:199-211.

PIE *penk^{w}e*, Skt *páñca*; Av *panča*; Gk πέντε, Aeol πέμπε; Lat *quīnque* (*ī* ← *quīntus*; Thurneysen 1890 ZVS 30:501-02), Osc, Umbr *pompe*; Gaul *pempe-* (possibly in πομπε-δουλα 'πενταφυλλον' in Dioskurides; to be viewed with caution according to Bertoldi 1929 *F* Ascoli:502), OWel *pimp*, OIr *cōic* (for **cēic* according to Vendryès 1902 *F* Meillet:120-21; Thurneysen 1932 ZVS 59:11-12). Lith *penkì*; OSl *pętь* (← **penkti* = Skt *paṅktiṣ* *number five*, with loss of *k*; Miklosich 1888 *F* Böhtlingk: 88); Arm *hing*; Alb *pesë*; TochA *päñ*, B *piś* *five*.

Bold additional analyses, Pedersen 1893 ZVS 32:272, **pen-k^{w}e* = **pen* *thumb* + *and*; Pisani 1929 IF 47:41, **pen* = *5*, *-k^{w}e* implies *end of set*.

P 1959:808.

F56. *fimf-taihun (only dat pl *-nim* J 11.18) δεκαπέντε *fifteen*; **fimfta-taihunda* (only dat sg *-din* L 3.1) πεντεκαιδέκατος *fifteenth*; *fimf-tigjus* (only acc *-guns* J 8.57 and three other places) πεντήκοντα *fifty*. Cmpds of **fimf** + **taihun**.

OI *fim-tān*, OE *fīf-tȳne* ~ *-tēon*, OFris *fīf-tīne*, OS *fīf-tein*, OHG *finf-zehan* *fifteen*†; OI *fimtāndi*, OE *fīf-teoþa*, OFris *fīf-tuda*, OHG *finfta-zehanto* *fifteenth*†; for Go **fimfta*, OI *fimte*, OE, OFris *fīfta*, OS *fīfto*, OHG *fimto* *fifth*†; OI *fim-tigr*, OE *fīf-tig*, OFris, OS *fīf-tich*, OHG *fimf-zig* *fifty*†.

Skt *páñca-daśa*, Av *panča-dasa*, Gk πεντη(καί)-δεκα, Lat *quīn-decim*, OIr *coīca*, Wel *pym-theg*, Arm *hinge-tasan* *fifteen*.

PIE *penk^{w}-to-*; Av *puχþa* (*u* ← *a* after *tuirya* *fourth*), Gk πέμπτος, Lat *quīntus*, Lith *peñktas*, OSl *pętz*, TochA *pänt*, B *piṅkte*; with *-e-to-*, Skt *pañcathás*, OIr *cōiced*, OWel *pimphet*, Gaul *pinpetos*, Thurneysen 1927 ZCP 16:299, Alb *i pestë* *fifth*. For *-tigjus* see ***fidwor-tigjus***.

P 1959:808; Szemerényi 1960:27-44, esp 43, and also 71-76 on the rejection of PIE *pṇk^{w}tos*.

F57. *finþan stvIII γινώσκειν *recognize, learn*, prpl *-þands* Mk 15.45, 3sg prt *fanþ* J 12.9, R 10.19, 3sg prt opt *funþi* Mk 5. 43.

OI *finna*, OE *findan*, OFris *finda*, OS, OHG *findan* stv, OS *fīðan* *find*†. In addition, OE *fandian*, OS, OHG *fandōn* wkv *explore, search out*; OE *fundean*, OS *fundōn*, OHG *funden* wkv *strive, hasten*; OE *fēþe*, OS *fāthi* n *going*; OE *fēþa* m *troop*, OHG *fend(e)o* m (← **fandja-*) *pedestrian*; OI *fundr* m *meeting*.

On semantic development see Russ *naj-ti* *find* beside *it-ti* *go*; Lat *in-veniō* *find* beside *veniō* *come* Sütterlin 1894 BGDSL 18:261; Herbig 1916 ZVS 47:219 fn1; Moorhouse 1941 ClassQ 35:93; Hamp 1974 Lingua 34:229-34.

PIE *pent-* *go, note, find*, Skt *pánthās* *path*, *pathyā* *way*, *pathyas* *helpful*; Av *pantå* *path*; Gk πόντος *sea* (ὑγρὰ κέλευθα *salty path* in Homer), zero grade πάτος *path, stride*; Lat *pons* *bridge*; OPruss *pintis* *way*; also OSl *pęta* *heel*, *pątь* *way*; Arm *hun* *ford*.

Possibly OIr *āit* (← **pōthni-*, Pedersen 1909-13 I:161, see Vendryès 1959-:A-52) *way*; not Gk ἀπάτη *deception* from 'no way', Chantraine 1968-80:95.

P 1959:808-09; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:210-11; but see also Seebold 1970:193-94.

F58. *fisks ma (only in pl) ἰχθύς *fish* L 9.13; **fiskja* mja (only nom pl *-jans* L 5.2, Mk 1.16) ἁλιεύς *fisherman*; *fiskon* (only L 5.4) wkvII *fish*.

CrimGo **fisc* (this correct for erroneously printed *fisct* according to E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:14; cf Stearns 1978:135), Run (Eggjum) *fiskz*, OI *fiskr*, OE *fisc*, OFris, OS *fisk*, OHG *fisc* stm *fish*†; OS, OHG *fiskōn* wkv *fish*†; MHG *vischīn* adj *fishy*.

Late NorthIE *peysk-*, Lat *piscis* (*i*-stem), *piscāri* (from *ā*-stem) *fish*, *piscīna (lacus) fish-(pond)*; OIr *īasc*, gen *ēisc* beside *esc* (← **pisco-*) *water* Wood 1900 MLN 15:48; Pokorny 1927 ZVS 54:307; Russ *piskarь gudgeon* Vasmer/Trubačev 1964-73 III:267.

Further IE relationship doubtful; Pokorny's suggestion above accepted by W/H 1938-56 II:310, **peysk- fish = water animal*; other proposals unrealistic, F 1939:155, including Seebold 1985 *F* Knobloch:446-47 with a general hypothesis on the source of words for 'fish' in the IE dialects. See also Winter 1982 JIES 10:167-82 and Mallory 1983 JIES 11:263-79, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:536,943.

P 1959:796.

F59. *fitan stvV[?] (1sg prs *fita* G 4.19, nom sg f prpl *so -ndei* G 4.27) ὠδίνειν *be in labor, give birth to*. Further relationships doubtful.

Dan dial (Jutland) *fitte cunt* Gering 1920 ZDP 48:303, but doubted by Holthausen 1924 AinZDA 43:147, who relates it to NFris *fitte watering-place*, Gk πίδαξ *source*; but see Chantraine 1968-80:899, Vries 1962:116. Also OE *fitt* (*on fitte* hapax in Caedmon) *battle*, OFris *fits biting*, OHG *fizzus sly*; basic meaning 'pull hard'.

Late NorthIE *pid-* ([?] only in Gmc and Celt), OIr *idu*, gen *idan*, nom pl *idain birth pains, pains* (Feist 1891 BGDSL 15:547) ← **(p)idōn*, gen *(p)idenes*, Stokes 1894:46; but see Schindler 1976 ZVS 89:60. Older, unlikely proposals in F 1939:155-56.

P 1959:830.

F60. *flahta f (or **flahto*[?] only dat pl *-tom* πλέγμασιν 1T 2.9) *braid*.

OI *flētta*, MHG *vlehte* st/wkf *braid*; OI *flētta*, OE *fleohtan*, OHG *flehtan* stv *braid*; OE *fleohta* m *hurdle*, LG (Westfalian) *flahte sideboard on wagon* (Holthausen 1922 AinZDA 41:13); OE *fleax* (*es*-stem) stn, OHG *flahs* stm *flax*† (with derivational *s*[?]).

PIE *plek-t-*, Gk πλεκτή πλεκτός *net, rope*, with *t*-suffix like Lat *plectō*, OSl *pletǫ* (if from **plektō*, Gdr 1897-1916 I:585); not from **plek̑tō* (according to Uhlenbeck 1894 BGDSL 19:519) *braid*; without *-t-* in Skt *praśnas weaving, turban, basket*; Gk πλέκω *weave, braid*, πλοκή *braiding*, πλόκος, πλόκαμος, πλοχμός (← **ploksmos*) *braid of hair*, πλέκος n *something woven*; Lat *plicō* (for **pleco* in cmpds *complicō, im-plicō involve, ex-plicō unfold*; Osthoff 1881:2-3 fn3) *fold together*.

P 1959:834-35.

F61. *flauts adja (only nom pl *-tai* G 5.26) κενόδοξος *vainglorious*; **flautjan* wkvI (only 3sg prs *flauteiþ* 1C 13.4) περπερεύεσθαι *boast*.

OHG *flaoz-lihho* adv *proud*; *flōzzan, flaozzan* wkv *show pride*.

No accepted etymology.

Holthausen 1898 AinZDA 24:34 (though not 1934b:30) related Lat *plaudō applaud, strike*; this, in spite of Thurneysen 1887 ZVS 28:157. W/H 1938-56 II:319 take *plaudō* as *d*-prs to PIE *plaw- strike*; relationship considered questionable by W/P 1927-32 II:100; P 1959:838. Lith *plóju strike* unrelated to Gmc or Lat. Grienberger 1900:70 proposes relationship with OI *fljōta*, OE *flēotan*, OS *fliotan*, OHG *fliozan* stv *flow*†, OHG *flaoz, flōz* stm *flood* (Lith *plūsti stream, flood*); these from PIE *plew-d- flow*. No evidence available for supporting metaphorical derivation from any PIE source.

P 1959:837.

F62. flodus *fu*[?] (only L 6.49) ποταμός *stream*.

OE Run (Clermont) *flodu*, OI *flōð* stn, OE

flōd stm/n, OFris, OS *flōd*, OHG *flōt*, *fluot* stm *flood*†; MHG *flōder*, MDu *vlūder* stn *millrace*; OI *flōa*, OE *flōwan* *overflow*; OHG *flouwen* (← **flawjan*, Skt *plāvayati*) wkv *flush*. Root extension *-ē* in PIE *plē-*, MHG *vlæjen* wkv *flush* (cf Gk πλήμυρα *flood*). OI *fley* (Gk πλοῖον) stn *ship*; OHG *phlied*, *fliot* stm/n *resin*, *flūdar* *raft* (OHG Gl I.290); + *-d-* in OI *fljōta*, OE *flēotan*, OS *fliotan*, OHG *fliozan* stv *flow*.

Go *flodus* with PIE *-tu-* from PIE *plō/ē-* in Hom δακρυπλώειν *shed tears*, πλώω *navigate*, πλωτός *swimming*. -- Lat *plōrāre* *weep* not related, W/H 1938-56 II:323-24. Further, PIE *plew-* in Skt *plavati*, *plávate* *float*, *plāvayati* *cause to swim*, *plavás* *boat*, *plutás* *floated*; Gk πλοῖον *boat*, *vehicle*, πλυτός *washed*; πλέϝω *float*, *swim*; ᵓOLat *per-plovere* (Paulus/Festus) *leak*, Lat *pluor* (← **plovōr*), *pluere* *rain*; OIr prt *luis* *he moved*, *luud* *impulse*, *lūath* *quick*, gen pl *luae* *steering oar*; Lith *pláuju* *rinse*; OSl *plovǫ* *flow*, *swim*; TochB *plu-* *float*, *hover*, *plewe* *ship* (Russ *plov* *ship*). Finn *luode* *flood* borrowed from Gmc, Thomsen 1870:152.

P 1959:798-801 *pel-*, 835-37 *plew-*.

F63. *flokan stvVII (only 3pl prt *faiflokun* L 8.52) κόπτεσθαι *bewail*.

OE *flōcan* stv *strike* (Holthausen 1934a: 109); MDu *vloeken*, OHG *fluohhōn* wkv *curse*, OI *flōkinn* *distraught*, OFris *ur-flōkin*, OS *far-flōcan*, OHG *far-fluahhan* *cursed*.

PIE *plāg-*, *plex-g-*, Gk πλᾱγά́, Ion πληγή *blow*, πλαγῆναι, πλάζω (← *πλαγγ̯ω, nasalized like Lat *plangō* *bewail*) *make to roam*, *mislead*; Lat *plāga* *blow* borrowed from Gk. Also PIE *plāk-*, *plex-k-*, Gk πλήσσω (← *πλᾱκ̯ω) *strike*; Lith *plàkti* *strike*, *plõkis* *a blow with a rod*; OSl *plakati sę* *weep*, *sorrow*; possibly (personal communication of Thurneysen, F 1939:157) MIr *lēn* (← **plakno-*) *lamentation*; but *lēssaim* *strike vehemently* is from **plangsō* (Stokes 1908 IF 22:336). Moreover, PIE *ple?-k/g-*, Lat *plectō* *strike*, *punish*; Lith *plíekti* *strike*; (Fraenkel 1962-65: 614,610-11 on *plėgà* *thrashing*, which is borrowed from Sl; further, 602-03 on *plàkti*, where Fraenkel interprets πλήσσω as a back formation from aor πλῆξαι and not from **plāk-*. Origin in *-k-* maintained however by Chantraine 1968-80:917).

PIE *pel-* *spread out*, *make to spread out* possibly the basis for the extended forms; cf OE *feld* ← **pel-to-m* *field*† P 1959:805-07,833-34. But Seebold 1970:205-06 takes PIE *pel-* *thrust* as source; P 1959:801-03.

F64. *fodjan wkvI τρέφειν *nourish* M 6.26; **fodeins* *fi/ō* τροφή M 6.25; **us-fodeins* (only acc sg *-dein* 1T 6.8) διατροφή *nourishment*.

OI *føða*, OE *fēdan*, OFris *fēda*, OS *fōdian*, OHG *fuottan* wkv *nourish*, *feed*†; OE *fōda* m *nourishment*, *food*†; OI *fōstr* n, OE *fōstur* n (← PIE *pāt-tro-*) *support*, *fostering*†, *upbringing*, OHG *fatunga* f *feeding*, *kạ-vatōt* *fed*.

PIE *pā-*, *pex-* + *-tro-*: OI *fōðr* n, OE *fōþor*, *fōdor* n, MDu *voeder*, MLG *vōder*, OHG *fuoter* stn *food*, *nourishment* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:340-44; Kluge 1926:49-50). PIE *pā-*, *pex-* *herd cattle* to *feed*, *nourish*: Lat *pāscō* *feed*, *pā-s-tor* *shepherd*, *pānis* *bread*, *pā-bulum* *food*; Messapotamian πανός *bread*, a borrowing (Chantraine 1968-80:855; see also W/H 1938-56 II:246-47); OIr *ain-ches* (*-chis* ← Lat *cista*) *bread-basket*, according to Stokes 1894:12; not related according to Vendryès 1959-:A-35-36; OSl *pasti* *graze*; Hitt *pahhsi* *protect*, *guard*; TochB *pāsk-*, A *pās-* *protect*. + *-t-*: Gk πατέομαι *eat*, *devour*; ἄ-παστος *unfed*. Probably not OIr *ās* (← **pāt-to-* according to Strachan 1893 IF 2:370), *āsaim* *grow* Vendryès 1959-:A-92-93.

A further PIE root *pō-*, *peγ-*, + *y-* *herd cattle*, *protect*: Skt *pâti*, Av *pāiti* *protect*, Gk πῶυ *herd*, ποιμήν *shepherd*, Go *fodr* *sheath*, Arm *hoviv* (← **owi-pā-*) *herdsman* W/P 1927-32 II:72, P 1959:839. Not related according to Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:278 PIE *pitu-*, *peytu-* as in Skt *pitúṣ*, Av *pitu-* *juice*, *drink*,

nourishment; Oss *fid, fyd* ***meat***; Lith *piẽtūs* ***noon meal***; OSl *pitati, pitěti* ***nourish***; OIr *ithid* ***eats***, *ith* ***grain***, but rather from an isolated PIE noun. These related by some to Skt *pītu-dāru-* ***pine***, Gk πίτυς ***fir***; Lat *pīnus* ***pine*** rejected by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:293; also an isolated noun; cf now P Friedrich 1970:31-38 on conifer names, who hesitantly accepts late PIE *pitu-*.

Older references in F 1939:157; W/P 1927-32 II:72-75, P 1959:787,793-94,839.

F65. fodr *na* (only acc sg J 18.11) θήκη ***sheath***.

OI *fōðr* ***lining of clothes***, OE *fōþer, fōdor* ***covering***, MLG *vōder*, OHG *(fedar-) fōtar* (OHG Gl I.24,22), *fuotar* stn ***lining, covering***; OHG *fuodar* n, MLG *vōder* stn ***(cart) load*** from 'what is enclosed'.

From PIE *pō(y)-, peγ-y-* ***guard, protect***, also with PIE *-tro-*, Skt *pā́tram* ***receptacle***, Av *pāθra-vant-* ***providing protection***; possibly Hitt *pattar* ***basket***; TochB *pātro-* ***vessel for alms***; also possibly Arm *hawran* ***herd*** (if from **pā-tro-*; Lidén 1906:26; Solta 1960:173-74 doubtful). PIE *pō(y)-* also in Skt *pā́ti*, Av *pāiti* ***protect***, Skt *paśu-pā-* ***cowherd***, *pāyúṣ* ***protecting*** (not *pā́tālam* ***underworld*** Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:250-51); Gk πῶυ ***herd***, πῶμα ***cover***, ποιμήν ***shepherd***; Lith *piemuõ* ***shepherd*** (but cf Fraenkel 1962-65:585); Arm *hoviv* (← **owi-pā-*; cf ***fodjan**); Gk ποίμνη ***herd***, Av *pāeman-* ***mother's milk***, same *-mn-* as in OE *fæmne*, OFris *fāmne, fēmne* (Helten 1889 BGDSL 14: 245-46), possibly OI *feima*, Vries 1962:115, OS *fēmea* ***virgin, young woman*** ← PIE *poymnyā* ***protectress*** (J Schmidt 1895:136-37,104-05; Pedersen 1930 *F* Jespersen:64ff), cf Gk βουκόλος ***cowherd***, Bret ***bugel child, boy, girl***. For relationship to PIE *pā-*, cf ***fodjan**; on *ā* : *ō* ablaut, cf Meillet 1929 BSLP 29:[rev]62; see Trier 1947 ZSSR 65:236-38 on PIE *pōt-* also in **fadar**.

P 1959:839.

F66. fon *nr/n* → *n* (gen *funins*, dat *funin*) πῦρ ***fire*** M 7.19; ***funisks*** adj*a* πεπυρωμένος ***fiery*** E 6.16.

OI *funi* m ***fire***. Also (poetic) OI *fūrr, fȳrr* stm (nom *s* by analogy), OE *fȳr* (← ***fūir*[?]) OFris, OS, OHG *fiur* stn ***fire***†. Forms completely remodeled in Gmc.

PIE nom/acc *paxur*, gen *pəxwen-*, Hitt *pahhuŷar*, gen *pahhuenas*, dat/loc *pahhueni*, ablative *pahhuenaz*, inst *pahhuenit*; *-e/axu-* contracted in Gmc to high rounded vowel [y:] or [u:], as in OI *fȳrr*, Go *funi-* ***fire***, with restructuring of paradigm; cf **wato**. Restructuring also in other dialects; Gk πῦρ, gen πυρός; Umbr *pir* ***fire***, acc *purom-e* ***into the fire***; Arm *hur*, gen *hroy* ***torch***; TochA *por*, B *puwar, pwār* ***fire***; Cz *pýř* ***glowing coals*** (from Gmc according to Bartholomae 1916 BGDSL 41:294).

Also with *-k-*, OHG *funcho* m, ME *fonke*, MLG *vunke* f; MHG *vanke* wkm ***spark*** (Brugmann 1898 IF 9:352; scarcely to Skt *pājas* ***face***, as in E Zupitza 1896:162). Gk πᾶνός m ***torch*** also dubious; of unknown etymology, Chantraine 1968-80:855. OPruss *panno* ***fire*** also obscure. Attempts to relate **fani** not cogent. For earlier proposals preceding evidence from Hitt see F 1939:158-59. Old proposal to relate PIE *pew-x-* ***purify***, as in Skt *punā́ti* ***purify***, *pūtás* ***purified***, approved by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:306 though rejected in F 1939:158-59; rejected also by Benveniste 1935a: 169 since base for 'fire' must be PIE *pex-w-*.

W/P 1927-32 II:13-15; P 1959:827-28; Benveniste 1935a:169 posits PIE *péə$_2$-w-r* → *péə$_2$ur* (= *péxur*), as does Kuryłowicz 1927 *F* Rozwadowski I:102.

F67. fotu-baurd *na* ὑποπόδιον ***footstool*** M 5.35.

OI *fōt-borð* *na* ***footboard***†; presence of cmpd in OI indicates PGmc origin, Carr 1939: 276.

Cmpd of *fotu-* (see **fotus**) and *-baurd* = OI *borð*, OE, OFris, OS *bord*, MLG *bort* stn ***board***†, ***table***. Cf OE cmpd *fōt-bred* n ***stirrup***, and OE, OS *bred*, MLG *bret*, MDu *bert*, OHG *bret* stn ***board***. OHG *britir* and derivative *britissa* f ***lattice*** (Kluge 1901 ZDW 1:341), NHG *Pritsche* ***iron bed*** point to PGmc *es*-stem *bredaz*.

PIE *bhṛdho-*, Skt *bardha-kas* *carpenter*, adj *cutting* (but Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:157 assumes Skt *vardh-* *cut*, with unclear etymology, in spite of W/P II:174 and P 1959:138); Gk πέρθω *destroy*; *-dh*-extension of PIE *bher-* *cut, split* as in Lat *ferīō* *strike*, *forō* *bore*, OI *berja* *strike* (W/P 1927-32 II:159-61; P 1959:133-35; WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18:126; not accepted by F 1939:159 in spite of many proponents). Yet Lat *forceps* *forceps*, *forfex* *tongs, scissors* not related (W/H 1938-56 I:526-27).

Different root **bher-* *edge, tip* in OI *borš* n *edge, side of ship*, OE *bord* n *side of ship*, OS *bord*, OHG *bort* stm *edge, side of ship*, cf NE *starboard*, (W/P 1927-32 II:162-64). For other earlier proposals see F 1939:159.

F68. fotus mu πούς *foot* Mk 9.45.

OI *fōtr*, OE, OFris, OS *fōt*, OHG *fuoz* stm, OE dat sg *fēt* ← **fōti* *foot*†; OI nom pl *føtr*, OE *fēt* ← **fōtiz* *feet*†; OI *fet* (← PGmc *fatja-*) stn *stride*, *feta leiš* *find the way*, OE *fetan* wkv *fall*.

PIE *pōts*, Skt *pā́t*, Dor πώς *foot*; also Skt *pādúṣ* *foot*[?], only RV 10.27.24, A Mansion 1931 BSLP 31:[art]54; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:254, who reviews proposals on relation to *fotus*, prefers derivation of this from root noun, acc PIE *pōd-ṃ*, as in Specht 1944:82, in spite of F 1939:159-60; other Gmc dialects point to root noun, as in OE *fēt*.

PIE consonant stem in Skt *pā́t*, acc *pā́dam*; Av *pad-*; Att πούς, gen ποδός; Lat *pēs*, gen *pĕdis*, Arm *otn*, pl *otk'*; TochA *päts*, B *ptsa*, Bonfante 1980 BSLP 75:[art]183-87; Hitt *pata-*, Luw *pati-* *foot*; *o*-stem in Skt *padám* *step, position, foot*, Av *paδəm* *step*; Gk πέδον *ground, basis*, πέδη *fetter*; Lat *peda* *footprint*; Umbr *pĕrum* adv ← acc sg *downward*, MIr *ined* (← **eni-pedo-*) *footprint, place*; Lith *pėdà* *footstep*, *pãdas* *sole of foot/shoe*; though rejected by Winter 1978:439-40; like OSl *pods* *ground*; Arm *het* *track*; Hitt *pedan* n *place*.

From old form with *-h*, PIE *pedeh, pedā* in Gk, Lesb πεδά *to, with* (prep with gen; cf Lat *peda* f; acc pl n according to Meillet 1931 BSLP 31:[art]42ff); *-yo*-derivative in Skt *padya-* *belonging to the foot*, *padyā* f *footstep*, Av *paidyā*, Gk πέζα f *foot*, πεζός *pedestrian*; Lat *acu-pedius* *swift-footed*, Lith *lengva-pėdis* *light-footed*.

Denom verb Skt *pádyate* *falls, perishes*; Av *paiδyeiti* *move downward*; OSl *pasti* *fall*; OE *ge-fetan* *fall* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:206-07 points out the characteristic meaning common to these verbs, which suggests a PIE formation).

Besides the ablauting PIE *pe/od-*, *pē/ōd-* zero grade *pd-* is found in Skt *upa-bd-ás* *trampling*; Av *bi-bd-a-* *double fetter* (J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:55), *fra-bd-a-* *forefoot*, *a-bda-* *place one cannot step on*; Gk ἔπι-βδ-α *day after festival*.

W/P 1927-32 II:23-25; P 1959:790-92.

F69. fra- inseparable ptc *for-*, as in **fra-bairan** *endure*, NE *forbear* *abstain from*, and many Go cmpds.

WGmc *fra-* (in OE *fra-cuþ* *bad*, OHG *fra-bald* *bold*), OI, OE, OFris, OS *for-*, OHG *fir-*, *far-*, NHG *ver-*. Cf **fair-**.

PIE *pro* *forward, ahead, away*, Skt *prá-*, *pra-*; Av, OPers *fra-*; Gk πρό-; Lat *prŏ*, Osc *pru-*, Umbr *pro-*, *pru-*; Lith *pra-*, OPruss *pra-*, *pro-*; OSl *pro-* with basic meaning as in PIE and subsequent transferred meanings, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:873-75; G Schmidt 1962:327. OIr *ro-* intensive and prt prefix, Thurneysen 1904 ZVS 37:52ff, Vendryès 1959-:R-35-36. Hitt *parā* adv *forward*, *further* (Albrecht Götze and Pedersen 1934:63).

W/P 1927-32 II:35-38, P 1959:813-14.

F70. *fragan stvVI (only 2pl imp *izwis silbans -giþ* ἑαυτοὺς πειράζετε 2C 13.5B; in Cod A *fraisiþ*) *test*; **fragjan* also possible, Grienberger 1900:72.

If correctly transmitted, PIE *perek-* as in **fraihnan**; for formation cf Lith *prašýti*, OSl *prositi* *request*.

F71. *fra-gifts *fi* (acc sg *-gift* Sk 3.19 / IIIc.21 *gift*; dat pl *in -giftim* L 2.5 beside *-bt-*, an error for *-ft-*, A Sturtevant 1931 GR 6:

68, μεμνηστευμένη *betrothed*) *gift, grant, betrothal.*

OHG *vir-gift* stf *poison, poisoning*; simplex, OI *gift, gipt*, OE *gift, gyft*, OFris *ieft*, OS, OHG *gift* stf 'datio', *gift*†; see **giban**. On the use in L 2.5, W Schulze 1966:61 states that the young woman was given away; further, according to Hermann 1918 NGWG 1918:221, from the hand of the father into the charge of the bridegroom. Cf Gk φερνή *dowry* beside φέρω *bear, bring.*

F72. *fra-gildan stvIII (1sg prs *-da* L 19.8, R 12.19, 3sg prs opt pass *-daidau* R 11.35) ἀποδίδοναι *repay, restore*; *us-gildan repay* L 14.14, n papl *-guldan* ἀνταπόδομα *repayment* L 14.12; **gild** n*a*, ***gilstr** n*a* φόρος *tribute, tax.*

OSw *gialla* (**gialþa* = PGmc *gelþan*) *pay, repay*; OI *gjalda*, OE *gieldan, gyldan*, OFris *gelda*, OS *galdan*, OHG *geltan* (← PGmc *gelðan*) stv *restore, pay, repay.*

No direct cognates in other dialects. If from PIE, origin in **ghel-t-*; OSl *žlĕsti repay, pay* may be from same root with *dh*-extension, or a borrowing from Gmc (Stender-Petersen 1927:325). Other proposals erroneous; not related to OIr *gell surety, gellaim give a surety, promise*, which is from **ghistlo-*, and cognate with OIr *giall*, Wel *gwystl*, cf Gaul PeN *Congeistlus*; OI *gīsl*, OHG *gīsal* stm *hostage* derived from earlier form of this; also cognate, Lith *geĩsti desire*, OHG *gīt* stm *greed* (P 1959:426-27). Other proposed relationships cited in F 1939:161 quite wrong because of uncertain etymologies for them, Skt *haṭṭa- market* (uncertain origin, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:572), Skt *ghaṭate strive* (unexplained, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:355), Gk τέλθος *debt* (remodeled from τέλος *payment* Chantraine 1968-80:1102).

P 1959:436.

F73. *fra-hinþan stvIII (nom pl m prpl *-þandans* 2C 10.5, acc pl n papl *-þana* 2T 3.6) αἰχμαλωτίζειν *take captive*; **miþ-fra-hinþan* (only papl *sa -þana* ὁ συναιχμαλωτός Col 4.40, Phil 23) *fellow-prisoner*; **us-hinþan* (only 3sg prt *-hanþ* E 4.8) αἰχμαλωτεύειν *make prisoner of war*; ***hunþs** m*a* αἰχμαλωσία *body of captives.*

Like OSw *hinna, hanna reach*, OE *hūþ* f *booty*, OHG *heri-hunda* f *war-booty* from pre-Gmc *kent-*; from pre-Gmc *kend-* (or based on gemination according to Noreen 1894:164) OE *hentan pursue, huntian* wkv *hunt*†, *hunta* m *hunter*†.

Without accepted etymology. Wiedemann 1902 BKIS 27:196-97, following Grimm 1878:35, compares **handus** and further PIE *kenstrive*; not followed in P 1959:564. W/P 1927-32 I:398-99 dismiss proposed cognates, hesitantly deriving *-hinþan* and *handus* from PIE *kom with*, I:458-60 following Blankenstein 1907 IF 21:99-115 who proposes PIE *ḱemgrasp*, as also in **taihun** = *two handfuls*; not maintained in P 1959:612-13 or F 1939:161, who also lists other proposals.

F74. fraihnan stvV ἐρωτᾶν, πυνθάνεσθαι *question* (1sg prs *-hna* L 6.9, 3sg prt *frah* M 27.11, 3pl prt *frehun* M 7.5, papl *-hans* L 17.20); **ga-fraihnan* ἐπερωτᾶν *inquire, ask* R 10.20. Only prs has *-ne/o-*; on prs formation with root accent and thematic vowel see Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:98ff, Persson 1912:560.

OI *fregna* (PIE *nā-* prs with suffix accent according to Meillet op cit; Marstrander 1929 NTS 2:103ff, however, assumes PGmc new formation **frignan*), OE *frignan* stv, Northumbrian *fricgan ask*; *fregna, fregen* m *question* (Förster 1906 EngS 36:325); papl *gefrigen, ge-frugen*; OS prt *fragn*, pl *frugnun asked, gi-fregnan experienced*; OE *fricea* m *herald* (Skt *praśnin- questioner* Kluge 1888 *F* Böhtlingk:60); PGmc *frehti-* in OI *frētt* f *question*, OE *freht* f *prediction*; verbal stem *frēg-* in OHG *frāga* f *question*; OS *frāgōn*; OHG *frāgēn, frāhēn* wkv *ask*; OI *frægr*, OE *ge-frǣge*, OS *gi-frāgi famous*; OS, OHG *fergōn* wkv *demand*; OHG *forscōn* wkv, based on *forsca* stf, *investigate*; inst *fraganu* (Skt *praśnás question*) 'ad interrogatione', Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 I:10,25.

From PIE *per-k̂-, pr-ek̂-*, possibly an extension of PIE *per- take across* (W/P 1927-32 II: 39-40); widely distributed as *-sk̂*-present, in contrast with *-n*-suffix in Gmc. Both suffixes have terminative force, and are linked by Delbrück 1893-1900 III:59-61,40-52. Marstrander's 1929 NTS 2:105 proposal of PGmc prs **forskan* to prt *frah*, then unnecessary. Skt *pṛcchắti*, Av *pərəsaiti asks*, OPers *aparsam I asked*; Lat *poscit* (← **porc-sc-it*) *asks, requests*; OIr *arco ask* (Vendryès 1959-:A-86), Wel *archaf I request*; without *-sk̂*-extension Lith *prašýti*; OSl *prositi*; TochA *pärk-, prak-*, B *prek- request*. Skt *pṛcchắ*, Arm *harç*, OIr *immchom-arc* (*-arc* ← **parsc*), OHG *forsca* stf *question*; with verbal derivatives, Arm *harçanem*, OHG *forscōn* wkv *ask*. Lith *pĩršti woo* (Fraenkel 1962-65:598-99,647).

Also Skt *praśnás*, Av *frašnō question*; Arm *harsn bride* (Solta 1960:172-73). Further, Lat *procus wooer, prex request, precor ask for*. Not Gk θεο-πρόπος *soothsayer* Chantraine 1968-80:429.

Base notable for further derivatives in individual dialects. W/P 1927-32 II:44; P 1959: 821; Seebold 1970:210-12.

F75. *fraisan stvVII (3sg prs *-siþ* Mk 12.15, papl *-sans* L 4.2); **us-fraisan* (only 3sg prt opt *-faifraisi* 1Th 3.5) πειράζειν *tempt*; **fraistubni* fio πειρασμός *temptation* L 8.13 (to a verb **fraistan*, cf OI *freista tempt*).

OFris *frēs*, OS *frēsa*, OHG *freisa* st/wkf *danger*; OE *frāsian question, tempt*, OS *frēsōn bring into danger, temptation*, OHG *freisōn be in danger*, MHG *vreisen* wkv *bring into danger*; with *-t-*, MHG *vreist* stf *danger*; OI *freista* wkv *tempt*.

Etymology obscure. Possibly a cmpd **fraisan*, cf OI *eisa plunge ahead*; Skt *íṣate hastens, iṣṇắti, íṣyati sets in motion, iṣirá-vigorous*, Gk ἰαρός, Att ἱερός *powerful* (Gdr 1897-1916 I:925; also Wood 1901 MLN 16:310; P 1959:299 on PIE *eys- move vigorously*) or + PIE *ays- desire* as in Skt *icchắti*, Av *isaiti seek for*, OE *āskian*, OHG *eiscōn ask*†; Lith *ieškoti*, OSl *iskati seek*, (though not to Gk ἵμερος *yearning*; Chantraine 1968-80:464), O Hoffmann 1903 *F* Fick:38. Even less likely, from PIE *per- + ey-*, Bugge 1899 BGDSL 24:435f, Hirt 1900:121; Gk πεῖρα *attempt*; Lat *experior test*, ***ferja** *spy* W/P 1927-32 II:28-29; P 1959: 818, Seebold 1970:207.

F76. fraiw na σπόρος, σπέρμα *seed* J 8. 33.

OI *frē, frjō* stn *seed*, adj *frēr, frjōr fruitful* (← **fraiwja-*).

Etymologically difficult. Possibly from PIE *sproywo-* without *s-*; PIE *(s)p(h)er-, sprey-, sprew- strew, sow*; Gk σπείρω *strew, sow*, σπέρμα *seed*, σπορά, σπόρος *sowing, seed* L Meyer 1859 ZVS 8:248; PGmc *sprēwēn* in Dan dial *spraae unfold (of buds)*, Sw dial *språ sprout* (cf also W/P 1927-32 II:670-72; P 1959: 993-95). Also from PIE *sprew-*, OHG *spriu*, gen *spriuwes* stn *chaff*; from *sprew-d-*, **sprauto** *quick*; MHG *spriezen sprout*†. The presence of numerous words without movable *s-* in Gmc adds support to this etymology, OE *fām*, OHG *feim* stm, Lat *spūma foam*†; Go ***maitan** *cut*, OHG *smeidar artist*; ***neþla** *needle*†, Skt *snāvan- sinew*† (Gdr 1897-1916 I:725-27).

Other proposals are less likely. Bugge 1899 BGDSL 24:457 compared Lat *pariō bring forth, give birth*. Osthoff 1895 BGDSL 20:95-96 posited PIE *pro-iwom* from *ey- go*, as in **iddja**; also Grienberger 1900:73. Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:43-44 associated PGmc *fraigwa-* with Lat *praegnans pregnant*, adducing also OE *fersc*, OHG *frisk fresh*†, *friscing* stm *animal for sacrifice*, MHG *vrisch(l)inc* stm *young wild pig*; Lith *prẽskas sweet, unleavened*; OSl *-prěsnz, o-prěsnzkz unleavened*; rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:354. Petersson 1917:50 assumes an extension *prey-* from PIE *per- sprinkle, spray*, as in Gk πέρκη *bass*, OHG *forhana trout*, with suffix *-wo-* meaning *sprayed out*. These last dubious.

F77. *fra-liusan stvII (3sg prs *-liusiþ* L 15.8, 1sg prt *-laus* L 15.9, papl *-lusans* L 15.24) ἀπολέσαι *lose*, *fra-lusnan*

wkvIV ἀπόλλυσθαι *be lost, perish* 1C 1.18, *fralusts* fi ἀπώλεια *loss* Ph 3.19, ὄλεθρος *destruction*; **laus** adj*a* κενός *free, empty* and cmpds, *lausjan* wkvI λύεσθαι *loose*†, *free* and cmpds (Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:316 proposed origin for *-s-* in a former aor; *-lusum*, Gk ἐ-λύσ-αμεν; more likely from *-s-* which was adapted for the aor in some dialects; cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:336-343, with reference to **fra-liusan* on 343); without *-s-*, **lun** n[?] λύτρον *ransom*, **us-luneins* fi*/ō salvation*.

OE *for-lēosan*, OFris *ur-liasa*, OS, OHG *far-liosan* stv *lose*†; OE *los/r* n *loss*† (*tō lore weorþan perish*), *for-lor*, OS, OHG *far-lor* stm *loss, downfall*, cf NE *forlorn*; OI *ætt-lera* (← **-luzan*) *degenerate*, *losna* wkv *get free*; OS *far-lust*, OHG *for-lust* stf *loss*; without *-s-*, OI *lýja* wkv *beat, wear out*; Nor dial *lua unwind*; OI *lūi weariness*, *lūinn worn, exhausted*, OE *ā-lynnan*, *ā-linian* wkv *free* (with *-n-* like *lun*, **usluneins*).

PIE *lew- separate, free*, Skt *lunâti*, *lunóti cuts*, *lūnás* (Go *lun*) *cut off*, *lavítram*, *laviṣ sickle*, Gk λαῖον, OI, MLG *lē* m *sickle* (Bugge 1872 ZVS 20:10); Skt *lavas cutting, fleece, wool*, *lūniṣ* (unattested) *cutting*; Gk λύω *loose*, λύσις *releasing*, λύτρον *ransom*; Lat *luō repent, pay*; MIr acc pl *lunu wether* (*cut, castrated* uncertain gloss according to personal communication of Thurneysen, F 1939:164), possibly Alb *lesh hair, wool*; Hitt *lā-*, *lāmi I loose*.

P 1959:681-82. See also Trier 1963:169-70, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:106-07 and Chantraine 1968-80:653 for meaning differences in cognates.

F78. fram prep with dat ἀπό, παρά, ὑπό, ἐπί *from, at, by, near* Mk 1.9; adv ἔμπροσθεν *farther* L 19.28; comp *framis* προ-*farther* Mk 1.19.

OI *fram*, OE *from*, OS, OHG *fram from*†, adv and prep *forward, away*; OI *fremr farther*; adj in OI *framr*, OE *fram excellent*. Derived from **fra-** + *-m-*suffix.

PIE *pro-mo-*, Gk πρόμος *the first*; Umbr *promom* adv 'primum'; cf Go adj **fruma** (zero grade).

Unrelated OIr *riam beforehand*; not from **preymo-*, as in Stokes 1897 BKIS 23:321, but rather from **preys-amo-*; Vendryès 1959-:R-26-27.

P 1959:814-15.

F79. *fram-aldrs only nom sg f *-dra* adj*a* προβεβηκυῖα ἐν ἡμέραις *aged* L 2.36; comp **fram-aldroza*, only nom sg f *-zei* L 1.18.

Cmpd of **fram** and PGmc *aldra-* as in OI *aldr age, time of life*, OE *ealdor* stm *life*, OS *aldar*, OHG *altar* stn *age*; derived with PIE *-ro-* from *alda-* (cf ***aldomo**).

PIE *al-*; suffix same as in Hsch ἀλτρός· μισθός *payment*; OIr *altram*, gen *altrammo nourishment*, *altru foster-father*, Wel *athraw teacher* Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:317; Pedersen 1909-13 I:137. Similar formation in Lat *prōlēs descendants* ← **pro-alēs* W/H 1938-56 II:369; cf Lat *alō*; Go ***alan**.

P 1959:26-27.

F80. *framaþeis adj*ia*[?] ἀλλότριος *foreign* L 16.12; **framaþjan* (only pl m papl *-þidans* Col 1.21) ἀπαλλοτριοῦν *estrange*.

OE *frem(e)de*, OFris *fremethe*, OS *fremithi*, OHG *fremadi foreign*; MLG *vrömede* ← OLG **fromiði*, Holthausen 1922 AinZDA 41:13; OE *ā-fremþan*, OHG *fremidan*, MLG *ent-vrömeden estrange*.

Based on **framaþ*, like **aljaþ**, *dalaþ* + PIE *-yo-*, Brugmann 1904-05 IF 17:351 fn1.

F81. *fram-gahts fi (only dat sg *-htai* Ph 1.24) προκοπή *progress*; **inn-at-gahts* fi (only dat sg *-tai* L 1.29) *entrance*; **un-at-gahts* adj (only acc sg n *-ht* 1T 6.16) ἀπρόσιτος *inaccessible*.

OHG *fram-gangan* stv *proceed*. *-gahts* also in OI *gátt* stf *rabbet of a doorpost*, pl *doorway*, *gætti* stn *door frame*.

Adj based on PGmc *gang-* + PIE *-to-*, in contrast with other *-to-*forms from PIE *g^{w}em-come*, Skt *gatás*, Gk βατός *passable*; Lat *ventum come*; similarly noun, + *-t-*, Skt *gátiṣ way*, Gk βάσις *step*, Go ***ga-qumþs**.

P 1959:438-39,464-65.

F82. fram-wairþis adv gen (only 2T 3.14) *further.*

OHG *framwort, frammortes, frammert further.*

Gen of an adj **fram-wairþs* derived from PGmc *werþ-* as in **wairþan**; see *and-wairþis* based on *and-wairþs*, and adv gen such as *allis*, **fram-wigis**.

F83. fram-wigis adv gen πάντοτε *continuous* J 6.34; see **wigs**.

OE *ealne-weg* acc, ME *al-waies* gen, MHG *alle wege everywhere, always*†.

F84. *fra-slindan stvIII (only 3sg prs opt pass *-daidau* 2C 5.4) κατα-πίνειν *swallow up, devour.*

OS *far-slindan*, MLG *vor-slinden*, OHG *far-slintan* stv *devour.*

Simplex in OHG *slintan* stv *swallow*; OI *slunda-samliga lazy*, also OS *slund*, OHG *slunt* stm *palate*, MHG *slint, slunt throat, chasm*; OHG *slindo, slinto, slindare* stm *glutton*; OLF *slenden*, Du *slinderen glide*; with *-t*, OI *sletta* wkv *slap, dash*, Sw dial *slinta glide, slant smooth*; ME *slenten*, NE dial *slent glide* (← Dan [†]).

Etymology obscure. Assumed origin, PIE *sleydh- slippery, glide* as in OE *slīdan*, MHG *slītan glide*, OI *sleðr*, OHG *slito sled*†, OE *slidor smooth, slidrian to go on a sled, slide*†, with *-n-* infix and shift of verb class (K Johansson 1889 BGDSL 14:326); Lith *slýsti glide, slidùs slippery*, Latvian *slîdêt glide* (though not Lith *lendù, lįsti crawl*, Fraenkel 1962-65:376-77,830,833); also OSl *slědz trace*; also Gk ὀλισθάνω, Chantraine 1968-80:792, and Skt *srédhati errs* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:558). Other proposals unlikely, such as relationship with Lith *sklę̃sti fly, hover* (Grienberger 1900: 74); see Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:277; Fraenkel 1962-65:810. Nor to Gk λαιμός *throat* Chantraine 1968-80:613-14.

P 1959:960-61.

F85. *frasts (only dat pl *-tim* 2C 6. 13) mi [†] τέκνον *child*; *frasti-sibja* (only R 9. 4) *fjō* υἱοθεσία *sonship* (**sibja**).

Only uncertain etymologies; many attempts to derive from *fra-* with an additional element; see Törnqvist 1940-41 SN 13:305-07, 1942-43 SN 15:280-86 for other proposed relationships to PIE roots; possibly, like many words for child in IE dialects, a nursery word whose origin can no longer be determined.

Kluge 1881 ZVS 25:313 compared Lat *prōlēs descendant*, assuming its origin from **prozdēs*; rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:369; cf ***fram-aldrs**. Rejecting origin in **pro-* + **sed-sit* (**sitan**), Osthoff 1895 BGDSL 20:89ff proposed either PIE *sēy- sow* (**saian**) as in **pro-s-ti-* (cf Lat *pro-satio sowing*; also Meillet 1903 MSLP 12:219 ← PIE *pro-sə-ti-*), or **pro-s(p)-ti-*; cf Lat *prōsāpiēs, prōsāpia stock, family, sōpio*, Skt *sápas penis, sāpáyant- fostering, caressing*. Dubious. -- Charpentier 1907 ZVS 40:456 assumes PIE *pro-d-ti*, cf Av *frād-* (← prefix *frā-* + zero grade of **dō- give*) *cultivate, expand* and Skt *pratti-* ← **pra-d-ti- increase, advance*. Mezger 1943 Lg 19:262-63, posits PIE *pro-s-* + *-tyo*, pointing to *-tyo* as a common formative in kinship names derived from an adv or prep; cf **niþjis**. May well be based on *fra-*; cf OI *kominn frā descended from*, in Landnāmabōk.

J Grimm in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 IV.1.1:64, related **frasts* to **fraþjan** *understand*. Rooth 1939:54-58 deriving these from PGmc *fraþ-*, PIE *prăt-*, proposed the meanings, *recognize, procreate* (see P 1959:845, PIE *pret-, prŏt- understand*). Törnqvist 1940-41 SN 13:305-07, 1942-43 SN 15:280-86 rejected this and proposed origin in **fra* + *astjan* (**asts**) *reproduce abundantly*. The semantic development here would be similar to that proposed by Petersson 1917:13, who assumes PIE *pros-ti- shoot, sprout*, cf PIE *pres- sprout*, OSl *proso millet*. Kögel 1893 ZDA 37:218 relates Lat *pariō give birth, parēns parent*; Lith *pẽras larva, peréti hatch*; also Grienberger 1900:74-75. Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:119 compares OSl *prostz simple.*

In the absence of cognates in the other Gmc dialects, possible etyma difficult to establish. The proposed relationship to *fra-* may receive support from comparison with **frauja** and reference of ***frasts*** as opposed to **barn** and **magus**; ***frasts*** = *truly recognized children* in its two uses. *barn* = *natural child*; *magus* implies *child of secondary status, servant.*

F86. fraþi n*ja* νοῦς, νόημα *mind, understanding* R 11.34; *fraþjan* stvVI (3sg prt *froþ* 1C 13.11, 3pl prt *froþun* Mk 9.32) φρονεῖν, συνιέναι, γινώσκειν *think, recognize, understand*; ***fulla-fraþjan*** (only 1pl prs *-jam* 2C 5.13) σωφρονεῖν *be of sound mind*; ***un-fraþjands*** (only dat sg f *-dein* R 10.19) ἀσύνετος *foolish*; *froþ/ds* adj*a* σοφός, σώφρων *intelligent, wise* 1T 3.2; adv *frodaba* νουνεχῶς *intelligently* L 16.8; adj ***un-froþs*** ἄφρων *ignorant* E 5.17; ***frodei*** f*n* σύνεσις, σοφία *wisdom* L 1.17; ***un-frodei*** f*n* ἀφροσύνη *foolishness* L 6.11; ***ga-fraþjei*** f*n* (only dat sg 1T 2.15) σωφρωσύνη *intelligence*; ***grinda-fraþjis** adj*a* ὀλιγόψυχος *faint-hearted*; ***sama-fraþjis*** (only Ph 2.2) adj*a* ἓν φρονῶν *of the same mind.*

OHG *frad* 'strenuus, efficax' *brisk, vigorous, fradalīh* 'procax' *bold*; OI *frōðr*, OE, OFris, OS *frōd*, OHG *frōt*, *fruot wise, understanding*, OI *ū-frōðr*, OE *un-frōd unwise*, OI *frøði* f n *knowledge*, OHG *frustī* f *intelligence, cheerfulness.*

PIE *prăt- understand*, Lith *pràsti*, *prantù* (nasal in prs) *become accustomed to, understand*, *prōtas intellect*, Latvian *prast understand*, *prāts understanding*, OPruss acc *prātin council*, inf *iss-prestun understand* Toporov 1975- III:85-86; TochA *pratim*, B *pratiṃ decision* Fraenkel 1932 IF 50:229; questionable, OIr *rāth guarantee*, *rāthaigid perceives* Vendryès 1959-:R-9-10. Not Lat *inter-pres*, gen *inter-pret-is go-between, interpreter*, nor Gk φράζω *indicate* (W/H 1938-56 I:710-11; Chantraine 1968-80:1224-25). See also Fraenkel 1962-65:646-47.

W/P 1927-32 II:86; P 1959:845.

F87. frauja m*n* κύριος, δεσπότης *lord* M 5.33; ***heiwa-frauja*** m οἰκοδεσπότης *master of the house, family head responsible for hospitality* Mk 14.14 (Benveniste 1973:274); *fraujinon* wkvII κυριεύειν *rule over* 1T 2.12; ***ga-fraujinon*** κατακυριεύειν *subordinate* Mk 10.42; ***fraujinassus*** m*n* κυριότης *mastery* Col 1.16; ***fraujinonds*** m*nd* (only voc *-ond*, gloss to *frauja* L 2.29) δεσπότης *ruler.*

Gmc *ja*-stem also in OI *freyr* stm *lord*, *Freyr* [name of a god], *freyja* stf *lady*, *Freyja* [name of a goddess], OS *frōio* stm *lord*, OHG *frouwa* stf *mistress, lady*. Otherwise PGmc *frau̯an-* in OE *frēa*, OS *frōho*, *frāho*, OHG *frō* wkm *lord*; PGmc *frōwōn*, OS *frūa*, MLG *frūwe*, MHG *vrouwe* wkf *lady.*

From PIE *prŏ-* (**fra**) with *-wo-*, Streitberg 1889 BGDSL 14:186 fn; Osthoff 1898 IF 8:53; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:206; cf Skt *pravaṇás steep, cliff*; with laryngeal extension, Skt *pū́rvas*, Av *paurva-*, OSl *prъvъ first* (PIE *p$_e$rHwo-*); with *-yo-*, Skt *pūrvyás*, *pū́rvyas*, Av *paourvya-*, OPers *paruviya the one ahead* (← PIE *pr̥Hw-yo-*); OSl *pravъ right, proper* (PIE *prōwo-*, cf OHG *fruo*, Gk πρωΐ *early*, according to J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:15); TochA *pärwat oldest*, B *pärwe first*; also in Gk πρῷ-ρα *prow of a ship* (Chantraine 1968-80:945); Lat *prōvincia province* ← ***prōw-inqu-iā*** (W/H 1938-56 II: 371-72,377-78); Alb *i parë* (← ***pr̥wos***) *first.* Cf also Dor πρᾶτος, Att πρῶτος (uncertain formation; Chantraine 1968-80:945-46) *first*; cf **fruma**, ***frasts**.

In other proposals Mikkola 1924 *F2* Streitberg:270 assumes basic meaning 'commander' and compares Sl *pravo right, praviti judge, direct.* Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:123f,153 takes *frauja* as ancient abstract to ***fra-aujan*** (Ved *pra-avati is favorable*) *to be merciful* (used of gods in reference to humans); cf runic bracteates *auja* = *good fortune*; so also **taujan**, from ***t-aujan***. Doubtful. Langenhove 1939:56-59 assumes a PIE cmpd *pr-zéu-y-o(-n)-* based on ***per-*** *possess, procure* and ***xew-*** *vital force*

+ Gmc *-ya-, jan-*; *frauja* then orig means 'the one possessing vital forces'.

W/P 1927-32 II:37-38; P 1959:815; Benveniste 1973:274.

F88. *fra-wardjan wkvI φθείρειν *destroy* M 6.19, caus to **fra-wairþan* *spoil* (intrans *become bad*); **fra-wardeins* *fi* (only acc sg *-dein* 1T 6.9) ὄλεθρος *destruction*; see **wairþan**.

OE *ā-wierdan* *damage*, OHG *fra-warttan*, *far-werten* wkv 'violare, corrumpere' *violate*, caus to OE *for-weorþan*, OS *far-werðan*, OHG *far-werdan* stv (intrans) *spoil*.

PIE *wert-* *turn*, Skt caus *vartáyati* *set in (turning) motion, roll, carry out*; Lith *vartýti* *turn back and forth*; OSl *vratiti* *turn*.

P 1959:1156-58.

F89. fra-waurhts adj*a* ἁμαρτωλός *sinful* J 9.16; *fra-waurhts* *fi* ἁμαρτία, ἁμάρτημα *sin* E 1.7; **handu-waurhts* adj χειροποίητος *made by hand* E 2.11; **un-handu-waurhts* adj ἀχειροποίητος *not made by hand* Mk 14.58; **us-waurhts* *fi* δικαιοσύνη *righteousness* 2C 9.9; **us-waurhts* adj δίκαιος *righteous* M 11.19. Adj with *-to-* and nouns with *-ti-*abstract suffix based on root in **waurkjan**; cf **fra-waurkjan* wkvI ἁμαρτάνειν *commit a sin*. -- On the use of the PGmc term in a Christian sense throughout various Gmc languages see Wessén 1928 ANF 44:106.

OE *for-wyrht*, OS *far-wurht* stf *sin*; OS *far-warht*, OHG *far-woraht* adj *sinful*; OS *far-wirkian* *commit a sin*, OHG *fir-wirken* wkv *spoil, commit a sin*.

*-ti-*abstract also in Av *varštiš* f *action, execution of a deed*; also Av verb stem *frā-varəz-* *perform an evil deed*.

P 1959:1168-69.

F90. fra-weit n*a* δίκη, ἐκδίκησις *revenge, vengeance* R 12.19; *fra-weitan* stvI ἐκδικῆσαι *avenge* 2C 10.6; **in-weitan* stvI προσκυνεῖν *worship*, ἀσπάζεσθαι *greet* M 8.2; *id-weitjan* wkvI ὀνειδίζειν *despise* M 11.20; *fair-weitjan* wkvI ἀτενίσαι *fix one's eyes on, look about* 2C 3.7. Calques on Gk ἐκδίκησις, ἐκδικῆσαι; Velten 1930 JEGP 29:344. See **id-weit**.

OHG *far-wīzan* *reproach, punish, scold*; simplex in OE *wītan* *take heed, impute*, OS *wītan* *accuse*, OHG *wīzan* stv *punish, rebuke*; OI *vīti*, OE, OFris *wīte*, OS *wīti*, OHG *wīz(z)i* stn *punishment*.

PIE *weyd-* *see* in **1. witan**; on semantic development, cf Lat *anim-advertere* *notice, punish*. The same vowel grade in Lith *veizdėti* *see* Fraenkel 1962-65:1215-16. Skt *védmi* *know* is a late formation. See also Lith *véidas* *appearance*, Latvian *veîds* *form*; Lith *vaidas* *sign, wonder* (though not *vaĩdas* *quarrel*). For other developments of PIE *weyd-* see **1. witan**.

Seebold 1973 Sprache 19:170-71,178 opposes relationship to PIE *weyd-*, relating instead OHG *fir-wīzan* *determine someone's debt*; yet his argument that there is no simple verb Go **weitan* applies to his proposed root PIE *weiə-* *pursue, approach* as well as to *weyd-*.

P 1959:1125-27.

F91. *freidjan wkvI φείδεσθαι *take care of* 1C 7.28; *ga-freideins* *fi/ō* περιποίησις *possession, careful treatment* E 1.14; **un-freideins* (only dat sg *-deinai* Col 2.23A) ἀφειδία *severity*.

OI *frīða* wkv *adorn*, OS *frīdōn* wkv *preserve*, OHG *vrīten* wkv *cherish*, denom of PGmc *frīða-* *cared for* in OI *frīðr* *pretty*, OE *frīþ-hengest* *handsome horse*, *seo frīðe mæg* (Riddle 10.9) *the pretty woman*, OHG *frīt-hof* stm *a cared-for place*; NHG *Friedhof* stm *churchyard, cemetery* remodeled after *Friede* *peace*.

PIE *prāy-*, *prī*, Skt *prītás*, Av *fritō* *dear to*, Skt *prīṇā́ti* *pleases*; see **frijon**.

P 1959:844.

F92. frei-hals m*a* ἐλευθερία *freedom* 2C 3.17.

OFris *frī-hals* *freedom*, OE *frīols*, *frēols* *freedom, peace*; OHG *frī-hals* stm *a free man*; Run (Hørning) *frialsi*, OI *frelsi*, OFris *frī-helse*, *frī-hals*, OHG *frī-halsi* stf *freedom*; OI

adj *frjāls free*; *frelsa*, OE *frēolsian* wkv *set free*. Cmpd; cf **freis** and **hals**.

For the semantic background see Neckel 1916 BGDSL 41:405 (*frei-hals* = *inviolable neck*; similarly, Güntert 1923:121 fn1); Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:459, *the neck unhampered by chains*; Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:19, *one having legal protection and accordingly no requirement to bow his neck before a property owner*. Scheller 1959:61 views Gmc as preserving here the basic meaning of PIE *priyos specifically one's own*; *frei-hals* therefore refers to *one who is possessor of his own neck* as opposed to a slave who is the property of his master, cf **freis**.

F93. freis adj*ja* ἐλεύθερος *free* 1C 7.21; *frijei* fn ἐλευθερία *freedom* 1C 10.29.

OE *frēo, frī*, OFris, OS, OHG *frī free*†.

Wel *rhydd free*.

PIE *priyos* is generally glossed *dear*, on the basis of Skt etc, but cf Scheller's 1959:61 assumption 'one's own'. Only Gmc and Celt share the meaning 'free'. (Porzig 1954:119 links this with the relationship of PIE *lewdho-s people* and Gk ἐλεύθερος *free*; W/P 1927-32 II: 416-17; Polomé 1954 Ogam 6:159-61 sees the Wel-Gmc meaning as arising through substitution for **aryo-*, as in OIr *aire noble, chief, prince* ie, *the social class enjoying all privileges*), see Puhvel 1984-:116-21 on Hitt *ara-*. Some have proposed that the Gmc word was borrowed from Celt, like other legal terms, ***aiþs**, ***dulgs**, **reiks** (Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:291; 1889-94 II:343; Benveniste 1973:167, tentatively); for Scheller 1959:20-21, 23, parallel development in Gmc and Celt.

The meaning 'dear' is found in the name of the goddess, OI *Frigg*, OE *Frīg*; further, OE *frēga, frīga* f *spouse*, OHG *Frija* (← PGmc *frijjō*), cf Skt *priyā́* f *spouse*. Lengthening of *-j-*; cf **ada**. From PIE *pr-ey-H-* as in Skt *prīṇā́ti pleases* WP Lehmann 1952:45, Lindeman 1963 SL 17:87-90; cf ***daddjan**. Skt *priyás*, Av *fryō dear*; OI *frī* m *beloved, spouse*; Skt *priyā́* f *spouse, daughter*, OE *frēo* f, OS *frī* n *woman*. See **frijon** and **frei-hals**.

For older discussion and superseded etymologies see F 1939:167-68. Detailed investigation by Scheller 1959:20-21,23,61,90-91, with assumption of basic meaning 'own', through use as refl adj as in **frei-hals**. This assumption negated by meaning of the root, as in Skt *prīṇā́ti* and cognates, also in Gmc; further evidence against this view may be taken from similar use of Gk φίλος, Gmc *swēs- dear*, cf **swes**, as the IE middle lost its force (WP Lehmann 1974:129). Basic meaning in PIE therefore 'dear', with specialization in the dialects, in spite of Szemerényi 1977:117-25, Evans 1981 BBCS 29:246.

See also Mazzuoli Porru 1964 AGI 49:144-45 and Benveniste 1973:266-67. P 1959:844.

F94. friaþwa, *frijaþwa* fō ἀγάπη *love* J 13.35; **friaþwa-milds* (only nom pl *-djai* R 12:10A) *showing love*; see ***mildiþa**.

Based on PIE *prāy- + -two-*; Skt *priyatvám the being dear, fond of* (late according to Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:379).

With *-ta*; OE *frēod* f *love, favor*, Skt *priyátā love*. See **freis**, **frijon**.

F95. frijon wkvII ἀγαπᾶν, φιλεῖν *love* Mk 12.33; denom of f PGmc *frijō* ← PIE *priyā* (**freis**); differently Specht 1927:34 (← **frion*); *frijonds* m*nd* φίλος *friend*; **frijondi* f*i*ō (only acc pl *-djos* L 15.9) φίλη *friend* (prpl of *frijon*; Mezger 1965 ZVS 79:32, however, does not take it as prpl, but rather as a form based on **frijo spouse* designating *parents or friends of the spouse*); **ga-frijons* f*i* (only dat sg *-onai* 1Th 5.26) φίλημα *kiss*; **ga-friþon** *reconcile*.

OI *frjā*, OE *frēogan, frīgan, frēon love*, OS *friohan, friehan*, MLG, MHG *vrīen* wkv *woo, love*; OI *frændi* (on *æ* see Noreen 1923: 287) *relative, friend*, OE *frēond*, OFris, OS *friund*, OHG *friunt* stm, OHG *friuntīn* f *friend*†, *beloved*; OI *fríðr* m *love, peace*, OE *friþu*, OFris *fretho*, OS *frithu*, OHG *fridu* stm *peace* (cf ***Friþa-reikeis**); Scheller 1959: 90-91.

Formally identical to *frijon* is Skt

priyāyáte make friends with; Skt *prīṇáti pleases, príyate is pleased*; Av *frīnāiti loves, praises*; OIr *rīar* (← **prēi-rā*) *will, wish* (Vendryès 1959-:R-27); OSl *prijati be favorable, prijatelь friend* (cf OI *friðill*, OHG *fridel* m *beloved*), *prijaznь love*; Skt *prītás*, Av *fritō*, *friþo- pleased, beloved*. Not Gk πρᾶύς *gentle* (Chantraine 1968-80:933-34).

P 1959:844.

F96. frisahts fi εἰκών *image* 1C 15. 49, τύπος *example* Ph 3.17; **ga-frisahtjan* wkvI, only nom sg n prpl *-iþ* ἐντυποῦν *depict* 2C 3.7; **ga-frisahtnan* wkvIV (only 3sg prs opt *-tnai* marginal gloss to G 4.19A) μορφῶσθαι *take form*.

No cognates in other Gmc dialects; no satisfactory etymology.

Dividing *fri-sahts*, Grimm 1890:256 and L Meyer 1869:73,283 relate *fri-* to **fair** or to Lith *prý-* (as in *prý-angė vestibule*), *pri-*, *prie-*, OSl *pri- near*, OPruss *prei-* (Uhlenbeck 1900:50); G Schmidt 1962:323 derives *fri-* from PIE *peri*, like OHG *furi*, OI *fyr*. *-sahts* also in **ga-sahts reproach, insahts statement*, to **sakan**, as in **in-sakan put before, designate*; *fri-sahts* then might have indicated *something placed before a group, a depiction, image*. (Scarcely to *saihvan*, as Grienberger 1900:75-76 suggests, cf Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:278). -- Brugmann 1902-03 IF 13:164 divides *fris-ahts*; *fris-* also in OI *frest* stn, pl f, *frestr*, OE *fyrst* stm, OHG *frist* stm/f *respite* ← PIE *pres-sthā- standing ahead* (cf Skt *puraḥ-stitás standing ahead*), Gk πρέσ-βυς, πρέσ-γυς *old (advancing in age)* beside Skt *purás*, Av *parō*, Gk πάρος *in front*; *-ahts* = Gk ὄψις *face, figure* (cf OHG *ahtōn take heed*) to PIE *ok^{w}- see* (cf **aha** and **augo**); less likely than derivation from **sakan**.

P 1959:876-77.

F97. *Friþa-reikeis PeN, only gen sg **-reikeis* at 23 Oct in Cal (wrongly written *-reikeikeis*).

Corresponding forms with *-u-* connecting vowel in Förstemann 1900:536-37. On substitution of Late Go *a* for *u*, cf Schütte 1933 ZDA 70:123. Also with *-i/e-*, *Fridiricus* (Visigoth, Rugian), *Fredericus* etc (cf locations in Schönfeld 1911:93-94).

Cmpd of PGmc *friþu-* peace, OI *friðr* m *love, peace*, OE *friþu*, *frioþu* f, OFris *fretho*, OS *frithu*, OHG *fridu* stm *peace* (cf **frijon**), from PIE *prāy-*, *prī-* *love* + PIE *-tu-* and adj PGmc *rīkja-* (cf *reiks*), ie *rich in peace*. Cf also *Sunjai-friþus*.

F98. *frius na[?] ψῦχος *frost*, only dat sg *-sa* 2C 11.27.

OI *frør*, *frer* n *frost*, *frjōsa*, OE *frēosan*, MLG *vrēsen*, OHG *freosan* stv *freeze*†, *froze*†; OHG *frōren* wkv (← **frausjan*) *make freeze*; OI *frost*, OE *forst*, *frost*, OFris *forst*, OS, OHG *frost* (← **frus-taz*) stm *frost*†.

PIE *prews- freeze; burn*, Skt *pruṣvā́ ice, rime*, *plóṣati* (*plúṣyati*, *pluṣṇā́ti*) *burn*, *pluṣṭás singed* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:381-82,387; Lat *prūna* ← **prus-nā glowing coals*, *prūrīre itch*, *pruīna* ← **prŭswīna*, **prūwīna*, W/H 1938-56 II:378-79, with references; Alb *prush glowing coals*. (A Sturtevant 1936 AJP 57:280 derives *frius* from an adj **frius-a- very cold*.) Not OIr *rēud*, *rēod cold*, Wel *rhew frost* Vendryès 1959-:R-24-25. Nor related to OI *frūsa*, *frȳsa snort*, Skt *pruṣṇoti*, OSl *prusnǫti sprinkle*.

P 1959:846.

F99. fruma adjn πρότερος *first* E 4.22 (as subst in dat; or to a nom **frum* n *beginning*[?], A Sturtevant 1953 GR 28:59-60; in *fram fruma* ἀπ' (ἐξ) ἀρχῆς *from the beginning* J 15.27, 16.4); *frumei* fn (nom sg 1T superscription in Cod B; dat sg *-mein* M 27.64) ἡ πρώτη *beginning*; *fruma-baur* mi πρωτότοκος *first-born*, see L 2.7 ***baur**; *frumists* superl πρῶτος *first*, see *aftumists* Mk 9.35, + *-ja- *frumisti* nia ἀρχή *beginning* J 6.64.

PIE *pr̥mo-*, OI *frum-burðr firstborn*, OE *fruma* m *beginning, origin*, *frum first*, *forma*, OFris *forma*, OS *formo first one*; OE *fyrmest*, OFris *formest first*; OFris *froma*, OS, OHG *fruma* stf, OS *frumī* f *usefulness*; MHG *frum capable*; with PIE *-o-* (Umbr *promom*), OI *framr*, OE *fram brave, outstanding*; OI *frami*

m *courage, honor*; *fremja*, OE *framian, fremman* wkv *advance*; OE *fremu* f *usefulness*.

Lith *pìrmas*, OPruss *pirmas first*; from PIE $p_e rH$-*wo-*, Skt *pū́rvas*, Av *pourvō*, OPers *paruva- foremost* (extended in Skt *pūrvyás*, Av *paouruyō*, OPers *paruviya prior, first*); OSl *prъvъ*; Alb *parë first*; *o*-grade in Umbr *promom* adv *first*; possibly also Gk πρόμος *prince, champion*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:941, who prefers derivation through shortening of πρόμαχος; Gk πράμος *foremost* is there taken as erroneous for πρόμος; Go **fram**. Cf also **frauja**.

P 1959:814-15.

F100. *frumadei fn, only acc sg *-dein habands* πρωτεύων *pre-eminence* Col 1.18. Calque of Lat *primatum tenens* according to Velten 1930 JEGP 29:344-45.

MHG *frumede* wkf *ability*.

Derived from adj Go **frumaþs* or **frumaþeis* (cf ***framaþeis**) to adv **frumaþ* from **fruma**, like **aljaþ** from ***aljis**. W Schulze 1966:73 fn2 compares Lat *prīmitiae* pl *first-fruits*; *-īn-* : *-i̯ā-* as in Gk γλωχῖνος, gen of γλωχίς *tip*, to γλῶσσα ← γλωχι̯ᾶ *tongue*.

F101. *fugls ma πετεινόν *bird* M 6.26.

Run *fokl* (Eggjum); OI *fugl, fogl*, OE *fugol, fugel*, OFris *fugel*, OS *fugal*, OHG *fogal* stm *bird, fowl*†. Probably from **flug-la-* with loss of *l* by dissimilation (Graff 1834-46 III: 434); cf OE *flugol* 'fugax' *fleeing*. Then with PIE *-lo-* to base in OI *flj̄uga*, OE *flēogan*, OHG *fliugan* stv *fly*†; cf ***us-flaugjan**.

PIE *plew- run, flow; fly*, OIr *lu- move* in prt *luis he moved* (Pedersen 1909-13 II:571f), *fo-lu fly* in 1sg prs *follūur*, MIr *luamain* (← **plow-mani-*[?]) *flying*; TochA *plu- fly* in 3sg prt *plawar* (*epreraṃ*) *they flew (through the air)*, B 3sg prt *plyewsa* (*iprerne*) *he flew (in the air)* Sieg and Siegling 1931:454; PGmc *flug-* assumed to be from **plew-* + *-k-*, as in Lith *plaũkti swim, plùnksna* f *feather*, older variant *plū́ksna* (Fraenkel 1932 IF 50:229). This etymology favored in P 1959:837 and Seebold 1970:201-02.

Of other proposals, Solmsen's 1912-13 IF 31:482ff may be most cogent. Like ***fula**, **fugls* is derived by him from PIE *pōw- small, little; young or small animal*; cf **fawai**; Lith *putýtis young bird*, Latvian *putns bird*, Lith dim *paũkštis bird* (Fraenkel 1962-65:554), OSl *pъta, pъtica bird*; Go **fugls* then also a dim in origin. Favored in W/P 1927-32 II:76. -- This proposal is comparable to Bopp's (1867:224), later accepted by Berneker 1898 IF 9:361-62; there PIE *phewk- swell* is proposed as source, also for Lith *paũkštis* etc; opposed by Grienberger 1900:76. For still other proposals see F 1939:170.

F102. *fula mn πῶλος *foal, colt* L 19. 30.

OI *foli* m, *fyl* (← **fulja-*) n, OE, OFris *fola*, OS, OHG *folo* wkm; MLG *vœlen*, Du *veulen foal*†, OHG *fuli, fulīn* stn; OHG *fulihha* (Go **fuliko*) f, MHG *vülhe* wkf *filly*† Kluge 1926:24.

Relationship certain only with Gk πῶλος *foal*, (also poetic) *young person*; Alb *pelë mare* (fem to **pōlos*, according to G Meyer 1891:326; from **pōl-n-*, according to Jokl 1926 *F* Kretschmer:83). PIE *pōw-, pəw-, pŭ- small, few; young or small animal*, Go **fawai**; with *-ko-*, Lat *paucus little*; with *-lo-*, Lat *pullus young of animal, chick* (either from **pulelos* dim of **pulos*, Solmsen 1912-13 IF 31:474-75; or from **put-s-lo-* for **put-lo-*, Sommer 1914b: 252, W/H 1938-56 II:385-86); also *puer boy* W/H II:382-83, ← **put-lo-*, remodeled after *gener* and *socer*, Risch 1957 *F* Kretschmer II:111-12; also Osc *puklum sons*, Paelygnian *puclois to the sons*; Skt *putrás son, child* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:304-05; Arm *ul kid, young of deer or gazelle* ← **pōlo*, Solta 1960:202-03.

P 1959:842-43.

F103. *fulla-weis adja (only nom pl m *-sai* 1C 14.20) τέλειος *mature*; **hindar-weis* δόλιος *treacherous* 2C 11.13; *un-weis* ἰδιώτης *ignorant* 1C 14.24; **un-faur-weis* (only gen pl *-weisane* Sk 3.14 / IIIb.23-24) *thoughtless*; **un-hindar-weis* (only dat sg f *-weisai* 2C 6.6, 1T

1.5) ἀνυπόκριτος *sincere*; *hindar-weisei* fn (only dat sg *-weisein* 2C 12.16) δόλος *treachery*.

Cmpd of **fulls** and **-weis** to OI *wīss*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *wīs wise*†, *knowing* ← PIE *weyd-to-* of PIE *weyd-* (cf **1. witan**) just as *-wis(s)* in **un-wiss* (only *-samma* 1C 9.26A) ἀδήλως *uncertain*, *miþwissei* fn συνείδησις *conscience* is from PIE *wid-to-*. Meillet 1929 WuS 12:19 correctly considers *-weis* a secondary formation, remodeled after ***weitwoþs**. OI *ū-viss*, OE, OS, OHG *un-weis ignorant*. Derived verb **fulla-weisjan* wkvI (only 1pl prs *-weisjam*) Gk πείθειν *persuade*, **ga-fulla-weisjan* (only acc pl f papl *-sidons* L 1.1) Gk πληροφορεῖν *reveal*; OI *vīsa*, OE *wīsian*, OFris *wīsa*, OS *wīsōn*, *wīsian*, OHG *wīsen* wkv *show*, *demonstrate*.

PIE *weyd-*, *-to-* forms, also in Skt *vittás seen*; Gk ἄ-ιστος *unseen*, *unknown*; Lat *vīsus seen*; OI *ro fess* (← **wisso-*) *it becomes known*. See **1. witan**.

P 1959:1125-27, Watkins 1985:74.

F104. fulls adja πλήρης *full* J 12.3; **ufar-fulls* adja (only nom sg f *-la* L 6.38) πεπιεσμένος *more than full*; ***ufar-fullei** fn (only dat sg L 6.45) περίσσευμα *superfluity*; *us-fulleins* fi/ō πλήρωμα *fulfilling* R 13.10; *fullo* fn πλήρωμα *something that fills*, *patch* M 9.16. *full(e)iþ* (only acc sg *-liþ kaurnis* Mk 4.28 and gen pl *-liþe* Col 2.16) πλήρη σῖτον *fullness*, *completion*. *fulljan* wkvI πληροῦν *fill* R 15.3; **ga-fulljan* πιμπλάναι *fill up* L 1.15; *ufar-fulljan* ὑπερπερισσεύειν *overfill* 1C 15.58; *us-fulljan* πληροῦν *fill out* M 5.17; **fullnan* wkvIV πληροῦσθαι *become full* E 3.19; **ga-fullnan* πίμπλασθαι *be filled* L 1.41; *us-fullnan* πληροῦσθαι *be fulfilled* M 27.9.

OI *fullr*, OE, OFris, OS *ful(l)*, OHG *fol(l) full*†. PGmc *fulla-* can reflect PIE *pl̥nó-* or *pₑlHnó* (Hirt 1921-37 II:130; Meillet 1921 BSLP 22:[rev]243); OI *fylli*, OE *fyllu*, MLG *vülle*, OHG *fulli* stf *abundance*. OI *fylla*, OE *(ā-)fyllan*, OFris *fullia*, *fella*, OS *fullian*, *fullōn*, OHG *fulljan*, *fullen* wkv *fill*†.

PIE *pl̥nós*, Skt *-pr̥ṇas*, Av *pərənō*; Lith *pìlnas full*. PIE *pₑlHnós*, Skt *pūrṇás*; OIr *lān full*; OSl *plьnъ* (cf Serb *pȕn*). PIE *plēnos*, Skt *-prāṇa-*; Av *frāna-*; Lat *plēnus full*. PIE *pelu*, **filu**.

PIE root *pel-*, with *-ē-* ← *-eᴴ-* extension *pelē-* (Osthoff 1910b:108-09, 1910c:336-38), Skt *pr̥ṇā́mi*, *pr̥ṇómi*, *píparmi fill*, *prā́si you fill*, aor *áprāt he filled* (Gk πλῆτο), *prātás filled*, *párīṇas* n *abundance*; comp Skt *prāyas*, Av *frāyō fuller*; Gk πίμπλημι *fill*, ἔπλησα *filled*, πλήρης *full*, πλῆθος a *great number*; Lat *plēre fill*, *com-plētus full* (Skt *prātás*, Alb *plot full*), Lat *plērus for the most part*, *plēbs*, *plēbēs the masses of the people*; OIr *līnaim fill*; Arm *li* (← **plētos*) *full*, *lnum* (← **plē-neu-mi*) *fill*. Also Lith *pìlti pour*, *empty* from 'fill out' (Fraenkel 1962-65:592).

P 1959:798-800.

F105. fuls adj (only in *fuls ist* ὄζει J 11.39) *decomposed*, *foul*.

OI *fūll*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *fūl foul*†, derived with *-lo-* from PIE *pū-* in OI *fūinn decomposed*, *feyja let decay*, *fūna decay*, *fūi* m *rottenness*, *fūki* m *stench*, *fuð* f, *futta* f, MHG *vut* st/wkf, *votze cunt* (different explanation under *cunnus*, W/H 1938-56 I:309, Persson 1912:243-44).

-l- also in Lith *pū́liai* pl *pus*, *piaulaĩ* pl *rotten wood*.

PIE *pū- rot*, *stink*, Skt *pū́yati stinks*, *pū́tiṣ foul*, *stinking*; Av *puyeiti rots*, *a-puyant- not rotting*; Gk πύω *cause to fester*, πύον, πύος, πῦαρ *pus*; πῦθω *cause to decay*; Lat *pūs pus*, *pūteō be rotten*, *stink*; Lith *pūvà*, inf *pū́ti rot*; Latvian *pūznis something rotting*, *festering*; OIr *othar pain*; Arm *hu blood with pus* Vendryès 1959-:O-36.

P 1959:848-49.

F106. *funs attested only in names, eg *Ala-funs*; also in Sp *Alfonso* ← **aþala-funsa-*, Piel and Kremer 1976:60.

OI *fūss*, OE, OS *fūs*, OHG *funs willing*, *eager*.

PIE *pent- go*, *arrive*, *find*, ***finþan** *find*; **funs* ← **fund-sa*; cf LG *fūsa run quickly*

(W/P 1927-32 II:26-27). Bammesberger 1971 Sprache 17:46-49, however, points out that *-sa-* ← PIE *-so-* is not usually added to zero grade of roots. He proposes PIE *pn̥t-tó-s* → ***funssaz*** → ***funsaz***; the meaning is also accounted for in this way, 'going' to 'willing'. Cf also Vries 1962:147.

P 1959:808-09, with older explanation.

F107. fwnikiska f Φοινίκισσα M 7. 26; remodeling of Gk Φοινίκιος *Phoenician* with *-isks*, as in *judaiwisko*, M Jellinek 1926:170.

G

G1. ga- nominal and verbal prefix; when verbal, may be followed by question ptc *u*, and concessive *þau* as in *ga-u-laubeis* J 9.35 and *ga-þau-laubidedeiþ* J 5.46; basic meaning *with, together with*; primary use as aspectual ptc.

OI *g-*, OE *ge-*, *gi-*, OFris *ge-*, *ie-*, *e-*, *i-*, OS *ge-*, OHG *ga-*, *gi-*.

PIE *kom near, at, with* in simplex primarily in Ital, Celt, and Gmc, though cf Alb *kë-* = Lat *co(m)-*; Lat *co(m)-*, Osc *com/n* prep, *kúm- with*, also Umbr ppn *-ku at*; Gaul *co(m)-*, OIr *co/um-*, *co/u-*. Cf cognates such as Go **ga-arbja* : OIr *com-arbe (fellow-)heir*, Go **ga-juka companion* : Lat *con-jux spouse*, Go **ga-mains** : Lat *com-mūnis common*, Go **ga-giman* : Lat *con-venīre assemble, come together*. PGmc *g-* ← PIE *k-* in unstressed syllable, like Go **dis-** and *du* ← PIE *t-*; some, however, doubt this origin; F 1939:173-74 lists attempts to relate other PIE particles.

Prefix widely used in Gmc, esp Go, as an aspectual ptc with verbs; see esp Lloyd 1979 for extensive treatment, and the grammars; Streitberg 1920:194-203, with references, notes the older treatments. Aspectual application may be pre-Gmc, as in ***þahan** : Lat *tacēre be silent* versus **ga-þahan become silent* : Lat *con-ticēre become silent, cease speaking*. In view of the absence of verbal prefixes in PIE the aspectual application was a West European innovation. Cf the similar development of Sl *po-* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:774). Much speculation must be treated with caution, such as the assumed presence of the prefix in OI *gnūa* versus Go **bauan**, Vries 1962:180; also derivation of Gk κοινός *common* from PIE *kom-yo-s*. Chantraine 1968-80:552, W/P 1927-32 I:458-60, P 1959:612-13, Watkins 1985:32.

G2. 1. ga-baur *na* λογία *contribution*, φόρος *tax* 1C 16.1; based on *ga-bairan bring together* = 'what is brought together'; cf Gk τὸ συμφέρον *advantage* Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:205-06; acceptable to Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:266; cf **bairan**.

MHG *ur-bo/ar* stf/n *tax on property*, wkm *taxpayer*. Also according to Much 1920 DLZ 41:554, MHG *bar-man*, *-wīp*, *-liute* (designations for) *people subject to taxes*. (Kluge 1883 ZVS 26:71, 1922 Anglia 46:191 compares OE *gafol* n, MLG *gavol tax, tribute*, from which he derives MLat *gabulum tax*; by his explanation *r* → *l*. But see Meyer-Lübke 1935:4648a, who derives the Romance words, It *gabella*, Prov, Sp, Port *gabela* from Ar *kabāla* **tax**.)

Go *1. ga-baur* may be a neologism formed on the pattern of Gk φόρος *tax*, an action noun derived from φέρω *bear*; -φόρος also found as second member of cmpds like Lat *-fer*, Skt *-bháras bearing*. Parallel to it, *2. *ga-baur* ma κῶμος *banquet* (from "merry-making") G 5.21; W Schulze 1966:548.

G3. ga-baurjaba adv ἡδέως, ἥδιστα *gladly* Mk 6.20; **ga-baurjoþus* (only dat pl L 8. 14) mu ἡδονή *pleasure* from **ga-baurjon be pleased*. CrimGo **borrotsch** *pleasure*.

Little evidence for proposing etymology. PGmc *burja-* in OE *(ge-)byre* m *favorable opportunity* and in denom verbs, OI *byrja be appropriate*, OE *byrian happen, pertain to, ge-byrian*, OFris *bera*, OS *gi-burian happen*, OHG *burjan, burren lift*; *gi-burr/jen* wkv *happen, meet*.

Generally associated with **bairan**; cf Gk συμφέρειν *bring together, be successful, be useful*. Rejected by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30: 278 and related to OI *byrr* m *favorable wind*, OE *byre* m *favorable opportunity*; this, however, is in turn related to PGmc *ber- carry*, and accordingly from the same PIE root *bher-*, W/P 1927-32 II:156; see Vries 1962:68. Uhlenbeck's proposal derives the Gmc forms from PIE *bher- bubble, boil up* as in Skt

bhuráti be in motion, Gk πορφύρω *bubble up*, Lat *fretus, fretum strait, channel, fermentum sourdough*, OIr *topur source* (W/P 1927-32 II: 157-59). Other words proposed as cognates by Uhlenbeck, eg OSl *burja storm*, are derived from PIE *bhŭr(o)- roar (as of a storm)*: OIr *būirithir bellows*; Lat *furō rage*; scarcely here Skt *bhuráti be in motion* Reichelt 1906 ZVS 39:36 and Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:508-09, with references. W/P 1927-32 II:191-92; P 1959:132-33. The uncertainty among these possibilities permits maintenance of the seemingly far-fetched relationship to *2. *ga-baur banquet* G 5.21, Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:205-06 (*ga-baurjaba = in a banquet mood*; **ga-baurjoþus sexual misconduct*, which was not absent among participants in a banquet, F 1939:175).

G4. *ga-baurþs fi γένεσις, γενετή, γένος, πατρίς *birth, descent, race, place of birth* 1T 2.15; **gabaurþi-waurd* na (only gen pl *-waurde* 1T 1.4) γενεαλογία *genealogy*.

OI *burðr* m *bearing, birth, byrð*, OE *gebyrd*, OFris *berth, berde*, OS *gi-burd*, OHG *giburt*, stf *birth*†.

From PIE *bher- bear* with *-ti-*; comparable formations in other dialects do not require assumption of common PIE origin (note differences in meaning): Skt *bhṛtíṣ* f *support*; OIr *bre/ith* f *bearing*; Lat *fors*, gen *fortis* f *chance*. See **baurþei**; *þ* rather than *ð* by Thurneysen's law 1898 IF 8:208-14; for references see B/E 1981:64-65. P 1959:128-32, esp 131.

G5. gabei fn πλοῦτος *riches* R 11.12, *gabeigs, gabigs* adja πλούσιος *rich* L 16.1 (concerning the vowel variation of the ending under accent see Roethe 1919 SAW 1919:788; different explanation by P Schmid 1908 ZDA 49:520; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:489,497 -- mixture of both PIE *-iko-* and *-īko-*; Gmc suffix *-ĭg-* ← PIE *-īko-*, F Kauffmann 1887 BGDSL 12:203, as in **anda-nemeigs**); adv *gabigaba* πλουσίως *richly*, only Col 3.16; **gabigjan* (only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* 2C 6.10) wkvI πλουτίζειν *enrich*; **gabignan* wkvIV πλουτεῖν, πλουτίζεσθαι *be rich* L 1.53.

OHG *kepī* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 II:322,50) f *riches*; OI *gǫfugr noble*, OE *gifig*, OHG *kepic rich*; OI *gǫfga worship, honor*. Here also the Celto-Gmc Matrones name *Gabiae* in dat pl (*matronis*) *Gabiabus* [?] (Schönfeld 1911:97).

Generally related to **giban** in spite of unexplained formation; cf Lith *gabénti convey, bring*. According to Much 1928 *F* M Jellinek: 84, derived from adj **gafs* (in *gabigs*). The basic word is then in the PeN's *Garman-gabis, Fria-gabis*, etc, Schönfeld 1911:103. OSl *gobьdzь abundantly, gobino abundance, superfluity* are borrowed from Gmc, Kluge 1921 NM 22:123f; Karsten 1922:86ff; Stender-Petersen 1927:315f. For further cognates see **giban**. Not related to Lat *cōpia* (← **cŏ-ŏpia*) *quantity*, as by Bugge 1887 BGDSL 12:416f; cf W/H 1938-56 I:270,630-31, where **ghabhī* is suggested as earlier form; see also **haban**. According to Karsten 1915:27ff, based on these are Finn *kave'*, gen *kapeen excellence, fare, food, noble, high*, pl *kapeet sheep, goats*.

G6. *ga-bruka fō κλάσμα *crumb* J 6.13.

OE *ge-broc* n *fragment*, OS *brocnussi* n *ruin*, MLG, MDu *broc*, OHG *brocco* wkm *crumb*; see ***brikan**.

PIE *bhreĝ- break*; from *bhr$_e$g-*, as in Lat *frangō break, frag-ilis fragile* Güntert 1916:54, 79-86; Hirt 1900:16, 1921-37 II:82; also Osthoff 1910b:210-14.

P 1959:165-66.

G7. ga-daban stvVI (inf Mk 10.32, 3sg prt *gadob* Sk 3.17 / IIIc.10-11) συμβαίνειν *happen*, πρέπειν *be suitable*; adj ***ga-dobs** (*gadob ist*) πρέπει *it is suitable, fitting* Tit 2.9; *þata gadob propriety* Sk 1.16 / Ic.5.

OI *dafna increase in strength*, OE *gedafenian* wkv *be fitting*; *ge-dafen fitting*, noun n *right, due, ge-dēfe* (← **ga-dōbja-*) *apt, gedæfte fitting, friendly*, MDu *ghe-doef adapting oneself*, Du *deftig proper, noble*, cf NE *daft, deft*.

PIE *dhabh- fitting, applicable*: Lat *faber*

workman, artificer, smith, fabrē skillfully, affabrē cunningly; Lith *dabà nature, character, dabìnti, dabinėti adorn, dabnùs decorative* (Fraenkel 1962-65:79); Sl *doba time*, OSl *po-doba respectability, po-dobati be fitting, dobrz good*; *u-dobъ* adv *easily*; Arm *darbin smith* (← **dhabhro-*, Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:165; Solta 1960:146); P 1959:233-34.

G8. *ga-dauka mn only acc pl *þans staifanaus gadaukans* τὸν στεφανὰ οἶκον *member of a household* 1C 1.16.

Compare the parallel formations Go ***ga-hlaiba**, **ga-razna*; OE *ge-þofta* m, OHG *gi-dofto* m *comrade* (*on the þoft rowing-bench*). Like Lat *con-*, NE *co-* in *co-worker* etc, *ga-* here = *associated with*. J Schmidt 1871-75 I:173 assumes for *-dauka* the meaning *dwelling*, comparing Go **ga-razna* m γείτων *neighbor*: **razn** n οἶκος *house*. If correct, probably *cave*; cf Du *deuk inlet, in-deuking hollow in the earth* and *duiken*, MLG *dūken*, OHG *tūchen* wkv *duck* (source of these obscure; not OFris, OS *dōk* m/n, MDu *doek* (source of NE *duck*), OHG *tuoh* m/n *cloth*).

F 1939:177 suggests possible tie with ***dauhts** f δοχή *feast, reception*, comparing **ga-hlaiba* m συστρατιώτης *comrade*, **hlaifs** m ἄρτος *bread*. He also rejects older proposals: Loewenthal 1927 WuS 10:165 compared Gk θοάζω *sit*, though it too is obscure; cf Chantraine 1968-80:419; **ga-dauka* would be a *fellow-sitter*. Much 1893 BGDSL 17:180 recalled the EN Δαυκίωνες in Ptolemy II.11:16; Grienberger 1900:78 compared OHG *tūcken duck, dip*, proposing **ga-dauka* as a *fellow-dunker from a common bowl*; Meringer 1904 IF 16:142ff, citing MHG *tucken bend down*, proposed origin in 'one who bends to enter the same hut'. Comparison by others with Lith *dùgnas ground, floor* invalidated by source of this in **dùbnas* (Fraenkel 1962-65:108-09). Oddly, the most likely source of Du *deuk, duiken* is as a PGmc by-form of *diep*, Go ***diufs**; J Schmidt's etymology then may be correct.

P 1959:267-68.

G9. ga-daursan prt-prsIII τολμᾶν *dare*, inf 2C 10.2, Ph 1.14, 1sg prt-prs *ga-dars* 2C 11.21, 1pl *ga-daursum* 2C 10.12, 3pl prt *ga-daurstedun* L 20.40.

OE *durran*, prt-prs *dear*; OS *gi-durran*, prt-prs *gi-dar*; OHG *(ki-)kurran*, prt-prs *tar dare*†; OE *ge-dyrst*, OHG *gi-turst* stf *boldness* (: Skt *dhṛṣṭíṣ boldness*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:112). Go *-dars* : Skt perf *dadhárṣa has been bold, dares*.

PIE *dhers- dare, be bold*: Skt *dhṛṣṇóti, dhárṣati dares, dhṛṣṭás courageous, dhṛṣṇúṣ bold* (for the suffix see Meillet 1925 *F* Boyer: 10), *dharṣayati attacks*; Av adv *daršam violently, very*, gen *darš(y)aoš of the bold, daršitō bold*, OPers *adaršnauš dared*; Gk θαρσέω, θαρρέω *am courageous*, Lesb θέρσος, Att θάρσος, θράσος *courage, boldness*, θρασύς *courageous*; Lith *drąsùs bold, drąsà courage, drįsti dare* (with nasal infix). Sl cognates problematic because of *-z-*; OSl *drzznąti dare, drzzz courageous*, Russ *dérzkij insolent, derznutь* dare etc; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:101-02, also for references.

W/P 1927-32 I:864; P 1959:259 (Lat *infestus inimical* problematic, as noted by W/H 1938-56 I:698-99), Watkins 1985:14.

G10. gadeltha CrimGo adj 'pulchrum' *beautiful*.

From Go **gadilata*, **gadils* with n nom/acc *-ata*; cf **gadiliggs** *cousin*; OHG *gegat connected with*, MDu *gaden suit, fit*; also **goþs** *good* (Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:127). Not from Go **ga-tilata, ga-tils*, as by Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:362; rejected by Much 1898 AinIF 9:199 (*d* not ← Go *t*), and also by Loewe 1896:176, who proposes Go **gadelikata* : MDu *gadelijk comfortable*, NHG *gätlich tolerable, convenient*. Grienberger's solution preferable.

PIE *ghadh- unite, fit together*: OSl *godz favorable time, godьnz pleasant, u-goditi please* (Berneker 1908-14:316-18). W/P 1927-32 I:531-33; not PIE *ghedh-* as in P 1959:423-24. See also Stearns 1978:136-37.

G11. *ga-deþs *fi deed*, only dat sg in *du suniwe gadedai* εἰς υἱοθεσίαν *adoption as sons (by God)* E 1.5; **missa-deþs** *fi* παράπτωμα *misdeed* R 11.12; ***waila-deþs** fi good deed*, only gen sg *-dedais* εὐεργεσία 1T 6.2; *wai-dedja* m/n λῃστής *robber*, 'evil-doer' J 10.1. From the same root also ***doms** ma* δόξα *fame*.

-deþs = OI *dāð*, OE *dǣd*, OFris *dēd(e)*, OS *dād*, OHG *tāt* stf *deed*†; abstract with *-ti-* from root in OE *dōn*, OFris *dua(n)*, OS *dōn*, *duon*, OHG *tōn*, *tuon* wkv *do*† (for *-ō-* see Meillet 1918 MSLP 20:100ff; 3sg prs orig an injunctive, PIE *dhāt*: Skt *dhắt*; Arm aor *ed*, Schmitt 1981: 153-54). Also OE *wel-dǣd*, OHG *wola-tāt* stf *good deed*; OE *wēa-dǣd* f *crime*, MHG *wē-tāt* stf *pain*.

PIE *dhē- place*: in Skt *dádhāti*, Av *daδāiti set, lay, place*, Skt aor *adhām* (= Arm *edi*), Gk ἔθη-κα *I set*, OPers imperfect *adadā*, Av, OPers ptc *dāta-* (Lith *dẽtas placed*, Hsch θητόν· βωμόν *altar*, according to Fick 1910 ZVS 43: 136); Phryg αδ-δακετ 'affecit' (Ramsay 1887 ZVS 28:385) but 'afficit' according to W/H 1938-56 I:440-44; Arm *dnem set*. Gk τίθημι *set, place*; Lat *con-dō found*, *crēdō believe*, *faciō make* (*-k-* also in Skt *dhākás*, Gk θήκη *container*, though cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:96); Lith *demì* (archaic), *dẽti*; OSl *dějǫ*, Latvian *dẽju lay*, Cz *ději(-u) do, make* (: Skt *dhāyate place for self*); Gaul *dede has placed*; Hitt *dāi-set, lay* (Risch 1955:194f); TochA *tā-*, *tas-*, B *tes-*, *tās- lay*. Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:14-15.

W/P 1927-32 I:826-29; P 1959:235-39.

G12. gadiliggs *ma* ἀνεψιός *cousin*, only Col 4.10.

OE *gædeling* m *comrade*, OS *gaduling*, OHG *gatiling* stm *relative*; also, OE *(ge)-gada comrade*, OS *gi-gado one's equal*, MHG *(ge)-gate* wkm *spouse*; OFris *gadia unite*, MDu, Flem, MLG *gaden please*; OHG *be-gatōn* wkv *come together, unite*, *gegat* (Notker) 'conjunctus' *joined*; OE *geador*, *tō-gædere*, OFris *gadur*, MLG *gader*, MHG *gater together*; OE *gædrian gather*†, OFris *gaderia*, MLG *ga(d)deren*, MHG *gatern* wkv *unite*. Possibly also CrimGo **gadeltha** 'pulchrum' *beautiful*. See also **goþs**. Suffix *-l-igga* (also in ***skilliggs**)* from PIE *-lo-* and *-en-ko-* merged (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:485-86; Kluge 1926:53-55).

PIE *ghadh- unite, fit together*: Skt *gadh-cling to*, *gádhyas what one likes to maintain, what is fitting*, *ā-gadhitas clinging to*; Lith *goda*, *godóti honor*, Latvian *gùods honor, glory*, *gùodât hold in honor*; OSl *godъ favorable time*, *gadati believe*; TochAB *kātk- rejoice* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:320-21; Fraenkel 1962-65: 159-60). Doubtful, Gk ἀγαθός *good* Chantraine 1968-80:6; not Hitt *handa- fitting* (Tischler 1983- I:149-53, esp 151).

W/P 1927-32 I:531-33; P 1959:423-24, as PIE *ghedh-* (unlikely).

G13. *ga-draban stvVI* λατομεῖν *hewn out*, only n sg papl ***ga-draban** Mk 15.46.

OI *draf husks* (but cf Torp 1896:177 fn1), ME, MDu *draf*, OHG *trebir* pl to ***trab** grains, husks*; OI *drafna disintegrate*, *blōð-drefjar* pl f *spattering of blood*.

PIE *dhrebh- break apart, crush*: OSl *drobiti break up*, Russ *drob* f *fragment* (Berneker 1908-14:225-26, with references); not Lith *drabùžis clothing* (Fraenkel 1962-65:100). Extended theme (possibly of PIE *dher- disturb* W/P 1927-32 I:854-56) only in Gmc and Sl; rejected by Seebold 1970:160, with emendation of Mk 15.46 to *gagraban*.

W/P 1927-32 I:875-76; P 1959:272-73; older references in F 1939:179.

G14. ga-faurds *fi* συνέδριον *council, Sanhedrin*, only Mk 14.55; 15.1.

Cmpd of *-faurds*; probably from ***faran** with *-ti-*, as in ***ga-qumþs***. Only simplex forms in other dialects; OE *ford*, OFris *forda*, OS *-ford*, MG *furt*, *fort* m, OHG *furt* stm *ford*†; also with different vowel OI *ferð*, OHG *fart* stf *journey*, OE *færd*, OS *fard* stf *military expedition, army* (cf Gk σύνοδος, Lat *conventus assembly*).

PIE *per- cross*: Av *pərətu- passage, ford, bridge*; Lat *portus port*, *porta door*; Gaul GN

Ritu-magus, Wel *rhyd ford*; also Gk -πορος in βόσ-πορος *ox-ford* (cf Chantraine 1968-80:187). Grienberger 1900:80-81 cites ***ferja***, proposing PGmc *ga-feran* : Lat *experior examine*; not likely.

P 1959:816-17.

G15. ga-faurs adj*i/ja* κόσμιος *well-behaved* 1T 3.2, νηφάλιος *sober*; **un-faurs* (only nom pl f *unfaurjos*) φλύαρος *gossiping* 1T 5.13.

Etymology uncertain. Most probable, relation to OHG *ga-fōri*, *gi-fuori fitting, useful* (← PGmc *fōri-* but Go *-faurs* ← PGmc *furi-*) and then to ***faran*** (Grienberger 1900:81). Scarcely to Gk παῦρος *small*, παύω *cause to stop*, as by Wood 1901 MLN 16:310; these under **fawai**; nor to Lat *pūrus pure*; Skt *punâti*, *pávate purifies*, as by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:279; see **fon**.

P 1959:816-17.

G16. ga-friþon wkvII καταλλάσσειν *reconcile* 2C 5.18; **ga-friþons fi* καταλλαγή *reconciliation*, only gen sg *-nais* 2C 5.18,19. Go *ga-friþon* for **ga-friðon* possibly under influence of **friþus*.

OI *friðа pacify, make peace with*, OE *(ge-)friþian*, OFris *frethia*, OS *frithōn*, OHG *ge-fridōn* wkv *protect*; denom, for OI *friðr*, OE *friþu*, OFris *fretho*, OS *frithu*, OHG *fridu* m *peace, protection* with PIE *-tu-*; (Go only in PeN ***Friþa-reiks**, but see Scardigli 1973:163, based on Wrede 1891:63 fn4); PIE *-ti-* in Skt *prītiṣ joy, friendship, love*.

PIE *prēy-*, *prī-* *be fond of* as in **frijon**; denom also in Skt *priyāyáte show friendliness*; OSl *prijajǫ care for, am favorable*, Cz *přeji wish*.

W/P 1927-32 II:86-87; P 1959:844.

G17. *ga-geigan, *ga-geiggan* wkvIII (prpl *ga-geigands* L 9.25, 2pl prt opt *ga-geigaidedjau* 1C 9.19) κερδῆσθαι *gain*; **faihu-geigan* (only 2sg opt prs *-gais* R 13.9) ἐπιθυμεῖν *desire*; *faihu-geigo* probably an erroneous reading for **faihu-geiro**.

With infixed nasal, OHG *gingo* wkm *desire*, *gingēn* wkv *have desire for*. Probably also OI *geiga* wkv *take a wrong direction*, *geigr* m *serious harm*, OFris *gēie penance*, OE *forgēgan* wkv *take a wrong direction, infringe*, *gǎgol unrestrained, excessive*. From basic meaning of root 'gape, yawn', Gmc has developed reference to persons, ie 'take a wrong direction'; with transferred sense, this led to the meaning 'desire'. Prefixed with *ga-* the verb came to mean 'accomplish one's desire, gain'; cf however also the simplex in OE *gīwian desire*.

PIE *ĝhēy-*, *ĝhī* + *-gh-*: many extensions, Vries 1962:169, P 1959:424, but *-gh-* only in Gmc, with possible exception of Skt *jéhamānas yawning, gaping* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:444); not Lith *giẽžti bear a grudge, have a scratchy throat* (see Fraenkel 1962-65:129 under *gaižùs rancid, bitter*, as also *pa-giežà desire for revenge*). Simplex in Lat *hiāre*, Lith *žióju*, OSl *zějǫ*, OHG *gīēn* wkv *yawn*; OI *gjā* ← **gīwō* *ravine, cleft in the earth*; with *-n-*, Gk χαίνω ← *χα-ν-μω, OI *gīna*, OE *ginan gape*, *ginian*, OHG *ginēn*, *ginōn*, *geinōn* wkv *yawn*; for other extensions see W/P 1927-32 I:548-52, supplying correction on Lith *giẽžti* etc, as above. Also Grienberger 1900:82, E Zupitza 1896:173,203. Not reduplicated **gei-gai-* like **rei-rai-* in ***reiran**, as in Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:283. Go **gainon yawn, bite at something* assumed by Meyer-Lübke 1935:3637a from Sp *ganar*, OPort *gāar acquire*; accepted by Wissmann 1932:156.

P 1959:427 posits PIE *gheiĝh-* *desire*, somewhat hesitantly.

G18. gaggan stvVII ἔρχεσθαι, πορεύεσθαι, ἄγειν *go*, 3sg prs *gaggiþ*, 3sg prt *-ida* (OE *gengde*) only L 19.12, otherwise suppletive **iddja**, secondary formation to the iterative **gaggjan* (cf OI 3sg prs *gingr* for *gengr* according to Noreen 1923:339), OE *gengan*, MHG *gengen*, prt *gancte set out*; cf Brugmann 1913 IF 32:193, **af-gaggan* ἀποβαίνειν *go away* L 5.2; *afar-gaggan* διώκειν, ἀκολουθεῖν *go after*; *afar-gaggiþ* 3sg prs παρακολουθήσει *accompany* Mk 16.17; **ana-*

gaggan only dat pl f papl *-gandeim* ἐπέρχεσθαι *come by* E 2.7; **at-gaggan* εἰσέρχεσθαι *go to* M 5.24; **du-at-gaggan* προσέρχεσθαι *come up to* M 8.5; *inn-at-gaggan* εἰσέρχεσθαι *come in* M 27.53; **faur-gaggan* παραπορεύεσθαι *go past* L 18.36; *faura-gaggan* προπορεύεσθαι *go before* L 1.76; **faur-bi-gaggan* προάγειν *go ahead* Mk 10.32; **ga-gaggan* συνάγεσθαι *come together* J 18.2; *inn-gaggan* εἰσπορεύεσθαι *go in* L 8.16; **miþ-gaggan* συμπορεύεσθαι *go along* L 7.11; *þairh-gaggan* διέρχεσθαι *go through* L 2.35; *ufar-gaggan* παρέρχεσθαι *cross over* L 15.29; *us-gaggan* J 6.15, **ut-gaggan* J 10.9, ἐξέρχεσθαι *go out*; **wiþra-gaggan* ὑπαντᾶν *go towards*, only 3sg prt *wiþra-iddja* J 11.20; **gagg* na ἄμφοδος *way* M 11.4; *at-gagg* προσαγωγή *access* E 2.18; *faura-gagga*, **faura-gaggja* mn οἰκονόμος *steward* L 16.2; *faura-gaggi* nia οἰκονομία *administration* L 16.3; **fram-gahts* fi προκοπή *progress*, only dat sg *-tai* Ph 1.25; **inn-at-gahts* fi *entrance* L 1.29; ***un-at-gahts** adj ἀπρόσιτος *inaccessible*, only n acc sg 1T 6.16.

OI *ganga* prt *gekk*, OE *gangan*, prt *gengde*, *gēong*, suppletive *ēode*, OFris *gonga*, prt *geng*, OS, OHG *gangan* prt, *gēng go*; OI *gangr*, OE *gang*, OFris *gong*, OS, OHG *gang* stm *course, activity*; OE *-gīht*, MHG *gīht* stf (← *ĝhenghti-*) *way, trip*; zero grade, OFris *gunga go*, ODan *gunge swing*; OI *gātt* f *rabbet of a doorsill*, *gætti* n *door-frame*.

PIE *ĝhengh- stride* (orig athematic : prs **ĝhenghmi*, *ĝhonghmi* according to Meillet 1916 BSLP 20:[art]27, 1922 BSLP 23:[art]73; 1929 MSLP 23,iv:256): Lith *žengiù*, *žiñgsnis stride*, *pa-žangà progress*, *pra-žangà transgression*. Porzig 1954:147 takes *žengiù* as evidence for a new formation in Balt and Gmc; Gmc developed iterative **gangjan* as in OE *gengan*; Go *gaggan* etc then based on this. Otherwise only nom formations maintained in Skt *jáṅghā lower leg, shank*; Av *zaŋgəm ankle*, *-zangra- foot*; Oss *zängä knee*. J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:16 and 1913 IF 32:373 relates Gk κοχώνη (← *καχώνη with assimilation of *a* ← *ṃ* to ω of following syllable) *place between the thighs*; cf Skt *jaghánas/m buttock, pudenda* (but see Specht 1939 ZVS 66:197ff). Not Arm *gavak buttock* (Lidén 1906:32); nor OIr *cingim stride, cing warrior* (in PeN *Cing-eto-rix*), though proposed by E Zupitza 1904 ZVS 37: 388, Pedersen 1909-13 I:187; cf initial *c* for *g* (W/P 1927-32 I:588).

Besides PIE *ĝhengh- stride* is the PIE base *ĝhē(y)-* in CrimGo *geen* 'ire' *go* Stearns 1978: 116-17,137, late OI *gā* (Noreen 1923:339), Sw *gå*, Dan *gaa*, OS, OHG *gān* and *gēn go*†; Gk *κί-χη-μι, κι-χά-νω (aor ἐκίχην) *reach*; Skt *jáhāti*, *jíhīte leave*, Av *zazāiti return* (Chantraine 1968-80:536; Osthoff 1899:9,57-58 for older references; Grienberger 1900:82-83 to be used with caution). On the alternating stem-vowel of Gmc *gā/ēn*, see Helten 1909 BGDSL 35:285ff; Meillet 1918 MSLP 20:104 (Skt aor *ahāt* like OHG *stām stand* : Skt aor *ásthāt* : Dor ἔστᾱ, Att ἔστη); Meillet 1929 MSLP 23,iv: 256-57; Bohnenberger 1935 BGDSL 59:235-43; G Schmidt 1984 Sprachwiss 9:211-18. On Finn-Ugr relations to PIE *ĝhengh-* see Jokl 1921:107.

W/P 1927-32 I:543; P 1959:418-19; Seebold 1970:213-16, with caution regarding etymology. Also W/P 1927-32 I:588, P 1959: 438-39.

G19. ga-grefts fi δόγμα *decree*, only L 2.1 (**ga-greifts* in dat sg *in ga-greiftai wisan* προκεῖχθαι *be at hand* 2C 8.12 Cod B).

No accepted etymology. According to Grienberger 1900:83-84 related to **grepan*; Lith *grẽbti rake, seize through force, gróbti seize violently*; Latvian *grâbt grab*; *ga-grefts* originally 'resoluteness'.

Possibly from PIE *ghrebh- seize, take*: Skt *gṛbhṇắti seize*, Lith *grẽboti*, OSl *grabiti rob*, cf NE *grab* (Fraenkel 1962-65:165-66; also, Persson 1912:727-29) W/P 1927-32 I:652-53; P 1959:455. By other proposals *ga-grefts* is related to OE *gerēfa*, MLG *grēve*, OHG *grāf(i)o* wkm *count* (dissimilated from **ga-grāfo* and cognate with Go **grefan command*), L Meyer 1869:76-77, Loewe 1918 ZVS 48:100-01. No fur-

ther relationships. Scarcely to **greipan**, since *-ti*-abstracts usually have zero grade, but cf Wood 1901 MLN 16:310. Too little evidence for achieving greater certainty.

G20. *ga-hlaiba mn (also **ga-hlaifs* ma in dat pl *ga-hlaib[a]im* DeN) συστρατιώτης, συμμαθητής *companion (who shares bread with someone)* M Jellinek 1926:175 Ph 2.25. See also ***ga-dauka**, **ga-juk**, etc. Based on **hlaifs**.

OHG *ga-leipo* m *companion*.

Calque of military VLat **com-pānio* (Lat *pānis bread*) in OFr *compain, compagnon* etc, according to Velten 1930 JEGP 29:345. Or VLat based on Gmc, according to Brüch 1913: 81, Meyer-Lübke 1935:2093, Scardigli 1973:188-89,283-84. Cf Run (Tune) *wita(n)da-halaiban guardian of the bread, lord* (2nd element the same as that in Go cmpd according to Bugge and Olsen 1914-24:15ff; Friesen 1900 ANF 16: 191ff, Krause 1966 I:162-67, Antonsen 1975:44-46, with references; Burg 1894 ZDA 38:165 opposed; F 1939:183 doubtful, with other references). See **drauhti-witoþ** for first element.

G21. *ga-hugds fi διάνοια *mind* L 1. 51, συν-είδησις *conscience* 1C 8.12.

OE *ge-hygd*, OS *gi-hugd thought*, OHG *gi-huct* stf *memory, joy*; simplex in OI *-ugþ*, *-ūð* (in *mun-ugþ* → *munūð*, *munuð* f *pleasure, lust, ill-ūð malice* with loss of *h*- in cmpds Bugge 1888 BGDSL 13:508, Noreen 1923:216), OHG *huct* stf *thought*. Cf ***hugjan**, ***hugs**.

On assimilation of *-t*- to stem-final *-gh*- → PGmc *g*, cf OS papl nom pl *ge-hugda*, etc; Collitz 1912:13-14,74-77,105-16, esp 110; assumed by Collitz also in prt, eg OS *hogda, hugda*; similarly Kluge 1879:121, 1884 BGDSL 9:152-53, Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:280. Others assume prt in *-dh*-, with subsequent influence on papl *-t*-, and thereupon on *-ti*- etc; Sverdrup 1929 NTS 2:5-96, with references; WP Lehmann 1943 Lg 19:19-26,313-19, esp 318, with references. Inadequate evidence for determining whether the prt maintains PIE *-dh*- or has dental from papl. Frings 1921 AinZDA 40:21 suggested analogical formation **hugs* : **gahugds* = **muns* : **ga-munds*; questionable.

G22. *ga-ƕatjan wkvI *entice, mislead* Sk 1.15 / Ic.2, W Bennett 1960:53.

Ablaut variant in Go ***ƕota** f *threat*, **ƕotjan*, **ga-ƕotjan* wkvI *threaten*; with PIE *-to*-, Go *ƕassaba* adv ἀποτόμως *sharply*, only Tit 1.13, **ƕassei* fn only acc sg *-ein* ἀποτομία *severity* R 11.22.

OI *hvetja*, OE *hwettan*, MLG *wetten*, OHG *hwazzan, wezzen* wkv *whet*; from PGmc *hwata-*, as in OI *hvatr rapid, fiery, hvata* wkv *hasten*; OE *hwæt quick, bold*, OS *(mēn-)hwat practiced (in crime)*, OHG *hwaz sharp, vehement*; OI *hvass*, OE *hwæss*, OHG *(h)was sharp*, OHG *hwessī* wkf *sharpness*.

PIE *$k^{w}ō/ūd$- prick, whet, incite*; primarily in Gmc, but also in Lat *tri-quetrus* ← **-k^{w}ad-ro- triangular* W/H 1938-56 II:706, with references. Possibly also Skt *códati incites*, according to Wood 1905 MLN 20:43, though the vocalism is difficult (Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:400-01). W/P 1927-32 I:513, P 1959:636. Numerous older conjectures in F 1939:184-85.

G23. gaidw na ὑστέρημα *lack* Ph 2. 30.

OE *gǣd*, *gād* stn *lack*, OFris *gād need*, OS gen pl *meti-gēd(e)ono of famines*; PIE *ĝhəy-twó-* (W Schulze 1966:53).

PIE *ĝhēy- lack, be empty* + *-twó-* (as in *fijaþwa*), Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:449. Not from PIE *ghey-* as in OHG *gīt* m *greed*; cf ***ga-geigan**. Skt *jáhāti leaves, hāniṣ* f *abandonment, loss*; Av *zazāmi release*; Gk κιχήμεναι *find*; OE, OHG *gān*, CrimGo *geen go*. Probably also Gk χήρα *widow*, χῆρος *deprived of* (Chantraine 1968-80:1257), as well as χατέω *lack*, dat χήτει *in lack of* (ibid:1249), and possibly χώρα *space* (ibid:1281-82). Lat *hērēs heir* also here, though many different views; cf W/H 1938-56 I:641-42, F 1939:185 and Benveniste 1973:68-69.

P 1959:418-19 posits PIE *ĝhē(y)- lack; desert, depart, go* in Gmc.

G24. *gailjan wkvI (only 3sg prs opt

-jai 2C 2.2) εὐφραίνειν *delight*.

MHG *geilen* wkv *make merry*; MLG *gīlen* wkv *desire*, based on PGmc *gaila-* as in OE *gāl*, OS *gēl*, OHG *geil merry, frolicsome*; OI *geil-igr*, *gœl-igr beautiful* (attested late and only once, Vries 1962:198,166); OHG *keilī lasciviousness*.

PIE *ghoylo-s foam up, vehement, merry*: Lith *gaĩla desirable, gailùs pitiful*; also *sharp, bitter*; Latvian *gaîlêt glow, gails voluptuous*; OSl adv *(d)zělo very*; Wel *gaol love*, MIr *gāel relationship*. See Fraenkel 1962-65:128-29, also for references; negative about Osten-Sacken 1909 IF 24:239ff.

Possibly also from zero grade: OI *gil-ker fermenting vat*, Nor *gil*, Du *gijl beer under fermentation*. Du *gijlen ferment*.

W/P 1927-32 I:634, P 1959:452; rejected proposals in F 1939:185.

G25. gairda fō ζώνη *girdle* Mk 1.6.

OI *gjǫrð* f, MDu *gherde*; different ablaut vowel: MLG *gorde*, MHG *gurt* stm; with dim *-lo-*: OI *gyrðill*, OE *gyrdell*, OFris *gerdel*, OHG *gurtil* stm, *gurtila* st/wkf *girdle*†. Further, ***bi-gairdan*** stvIII *gird*†, **uf-gairdan gird (up)*. In addition, **gards** m*i house (what is fenced about)*.

PIE *gherdh- fence about, encompass* (Gmc only has meaning 'gird'); Skt *gṛhá- house*, Alb *gardh hedge*, etc. Probably with *-dh-* added to *gher- encompass, seize*, in Skt *hárati takes* (though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:578-79 on uncertain source); TochA *tsar*, B *šar*, Arm *jeṙn*, Gk χείρ (Dor gen χηρός with difficult vocalism); Alb *dorë hand* Huld 1984:54; Osc *heriiad let him capture*! Not Hitt *har-mi hold, have* (Tischler 1983- I:173-75); but *gurtas fortification*.

W/P 1927-32 I:608-09; P 1959:442-43,444.

G26. *gairnei f*n* προθυμία *wish* 2C 9. 2, ἐπιπόθησις *desire* 2C 7.7; **faihu-gairnei avarice* Tit 1.11, derived with *-ei* from *-gairns* in **faihu-gairns* adj*a avaricious* 2T 3.2; **seina-gairns* (only marginal gloss nom pl *-nai* 2T 3.2) φίλαυτος *selfish*, **gairnjan* wkv*I* ἐπιποθεῖν, ἐπιθυμεῖν *desire, lust after* 2C 9.14.

OHG *gernī* wkf *greed*; OI *girniligr desirable, gjarn*, OE *georn desirous of*, OFris adv *gerne, ierne gladly*, OS, OHG *gern desirous*; OI *fē-gjarn, sīn-gjarn avaricious*; without *-n*: OHG *ger, giri desiring*; OI *girna*, OE *giernan*, OS *girnian* wkv *desire, yearn*†. Also without *-n*: OS *fehu-girī* f *avarice*, OHG *girī greed, gerī* stf (: *Geri* [name of Odin's wolf]); OFris *geria*, OS, OHG *gerōn*, OHG *gerēn* wkv *desire*; OS *gerag*, OHG *girīg greedy*; OHG *girida* stf *desire*.

PIE *ĝher- desire, like*: Skt *háryati likes, desires*; possibly Av *zara- striving*; Gk χαίρω *rejoice*, χάρις *favor*; Umbr *heriest*, Osc *herest wishes*, Lat *horior, hortor admonish*; OIr *gor pious, goire piety*; MIr *so-gar profitable, fruitful, do-gar unprofitable* (*-gar* = Hsch χαρᾶ· ὀργή according to Stokes 1897-98 ZVS 35:594). Not Lith *gėrėtis rejoice*; cf Fraenkel 1962-65: 154. Possibly Hitt *kariia- comply with*, in spite of F 1939:186; based on *kari*, which with *tiia-* means *comply with* Tischler 1983- I:503,506. Possibly with *-dh-* + base *ĝh(e)rē-*, ***gredus***; W/P 1927-32 I:600-01, with references; P 1959: 440-41. Rejected proposals in F 1939:186.

G27. gaits f*i* χίμαρος *goat*, only Neh 5.18.; see also *gaitein* n*a* acc sg ἔριφος *kid*, only L 15.29.

OHG *geiz* f*i*; OI *geit*, OE *gāt*, OS *gēt* (cons stem) stf *goat*†; used for male and female; OHG *geizzīn* n *kid*; OE *gāten*, OHG *geizīn pertaining to goats* Kluge 1926:30.

Cognates only in Ital; Lat *haedus*, Sabine *faedus buck*; Lat *haedīnus pertaining to (young) bucks* Porzig 1954:114.

Proposals of other relationships to be rejected, as with Skt *jáhāte leave*, middle *jíhīte*; see **gaidw**; proposed in Prellwitz 1905: 500 under χαίτη *curly hair, mane*; F 1939:186, with references; also W/H 1938-56 I:632. Nor to Lith *žáisti play*, in spite of the lack of rejection by Fraenkel 1962-65:1285-86. Nor related to OHG *zigā, zickī* f *goat*, OE *ticcen* n *kid* (: Gk δίζα : αἶξ. Hsch λακωνες ← **digia*; Arm

tik bag) through metathesis due to taboo; these rather resulted from word to call goats (Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:356; Lidén 1906:10); variant explanation in Solta 1960:335-36.

W/P 1927-32 I:527-28; P 1959:409-10; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:586,872.

G28. ga-juk na ζεῦγος *pair*, only L 2. 24; ***ga-juka*** mn *companion*, only acc pl *-ans* 2C 6.14; ***ga-juko*** f *yokefellow*, only Ph 4.3; ***ga-juko*** fn (calque of Gk παραβολή, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:339) παραβολή, παροιμία *parable* from 'joining together, relating'; based on ***juk**.

OI *oki* m *cross-piece*.

Similar formations Skt *saṁ-yúj- joined through friendship or relationship*; Gk σύ-ζυγος, σύ-ζυξ = ὁμό-ζυξ *(maritally) joined*, σύ-ζυγες *spouses*; Lat *con-jux spouse*.

W/P 1927-32 I:201-02; P 1959:508-10.

G29. *ga-kroton wkvII συνθλᾶν *break to pieces*, only 3sg prs pass *-tuda* = *-oda* συνθλασθήσεται L 20.18.

OSw *krootas* (refl) *break to pieces*.

PIE *ĝer- ripen*; + *-no- grain* from 'ground-up produce'; + *ā-* and *-d-* in Gmc, cf Lat *glārea sand* ← ***grā-ro-***. Simplex in Skt *járant- sickly, old*, Gk γέρων *old man*, etc; PIE *ĝer-ᵊ-*, *ĝr-eᵊ-* in OSl *zrěti ripen*, Gk γηράω *grow old*, Skt *jīryati becomes feeble*; PIE *gr-ex-* in Lat *grānum grain* from 'ground up'; Skt *grā́vā stone for pressing out soma*; Go **kaurn**, OI, OE, OHG *korn grain*, cf NE *corn maize; (organic) granule*; Lith *žìrnis pea*, etc. PIE *ghrēw- rub to pieces*, an extended form of *gher-rub*: OI *grjōt*, OE *grēot*, OS *griot*, OHG *grioz grit†, gravel*; (**Greotingi**); W/P 1927-32 I:648-50. Not PIE ***gʷerā-*** in Go ***-qairnus*** (**asiluqairnus**). Nor Lat *Grādīvus* [epithet of Mars as 'crusher']; cf W/H 1938-56 I:616; source unknown.

W/P 1927-32 I:599-600; P 1959:390-91.

G30. ga-kunds *fi* πεισμονή *persuasion*, only G 5.8 (according to Bernhardt, ed 1875:14, *subordination, obedience*; rejected by Heffner 1929 MLN 44:454-55; according to Collitz 1930:60-71 *compliance, submissiveness*), derived with *-ti-* from ***ga-kunnan (sik)*** ὑποτάσσεσθαι *subordinate oneself*; cf ***ga-munds*** to ***ga-munan***, on the pattern of which the difficult *d* in ***ga-kunds*** may possibly be explained (Collitz 1930:69-71).

G31. ga-kunnan (+ *sik*) prt-prsIII ὑποτάσσεσθαι *subordinate oneself* 1C 15.28; on semantic development see Rittershaus 1899:66-67; to **kunnan**.

OS ***ga-kunnan recognize, gather (from)***. Cf for the formation Lat *cōgnōscō recognize*.

G32. *ga-kunþs *fi* only in ***uf gakunþai*** L 3.23 = Gk ἀρχόμενος. According to Bernhardt, ed 1875:152, synonomous with **ga-kunds** *in obedience*; according to Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:99, problematic rendering; Friedrichsen 1926:141-42 regards phrase as later addition, with interpretation like Bernhardt's; Heffner 1929 MLN 44:454-55 interprets it as *at the beginning* (***ga-kunþs** also *birth* [?]); Collitz 1930:71-83 translates as *on [his* becoming known]. From **ga-kunnan** with PIE ***-ti-***.

OHG *ki-kunt* 'natura, notitia', Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 I:118,222, OE ***gecynd*** f ***nature, type***. Regarding its formation see Lat *cō-gniti-ō becoming acquainted with* and ***ga-qumþs**.

G33. ga-laubjan wkvI πιστεύειν *believe* J 5.46, ἐπιτρέψαι *permit*; ***un-ga-laubjands*** prpl ἄπιστος *unbelieving* 1C 7.14, ***ga-laubeins*** *fi* πίστις *belief* M 9.22; ***ga-laubeins*** as adj πιστός *believing*, only acc pl n *-eina* Tit 1. 6; ***un-ga-laubeins** *fi/ō* ἀπείθεια *disobedience* E 2.2. Cf Green 1965:518-27. On the similar use of cognates of ***ga-laubjan*** in the Christian sense in many Gmc dialects see Wessén 1928 ANF 44:106; ***us-laubjan*** κελεύειν *permit* M 27.58.

OI *leyfa permit, praise*, OE *līefan*, OFris *lēva* wkv (cf Go ***us-laubjan***), OE *ā-līefan*, OHG *ir-louben permit*; OE *ge-lȳfan*, OS *gi-lōbian*, OHG *gi-louben* wkv *believe*. Derived from PGmc *laub-* in OI *leyfi* n *permission*; OFris *lēva belief, or-lof*, OS *or-lōf* m *permission*, OHG *ur-loup* stm n *leave†*. OE *un-*

ge-lēofa, OS *un-gi-lōvo*, OHG *un-gi-loubo* wkm *unbelief*.

Skt *lobhāyati cause desire, confuse* denom of *lóbhas greed*; Osc 3sg prs *loufir*, OSl *ljubo* used as conj *or* (W/H 1938-56 I:793-94; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:107-08). PIE *lewbh- desire* as in ***liufs***; on semantic development see Kluge 1905-06 ZDW 7:169 ('make something dear to oneself').

W/P 1927-32 II:419, P 1959:683-84.

G34. *ga-laufs adja πολυτελής *valuable, costly* R 9.21; ***un-ga-laufs*** (only dat sg *un-ga-l(a)ubamma* R 9.21A; *galaubamma* in preceding line may have led to error) εἰς ἀτιμίαν *of no value*.

OHG *ga-loub encouraging confidence, agreeable*.

Based on same root as ***liufs***. -- Prov *galaubia display, expenditure* based on Go f ***ga-laubei** costliness* Meyer-Lübke 1935:3644; also the Prov GN *Galaubet* according to Holthausen 1929:107.

G35. ga-leikon wkvII trans ὁμοιοῦν *compare* M 7.24, intrans ὁμοιοῦθαι *resemble* M 6.8; ***ga-ga-leikon sik*** μετασχηματίζεσθαι *change 2oneself* 2C 11.14; ***in-ga-leikon*** μεταμορφοῦν, only 1pl prs pass *-onda change* 2C 3.18; ***miþ-ga-leikon***, only nom pl m prpl *-ondans* συμμίμηται γίγνεσθαι *imitate along with* Ph 3.17; ***þairh-ga-leikon*** μετασχηματίζειν *apply to, refer to*, only 3pl prs pass *-onda* 1C 4.6. Derived from **ga-leiks**.

OI *līka*, OE *līcian*, OFris *līkia*, OS *līcōn please*, OHG *līhhēn* wkv *resemble*.

Lith *lýginti make like, lýgti equal, match*, OPruss *līgint(on) judge*.

G36. ga-leiks adja ὅμοιος *similar* L 6. 47; adv *ga-leiko* ἴσα *similarly*, only Ph 2.6; ***hi-leiks*** adja ποῖος *of what type?*, οἷος *which?* M 8. 27; ***ibna-leiks*** adja calque of ὁμοιούσιος *of the same body* Sk 5.26 / Vd.21; ***liuba-leiks*** adja προσφιλής *lovely*, only Ph 4.8; ***missa-leiks*** adja ποικίλος *various* Sk 6.18 / VIc.12-13; ***sama-leiks*** adja ἴσος *like* M 14.56; *sama-leiko* adv ὁμοίως *similarly, likewise* J 6.11; **sildaleiks** adja θαυμαστός *remarkable* Mk 12.11.

OI *g-līkr*, OE *ge-līc*, OFris *līk*, OS *gi-līc*, OHG *gi-līh like*†; OI *jafn-līkr*, OE *efen-līc*, OHG *eban-līh like*; OE *lēoflīc*, OFris *liaf-lik*, OS *lioƀ-līk*, OHG *liup-līh lovely*†, OI *mis-līkr*, OE *mis-līc*, OFris *mis-lik*, OS *mis-lik*, OHG *mis-lik various*; OI *sam-līkr*, OHG *sama-līh like*; OE *sam-līce* adv *at once*. Wood 1903 MLN 18:15, 1906 MLN 21:39f interprets *ga-* as intensifying the stem *līka- likeness*. Most others explain the word as: *of identical form* (**leik**). On the semantic development see J Schmidt 1871-75 I:89ff, Bréal 1903 MSLP 12:239-40, who recalls Gk δέμας *structure, form, body* (in Homer also adv *like*, Iliad 11:596 δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο *like blazing fire*).

Lith *lýgus*, OPruss *po-lijgu*, *po-līgu like* Trautmann 1910:404, Fraenkel 1933 ZVS 60: 247; Latvian *līdzîgs similar* Fraenkel 1962-65: 370-71. Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:279, 1906 TNTL 25:267,285f questions relationship with Balt forms, on grounds of derivation of *ga-leiks* from *leik*; his proposed relationship with Skt *liṅgam sign* is dubious (cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:101). Not related to Wel *cyffel-yb similar* or OIr *-lic* in *ad-laic pleasant*.

W/P 1927-32 II:398-99, P 1959:667; unclear whether from ***lěyg-*** or ***lig-***.

G37. galga mn σταυρός *stake, cross* 1C 1.17.

OI *galgi*, OE *gealga*, OFris *galga*, OS, OHG *galgo* wkm *gallows*† (PIE *o*-stem); OI *gelgja* f *pole, stake* (PIE *yā*-stem).

PIE *ĝhalgh-*: Lith *žalgà long, thin stake*, Latvian *žalga long rod* (from Lith[?]), Arm *jałk twig, switch, rod* Solta 1960:314-15. Petersson 1921b:155 assumes PIE heteroclitic declension, nom *ĝholgh*, gen *ghlg-n-es*, with Arm *-k-* from gen. Less likely, PIE alternation of *g* with *gh* finally, as by Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:361. On the basis of Arm *goł long pole*, Skt *halás plow*, Lith *žúolis piece of wood*, the simple root PIE *ĝhal-* has been proposed; uncertain according to F 1939:189, W/P 1927-32 I:540, Fraenkel 1962-65:1323, Mayrhofer 1956-

80 III:584-85; see ***gilstr**.

G38. Galtis GN in Jordanes 83,15: "conveniuntque [ie Gepidae et Gothi] ad oppidum Galtis iuxta quod currit fluvius Auha" (= **alva** [?]) 'and they [the Gepidae and Goths] came together at the city of Galtis near where the Auha river flows'.

According to Mommsen 159, Galtis is identical with the Transylvanian site Galt on the Alt; cf Sl **ugara* = Pol *ugor fallow ground*, Cz *úhor*, Bulg *ugarъ fallow place*, from which the GN's Hung *Ugra*, Rum *Ungra* derive; see also Kisch 1933 KVSL 52:129ff.

Related to OI *geldr* (← PGmc *galdia-*) OSw *galder*, OE *gielde*, MLG, OHG *galt*, MG *gelde* (14th century) *unfruitful, not producing milk*, cf NE *geld, gelding*; OHG *gi-alta sterile cow* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 II: 656,45) was restructured by folk etymology. Not attested, Go **galþeis*.

Etymology obscure; H Schwarz 1954:448-49 assumes derivation from PIE *ghel- peel, cut* (W/P 1927-32 I:629; with further references, as in F 1939:189 and Vries 1962:162-63; see also **gilþa** and **goljan**).

P 1959:434.

G39. *ga-lukan stvII κατακλείειν *lock up*, 3sg prt *galauk* L 3.20, 3pl prt *ga-lukun* M 27.66; *us-lukan* διανοίγειν *open up* J 10.21, acc pl m prpl *us-luknans* Mk 1.10 (cf Trautmann 1905 ZDP 37:253ff), dat sg f papl *-anai* 2C 2.12; **ga-luknan* wkvIV κλείεσθαι *shut up*, only 3sg prt *-knoda* L 4.25 (*n*-pres; cf ***af-blindnan**); **us-luk* na ἄνοιξις *opening*, only dat sg *-ka* E 6.19. Concerning *-ū-* in Gmc, cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:128, Hirt 1921-37 II:134ff, Prokosch 1939:149-50, Kuryłowicz 1969:157-62, B/E 1981:113.

Simplex in OI *lūka*, OE *lūcan*, OFris *lūka*, OHG *lūhhan* stv *close*; cmpds in OS *ant-lūkan unlock, open, bi-lūkan close up*, OHG *ant-lūhhan unlock, open, bi-lūhhan close up, ir-lūhhit* stv *sets free*; OI *lok*, OE *loc*, OFris *lok*, MLG *lok*, OHG *loh* stn *lock*† (stem vowel *u* as in Go *-luk*). Basic meaning of PGmc *lŭk- bend, turn*; cf OI *lykna bow, lokkr*, OE *locc*, OHG *loch*, MHG *lock(e)* stm *lock*† *(of hair)*, from PGmc *lukka-* ← PIE *lug-nó-*.

PIE *lewg- bend*: Gk λυγίζω *bend, turn*, λυγός *twig for braiding, withe*, λύγινος *braided*, λυγρός *pitiful* (from 'bowed'); Lat *luctor wrestle*, *luxus* adj *dislocated*, also n *luxury*; OIr *fo-long- endure*; Lith *lùgnas flexible, supple*. Probably not related, OI *lok weeds*; cf Vries 1962:364; nor OI *laukr*, OE *lēac*, OHG *louh leek*† in spite of P 1959:685-86. Moreover, OE *(tō)-lūcan tear to pieces*, OFris *lūka*, MLG *lūken*, OHG *liuhhan pull, pluck* are from PIE *lewĝ- break*, as in Skt *rujáti breaks*; P 1959:686, Watkins 1985:37.

G40. ga-mains adj*i* *common, unclean* R 11.17, **ga-mainei* fn κοινωνία G 2. 9; *gamainduþs* fi κοινωνία *fellowship* 1C 10.16; *ga-mainja* mn *participant* 1T 5.22; **ga-mainjan* wkvI κοινωνεῖν *share, defile* Mk 7.15; **ga-ga-mainjan* κοινοῦν *defile*, only 3pl prs *-and* Mk 7.23.

OE *(ge-)mæne*, OFris *mēne*, MLG *ge-mēne, ge-meine*, OS *gi-mēni*, OHG *gi-meini common*, cf NE *mean*; OFris *mēne*, MLG *ge-mēne*, OHG *gi-meinī* f; *gi-meinida* stf *community*; *gimeinen take part*.

Simplex (*a*-stem) in OI *meinn harmful*, OE *mān*, OFris *mēn*, OS *mēn-* (in *mēn-ēð* m *perjury*, etc), OHG *mein false, treacherous*; OI *mein harm, misfortune*, OE *mān*, OFris, OS *mēn*, OHG *mein* stn *falseness, crime*.

Derived from PIE *mey-*, with basic meaning: *exchange*, as in Latvian *mît exchange*; this meaning also in nom forms *moy-no/i-*, but modified independently in dialects. Lith *maĩnas*, Latvian *maĩna exchange, barter*; OSl *měna exchange, change, izměniti exchange*. Gmc semantic development from 'exchange' to 'deceive', 'harm' parallel to that in Skt *mināti exchange, deceive, ni-mayas barter, deception*. Different semantic development in Lat *mūnus* ← **moinos duty, public office* based on institution of hospitality and exchange of gifts; a public official had the responsibility in ex-

change for his honored position to give games and public spectacles; cf OIr *mōin, māin treasure, gift* (Benveniste 1973:79); also, Lat *immūnis making no return, free from, without obligation.* But Osc *múiníkad in common.* A different semantic development in Skt *menís vengeance,* Av *maēniš punishment.*

For other extended forms of PIE *mey- deceive,* see ***maidjan** exchange,* **maiþms** *gift,* **misso** *mutual,* with numerous cognates. Not Skt *Mitras,* Av *Miþrō god of friendship, of treaties;* see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:633-34, with numerous references.

P 1959:710; Fraenkel 1962-65:395-97.

G41. *ga-maiþs adja only acc pl m *ga-maidans* ἀνάπηρος *crippled* L 14.13,21, τεθραυσμένος *oppressed* L 4.19.

OE *ge-mād,* OS *ge-mēd,* OHG *gi-meit foolish,* cf NE *mad;* change in meaning ascribed to sphere of traveling entertainers at courts (Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:280, Schwietering 1919 ZDA 56:125ff); often crippled, these were known for 'mad antics'.

PIE *may- cut off,* probably even *məy-,* reduced form of *(s)mēy- carve, work with a sharp tool* P 1959:968; cf **aiza-smiþa** *smith.* With *-t-* also in Skt *méthati injure* (though not, according to Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:682-83), Gk μίτυλος *mutilated, hornless,* μιστύλλω *chop in bits* (but see Chantraine 1968-80:706-07), possibly OLith *ap-maitinti wound;* P 1959:697, Frisk 1960-72 II:244-45. With *-d-* in Go ***maitan** hew, cut,* OI *meita,* OHG *meizan cut.* F 1939:340 favored relationship with ***maidjan**; Vries 1962:381-83 prefers PIE *mey-,* which he considers one PIE root in contrast with six in P 1959:709-11; Vries derives varied meanings from 'timbered house construction', as in Trier 1952. P 1959:697 more credible.

G42. *ga-malteins fi *dissolution, winding up,* only gen sg *-teinais,* gloss in Cod A for *dis-wissais* ἀναλύσεως *of departure* 2T 4.6.

Derived with **-eins** from **ga-maltjan;* primary verb in OI *melta dissolve, thaw,* OE *meltan dissolve, melt*†; *mieltan dissolve, digest,* MLG *melten,* MHG *melzen malt* to the adj OI *maltr rotten, bitter,* OHG *malz melting away, without strength;* OI *malt,* OE *mealt,* MLG *malt,* OHG *malz* n *malt*†; cf also ***ga-malwjan** and with zero grade of root + *-dh-* **mulda**; + *-sna-* in OI *mylsna,* OE *mylsn* f *dust;* rejection of relationship with Skt *mṛtsnás dust* Kluge 1888 *F* Böhtlingk:60, by Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:675, with reference to Wissmann 1932:155.

PIE *(s)mel- grind* + *-d-?-* = *meld- soft:* with movable *s-* in OI *smelta,* OLG *smeltan,* OHG *smelzan* intrans *melt, smelzen* trans *smelt*†; OE *smolt* n, OHG *smalz* n *lard.* Basic meaning, then, 'ground up'. Skt *mṛdú́ṣ weak, tender, márdnāṭi oppresses, rubs, mardayati oppresses, torments;* Av *marəd- annihilate;* Arm *metk* ← **meldwi- weak, limp;* OSl *mladz young, tender;* OPruss nom pl *maldei youths;* OIr *meldach tender,* Wel *blydd gentle, tender,* Bret *blē weak.*

Cf ***mildiþa**, from PIE *mel-* + *-dh-.* P 1959:716-19, Solta 1960:71-72. Also J Friedrich 1952:133 on Hitt *malla- grind.*

G43. *ga-malwjan wkvI *grind up, crush,* only acc pl m papl *-widans hairtin* συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν *with a contrite heart* L 4.18.

OI *mølva crush,* OHG *mol(a)wēn waste away, w*-extension of PIE *mel-* as in ***malan**; also in OI *mjǫl* n, gen pl *mjǫlva,* OE *melu,* gen *melwes,* OFris *mele,* OS *molo,* OHG *melo,* gen *melawes* n *flour, meal*†, *dust;* OHG *mel(i)wa* f ← **melw-yō mite.*

PIE *mel- grind* + *wo-*: Skt *malvás thoughtless, foolish, málvyam foolishness;* Gk ἀμβλύς *blunt, dull,* ἁμαλός *weak, tender,* μύλλω ← **mḷwṓ* or *məlyṓ* (Güntert 1916:32) *have intercourse;* Alb *miell* ← **melwo- flour;* Serb *mlêvo milling equipment,* Pol *mlewo grinding.* For other developments from root *mel-* see ***ga-malteins**, ***mildiþa**, **mulda**.

P 1959:716-19, Chantraine 1968-80:721.

G44. *ga-maurgjan wkvI κολοβοῦν, συντέμνειν *shorten* R 9.28.

Derived from PGmc *murgi- short*, in OE *myrge leisurely*, OHG *murgi short, murg-fāri weak, decrepit*, cf NE *merry*.

PIE *mreĝhu- short*: Skt *múhu suddenly*, Gk βραχύς, Lat *brevis* ← **brev(H)wi-* ← **mreĝh-w-i- short*; Av *mərəzu-ǰva- short-lived*. Not OSl *brьzo quickly* Berneker 1908-14:909-10. References in F 1939:193, W/H 1938-56 I: 115; also older speculation. P 1959:750-51.

G45. ga-mot prt-prsVI χωρεῖν *find room, have permission, may*, 3sg prs J 8.37, 3pl prt *ga-mostedun* Mk 2.2.

OE *mōtan*, OFris *mōta*, OS *mōtan have cause to, must*, cf NE archaic *mote*, OHG *muozan* prt-prs *may, can*; MLG *mōte* f, OS *mōta*, OHG *muoza* stf *opportunity*; OE *ē-mōta, ǣm(et)ta* f *leisure*; NE *empty*; OI *mōt image, model, way*.

Etymology problematic. Probably based on PIE *mē- measure* ← *meᵊ-* in *o*-grade + *-d-*; *e*-grade in Go **us-met conduct*, **mela** *measure, bushel*. Delbrück 1893-1900 III:331 proposes semantic development: 'have measured out' to 'find room' to 'have permission'. Association with PIE *med- measure*, as in ***mitan** disputed. According to Beekes 1973 ZVS 87:86-98 PIE *mēd-* is an ablaut variant of *med-*; but Chantraine 1968-80:693,675 is dubious, in view of Hsch μῆστο and long vowels in n pl μήδεα and Arm *mit-k'* pl *counsel, care*.

P 1959:705-06; older references in F 1939: 193.

G46. ga-motjan wkvI ἀπαντῆσαι *meet* J 12.18; *wiþra-ga-motjan* εἰς ὑπάντησιν *meet*, only J 12.13.

OI *møta*, OE *(ge-)mētan*, OFris *mēta*, OS *mōtian meet*, OHG *muoten* wkv *confront one another as enemies*, as in HL 2 *ænon muotin they challenged each other singly* (from LG[?]); based on noun in OI *mōt* n, OE *ge-mōt* n, OS *mōt* f, MHG *muoze* stf *meeting; public assembly*, cf NE *moot*.

PIE *mōd- meet, approach*: Arm *matčim approach*, aor *matuçanem bring near* Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:411; see also **maþl** *place for assemblage*. Less likely, relationship with **ga-motan pay toll together* Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:212-13; opposed by Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:269-70. P 1959:746-47.

G47. *ga-munds fi μνημοσύνη, ἀνάμνησις, μνειά *remembrance, memory* E 1. 16.

OI *mynd image, model*, OE *ge-mynd*, OHG *gimunt* stf *recollection*, NE *mind* (also MHG *munst* stf *joy*, with analogical *s*).

PIE *men- think* (as in **1. *munan**) + *-ti-* → PIE *mn̥ti-*: Skt *matiṣ thought, purpose*; Av *maitiš memory*; Lat *mēns*, gen *mentis mind*; OIr *air-mitiu* ← **mentiō- honor*; Lith *mintìs thought, at-mintìs*; OSl *pa-mętь memory*. PIE *men- + -to-* → *mn̥-tó-s*: Skt *matás having thought*; Gk αὐτό-ματος *acting of one's own will*; Lat *com-mentus planned*; OIr *for-aith-met recollection*; Lith *prà-mintas named*; *e*-grade in Go **ana-minds, gaminþi*. P 1959: 726-28; W/H 1938-56 II:69-70.

G48. *ga-nagljan wkvI (only nom sg m prpl *-jands* προσηλώσας Col 2.14) προσηλοῦν *nail on*.

Simplex in OI *negla*, OE *næglian*, OS *neglian*, OHG *negilen* wkv *nail*, derived from PGmc *nagla-* as in OI *nagl*, OE *nægel*, OFris *neil*, OS, OHG *nagal* stm *nail*.

Formed with *-l-*, as in ***fugls**, from PIE *nogho-* as in OSl *noga foot* (collective according to Hirt 1899 IF 10:49); Lith *nãgas nail, nagà hoof*; Latvian *nags nail*; OPruss *nage foot*. Early PIE *ǵon- + -gh-*, with further suffixes, *-u(t)-* and *-l-*: Gk ὄνυξ, gen ὄνυχος *nail, claw*; Lat *unguis nail, ungula claw, hoof, nail*; OIr *ingen*, OWel *eguin*, NWel, Corn *ewin* ← **n̥-ghwīnā* : Lat *unguis nail*; OPruss *nagotis pot with legs, fingernail*; Lith *nagúotas having nails or claws*; OSl *nogtь nail, talon*. Possibly also Skt *áṅghriṣ foot*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:22,545 (Kuiper 1952 Vāk 2:96, ← *aṅgho*); also Skt *nakhás*, NPers *nāẖun nail, talon*

Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:124; probably *-kh-* suffix in Indo-Iran, though E Sturtevant 1941 Lg 17:4 suggested modification by laryngeal; see also Specht 1944:253, who points to preference for voiceless aspirate in Skt terms for parts of body, Arm *eṭungn nail, claw* also difficult; possibly dissimilation of *-n-* to *-ṭ-* (see also Solta 1960:147-48). Initial *s-* troublesome in Hitt *sankuṷais fingernail.* P 1959:780. For PIE *ank-* see P 1959:45-47, and **hals-agga.**

G49. *ga-naitjan wkvI (only acc sg m papl *-idana* ἠτιμωμένον Mk 12.4) ἀτιμᾶν *treat shamefully*; **naiteins fi/ō* βλασφημία *blasphemy* Mk 3.28.

OE *(ge-)nǣtan*, MLG *nēten*, OHG *neizzan* wkv *torment* (Torp and Falk, eds 1909:297, or to OI *hneita* wkv *strike, insult*; mutual influence of both sets according to Heinertz 1927: 80-85).

PIE *neyd- run down, revile*: Skt *níndati* ← **ni-nid-ati revile, despise, nidā, nindắ reviling, blame, á-nedyas not to be despised, blameless*; Av *naēd- revile*; Gk ὄνειδος *shame*, ὀνειδίζω *revile* (for initial vowel see below); Lith *niedėti despise*; Latvian *nîst, naîds hate*; Arm *anicanem curse.* Possibly an extension of PIE *en-, eni-* ← *ʔen- in, ni- downward* P 1959:311-14; would account for Arm and Gk prothetic vowel. For **ney-* + *-wo-* see Gdr 1897-1916 II.2: 861; from this, Gk νείατος ← **νειϝατος lowest*, νειόθεν *from below*; yet further proposed cognates, Lith *néivoti*, Latvian *niẽvât revile, despise* probably not here according to Fraenkel 1962-65:479-80; cf **neiwan.** For parallel PIE *neyt-* see **neiþ.** P 1959:760.

G50. *ga-nawistron wkvII (only papl *-oþs* 1C 15.4) θάπτειν *bury*; **miþ-ga-nawistron* (only nom pl m papl *-odai* Col 2.12) συνθάπτειν *bury with.* Denom of **nawi-stra-*; cf **naus.**

PGmc *-istrǎ-* based on PIE *-tro-*, extended by suffix clipping; cf **hlei-þra, *awistr, hulistr**, Kluge 1926:50,73-74. Older and fanciful proposals listed in F 1939:195. P 1959:756.

G51. *ga-nipnan wkvIV *be sorrowful* Mk 10.22A; **ga-hnipnan*, a proposed substitute, to be rejected, Streitberg ed, 1919-28 I:201.

OE *nīpan become dark, ge-nip* n *cloud*, LG (Westfalian) *nepen new moon* Holthausen 1922 AinZDA 41:13.

Etymology highly dubious. Bezzenberger 1880 BKIS 5:172 compared Lat *niger black*; etymology of *niger* disputed, W/H 1938-56 II: 168; also E Zupitza 1896:46, proposing alternate suffix. Grienberger 1900:89 related Lith *nìbras large black dung-beetle*; cf also Fraenkel 1962-65:500. Other conjectures in F 1939:195; P 1959:608 scarcely credible in proposing PIE *kney-b-*.

G52. ga-nisan stvV σώζεσθαι *be saved* Mk 10.26; *ga-nists fi* σωτηρία *rescue, salvation* R 11.11; *nasjan* wkvI, *ga-nasjan* σώζειν, σῶσαι *rescue* L 4.18; *nasjands* mnd calque of σωτήρ *Savior* L 2.11; *naseins fi/ō* σωτηρία *rescue, salvation* L 19.9.

OE *ge-nesan*, OS, OHG *gi-nesan* stv *be saved*; OS, OHG *gi-nist* stf *salvation, recovery*; simplex in OI, OE *nest*, OHG *wege-nest* stn *provisions for journey, means of nourishment.* With grammatical change: OFris *nera nourish*, OE *nerigan*, OS, OHG *nerian*, OHG *nerren* wkv *heal, save*; OI *nara life*, OE *ealdor-neru life's salvation*, OS *lif-nara nourishment*, OHG *nara* stf *salvation, nourishment*; OE *neru*, OHG *nerī* f *salvation.*

PIE *nes- join, return*, in Gmc and Alb *return to life*: Skt *násate approach, join*, zero grade in Skt *ástam*, Av *asta- home, dwelling* (Bartholomae 1888 ZVS 29:483); Gk νέομαι *return*, νόστος (cf OI, OE *nest*) *return*, possibly also νεώς, Ion νηός, Dor νᾱός ← **n̥s-wó- dwelling of god, temple* Chantraine 1968-80: 734,733, Frisk 1960-72 II:286-88; TochA *nas-*, B *nes- be*, A *naṣu intimate, friend*; but OIr *fuinim set (of the sun), fuined*, acc *fuin sunset* is uncertain according to Thurneysen. On borrowing of OSl *go-neznǫti* from Gmc see Vasmer 1953-58 I:292; with references. P 1959: 766-67, Watkins 1985:44.

G53. *gansjan wkvI παρέχειν *cause*, only 3sg prt opt *-jai* G 6.17.

No certain cognates in or outside Gmc.

Possibly a scribal error for Go **gausjan* : OI *geysa* **rush out** (Bezzenberger 1879 BKIS 3: 81); cf G 6.17 *arbaide ni ainshun mis gansjai* where gen pl corresponds to Gk acc pl κόπους. OI *geysa* is caus to *gjōsa* **stream out** ← PGmc *geusan*, cf Go **giutan*; this also used figuratively, as in OI *gaus upp grātr* **weeping broke out.** Gothic may then have been **let no one break out troubles for me.** If so, from PIE *ĝhew- pour* (P 1959:447-48).

Other conjectures in F 1939:196. Fraenkel 1962-65:133 recalls association with Latvian *iẽ-ganstс* **cause** (Endzelin 1923 ZVS 51:258), but points to its actual meaning ***surfeit, satiety.*** Analyzing *gan-s-jan*, OHG *ganz* **completely** Grienberger 1900:89-90 proposes relationship with *-t*-suffix to OE emphatic prefix *gin-* **quite**, adj *gin* **roomy**; this possibly related to Lith *ganà, gañ* **enough**, which Fraenkel 1962-65:132-33 proposes as cognate with Latvian *iẽ-ganstс* though not Go **gansjan*. Remaining conjectures listed in F 1939:196 even less credible, and are rejected there.

G54. *ga-qumþs fi συναγωγή, συνέδριον *synagogue, assembly* Mk 5.26, *assembling* 2Th 2.1. Derived from **qiman** + PIE *-ti-* → *-þ-*; PIE *g^{w}ṃtis*. According to Gdr 1897-1916 I:381, *m* preserved before *þ*; according to Streitberg 1916 *F* E Kuhn:267-68, reintroduced from expected *n* before *þ*; cf OI *sam-kund-a* f ***feast, banquet.*** Cf also MLG *an-kumpst, an-kunft*, OHG *cumft* f **arrival** with PGmc *-mþ-* → *-mfþ* according to Gdr I:385-86 with reference to Sievers's assumption of PGmc *-mt-* → *-mpt-* → *-mft-*.

Skt *gátiṣ* **going**; Av *aiwi-gaiti-* **entrance**; Gk βάσις **step**; Lat *con-venti-ō* **assembling**; see Meillet 1916 MSLP 19:65ff on similarity of formation.

P 1959:463-65.

G55. gards mi οἶκος, οἰκία ***house, family*** J 12.3, αὐλή **court**; **in-gardja* mn οἰκεῖος ***member of household*** E 2.19, f **-jo* C 4. 15; **aurti-gards** mi κῆπος **garden** J 18.1; ***midjun-gards** mi οἰκουμένη **earth** L 2.1; ***weina-gards** ἀμπελών **vineyard** L 20.9; *þiudan-gardi* fiō βασιλεία **kingdom** M 6.13.

gards is ***the house as fenced property*** (according to Meringer 1904 IF 16:140, ***the wattled house***); PGmc *hūs* (cf ***gud-hus**) is a single-room house partly underground (according to Meringer 1903 ZÖG 54:392-93). The house of several rooms is OS *seli, seli-hūs*; cf **saliþwos.** Go **razn** οἶκος ***house*** implied a place for rest. Other Gmc languages have an *a*-stem; OI *garðr* m ***hedge, garden, court***, OE *geard* m, OS *gard* f ***enclosure***, pl ***dwelling***, cf NE ***yard***, OHG *gart* stm ***garden†, circle.***

PGmc *gard-a/i-* may derive either from PIE *ghor-tó/i-* based on *ĝher- seize, encompass*, or on PIE *ghordh-o/i-*, based on *gherdh-* in ***bi-gairdan** ***gird about.*** If on PIE *ĝher-* cf Gk χόρτος ***fenced area, court, enclosure***; Lat ***hortus garden, co-hors***, gen *co-hortis* (*i*-stem) ***enclosure, pen, cattle-yard***; OIr ***gort seeded field, lub-gort vegetable garden***, Bret ***garz hedge, fence, garden***, Wel ***garth pen, fold.*** If on PIE *gherdh-*, then Skt *gṛhám* (← **gṛdhá-*) ***house, dwelling***; Av *gərəδō* ***cave as dwelling of daevas (evil spirits)***; Alb *gardh* **hedge**; but not TochB *kercīye* **palace.** OSl *grads* ***enclosure, city***, Lith *gařdas* ***hurdle*** may be borrowed from Gmc (according to Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:333, who points to OSl *vino-grads* = Go ***weina-gards**, OSl *vrьto-grads* = Go **aurti-gards**); others assume native origin (cf F 1939:197-98, Vasmer 1953-58 I:202,297,419; Fraenkel 1962-65:135-36). Both sets may be classed together, if PIE *gherdh-* is assumed to be an extended form of *ĝher-*. Yet then Skt *gṛhá-* etc and Alb *gardh* are troublesome because of non-palatal *gh-*. P 1959:444 assumes alternate forms: PIE *ĝ/gherdh-*. PIE *ĝh-* required for Lith *žárdas* ***rack for drying***, *žařdis* ***corral***; OPruss *sardis* ***fence***; Russ *zoród* ***granary*** (Vasmer 1953-58 I: 461 with references). Phryg *-gordum* in *Manegordum* ***city of men***; also *-zordum* and γόρδιον.

Not Hitt *gurta- fort, acropolis* Tischler 1983- I: 658-61, with lengthy discussion. Not OHG *gerta* f *switch* as if the form were related to *gards wattled house*, according to Meringer 1904 IF 16:140, 1904-05 IF 17:134-35. P 1959: 442-43,444.

G56. ga-redaba adv εὐσχημόνως *honorably* to adj **ga-reþs*, only Rom 13.13; from PGmc *rēδa-* as in OI *rāδ* n, OE *rǣd*, OFris *rēd*, OS *rād*, OHG *rāt* stm *counsel, care.*

PIE *rēdh-* as in Skt *rā́dhas-* n *favor, gift*; OWel *amraud* ← **ambi-rādho- mind*; OSl *nerodz neglect* (but Lith *rẽdas, rėdà order*, borrowed from Sl, Fraenkel 1962-65:711-12). See ***ga-redan**.

P 1959:59-60.

G57. *ga-redan stvVII (only nom pl m prpl *ga-redandans* 2C 8.21) προνεῖσθαι *aim at*; **faura-ga-redan* (3sg prt *-rairoþ* E 1.5; nom pl m prpl *-redanai* E 1.11) προορίζειν *predetermine*; *und-redan* (only inf Sk 6.13 / VIb.19-20) *provide for, grant*; ***ur-redan** (only 2pl prs *-diþ* Col 2.20) δογματίζεσθαι *determine, decide.*

OI *rāδa*, OE *rǣdan advise*, OFris *rēda speak, bi-rēda testify*, OS *rādan*, OHG *(gi-)rātan advise*, MHG *gi-rāten* stv *hit upon*; OE *ā-rǣdan* stv *think of.*

PIE *rēdh-* ← *ar(e)-*, *rē-* etc + *-dh-* *fit together*: Skt *rā́dhyati, rādhnóti achieves, rā́dhyate is successful*; Av *rād- come to pass*; OIr *rādim speak, imm-rādim discuss, ponder*; OWel *amraud mind*; OSl *raditi care for*; OPers *rādiy*, OSl *radi because of.* Not Lith *rà̀sti find*, according to Fraenkel 1962-65:700-01. PIE *rē-* possibly extended with *-y-* and *-dh-* to *rēydh-* (see OHG prt pl *reitun advised*, in Otfrid; cf ***letan**); here Go **ga-raiþs* διατεταγμένος *arranged*, ***raidjan** ὀρθοτομεῖν *determine*; **ga-raidjan* διατάσσειν *command*, but possibly also from PIE *reydh- travel, move* P 1959:861.

From PIE *rē-* also Lat *reor, rērī think*; Go **raþjo** *number*, etc. P 1959:55-61, Seebold 1970:365-67.

G58. ga-rehsns *fi* προθεσμία *fixed time, determination, plan* G 4.2.

No direct Gmc cognates; possibly based on PIE *rĕk- arrange* + *-sni-* as in **ana-busns**; Skt *racáyati produces, racanā- arrangement*; OSl *rokz definite time, račiti to be pleased, rekǫ say*; TochA *rake*, B *reki word*; see also ***rahnjan** *reckon*, **ragin** *judgment.* See F 1939:199 for older conjectures. P 1959:863.

G59. *ga-riuþs (*ga-riuds*) adj*a* σεμνός *honorable* 1T 3.2; **ga-riudei* f*n* (only dat sg *-dein* 1T 2.9B) αἰδώς *modesty*; **ga-riudi* n*ia* (only dat sg *-dja* 1T 2.2) σεμνότης *respectability.* See also **barusnjan**.

OE *ge-ryþe gentle, smooth.*

Probably related to OI *rjóðr red*, OE *rēod reddish*, which vary in ablaut from Go ***rauþs**. Grienberger 1900:91-92 proposes 'redness' to 'beauty' to 'adornment' as the semantic development of the underlying subst **riuδa-*; **ga-riuþs ethically beautiful*; cf Russ *krasá beauty, krásnyj red, beautiful.* Uhlenbeck 1900: 60 comparing Gk ἐρεύθομαι *redden*, interprets **ga-riuþs* as *easily blushing.*

P 1959:872-73.

G60. *ga-skapjan stvVI κτίσαι *create*, 3sg prt *ga-skop* M 13.19, *ga-skof* Col 3. 10, papl *ga-skapans* Mk 2.27; *ga-skafts* f*i* καταβολή, κτίσις *creation* R 8.39, κτίσμα *creature* 1T 4.4; *ufar-skafts* f*i* ἀπαρχή *first fruits* R 11.16, with PIE *-ti-*; cf now dat sg *ga-skaftai* in newly discovered page of Mk 16.15.

OI *skapa*, prt *skōp*, *skepja*, OE *scieppan*, OFris *skeppa*, OS only prt *gi-skōp* (papl *arm-scapan* : OE *earm-sceapan*) *miserable, skeppian*, OHG *scaphen* stv, prt *scuof*; *scepfen* st/wkv, *scaffōn* wkv *create*; OI *skapari*, OHG *scaffāre* stm *creator.* OE *ge-sceaft* n/f, OS, OHG *gi-scaft* f *creation, creature*; without *-t-*: OI *skap* n *form*, OE *ge-sceap* n, OS *gi-scapu* n pl *creature.*

PIE *(s)keH-* + labial suffix *-p-/-b-/-bh-*: with *-p-*: Gk σκῆπτρον, Dor σκᾶπτον *staff*, σκήπτω *support*; Lat *scāpus shaft*; OI *skapt* n, OE *sceaft*, OS *skaft* stf *spear, shaft*†; with *-b-*, only with certainty in Gmc; with *-bh-*, Lat

scabō scrape, scaber rough, scratchy; Lith *skabėti cut, hew, scabùs sharp, skõbti hollow out*; OSl *skoblь scraper*. Semantic development in Gmc from 'scrape' to 'produce', 'create'.

More literal meaning preserved in OI *skapker* n *vessel for beer*, OS *skap*, OHG *skaf* n *vessel* from 'a hollowed out container'; also with transferred meaning, OI *skap* n *form, characteristics; mood*, pl *skǫp fate*, OE *ge-sceap creation, fate*, OS *gi-scapu fate*, OHG *scaf* stm/n *manner, condition* (Vries 1962:483). For older references see F 1939:200-01. P 1959:930-33.

G61. *ga-staurknan wkvIV ξηραίνεσθαι *wither*, only 3sg prs *-knip* Mk 9.18.

OI *storkna*, OHG *gi-storchanēn* wkv *stiffen*; OI papl *storkinn coagulated, stiffened*; PGmc adj *starku-* in OI *sterkr strong*, OE *stearc*, OFris *sterk stiff, strong*, cf NE *starch, stark*; OS *stark*, OHG *starc, starah strong*; OI *styrkr* ← **sturki-* m *strength*.

PIE *(s)ter-g-*, an extension of *(s)ter- stiff*: only few cognates; MPers *sturg*, NPers *suturg *stṛgo- strong*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:530; Lat *tergus stiff leather on back, tergum back*, but see W/H 1938-56 II:670, with references; scarcely Gk τόργος *vulture* -- source disputed, Chantraine 1968-80:1125-26; yet OI *storkr*, OE *storc*, MLG *stork*, OHG *storah* stm *stork*† Suolahti 1909:368; also MHG *storch penis*. Many other extensions of *(s)ter-*, P 1959: 1022-27; cf also ***and-staurran**.

G62. gasts m *ξένος stranger* M 25.43.

Run PeN *Sali-gastiz* (Berga), *Hlewagastiz* (Gallehus); OI *gestr guest*, OE *giest, gyst*, OS, OHG *gast* stm *enemy, guest*†.

PIE *ghosti- stranger, guest*: Lat *hostis stranger who in early Rome had the rights of a Roman* (Benveniste 1973:77), later *enemy*; OSl *gostь guest* (not a Gmc loan according to Berneker 1908-14:337). Scarcely Hom ξένος *guest*, later *stranger*, for which no acceptable source has been found, Frisk 1960-72 II:333-34, Chantraine 1968-80:764-65; nor Alb *huaj foreign* Huld 1984:76. The Gmc, Lat and Gk words belonged to a common semantic sphere of hospitality; earlier references in F 1939:202; see now Benveniste 1973:75-79. Lat developed differently from the other dialects, in a manner unknown to us. As social customs changed, the early responsibility to be hospitable to a stranger was no longer observed, and each dialect fixed the meaning as noted above. P 1959:453, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:754-55.

G63. *ga-suljan wkvI θεμελιοῦν *found* M 7.25.

-suljan is either a denom of Go ***sulja** f σανδάλιον *sole* or related to PGmc *sūli-* in OI *sūl(a)* f, OE *sȳl* f, OFris *sēle*, OLF *sūl*, MLG *sūle*, OHG *sūl* stf *pillar*; cf Go **sauls** f *pillar*.

Etymology disputed. Possibly related to Skt *sváruṣ sacrificial post*, though P 1959:1050 relates this to OE *swior* etc *pillar*, Lat *surus twig, post*; Persson 1912:385-86 had tentatively assumed PIE *-l-* also in etymon of Skt *sváruṣ*.

Others propose relationship with Gk ὕλη *woods*, though Chantraine 1968-80:1115 states its origin as unknown. Fraenkel 1962-65:1032 accepts relationship of Lith *šùlas stave, post*, OHG *sūla*, Go *sauls* and also Gk ξύλον *wood*, an etymology incorporated by Chantraine 1968-80:767. Older proposals in F 1939:202.

G64. ga-tamjan wkvI δαμᾶν *tame*, only inf Mk 5.4.

OI *temja*, OE *temmian*, OFris *tema*, MLG *temmen*, OHG *zemman* (: Skt *damáyati*), OHG *zamōn* wkv (: Lat *domāre*) *tame*†; OI *tamr*, OE, OFris, MLG *tam*, OHG *zam* adj *tame*† (: Skt *dámas act of taming, damás* adj *taming*).

PIE *dem- tame, subdue*: Skt *dāmyáti is tame, tames, damáyati* (: Lat *domat*) *subdues*; NPers *dām tamed animal*; Gk δαμάω, δάμνημι, Lat *domō tame*; Gk δμώς *slave*; MIr *damnaim subdue, dam ox* (: Gk δαμάλης *young steer*, δάμαλις *heifer*), Gaul-Lat *damma, dāma deer*; possibly also OE *dā* f *deer*, cf NE *doe*; Hitt *damas- press, push*. PIE root may be related to *dem- build* as in ***timrjan**, Lat *domus house*

and so on; 'tame' = 'train one for the household'.

P 1959:199-200; see Kretschmer 1892 ZVS 31:406-07 on ablaut. Further references in F 1939:203, Watkins 1985:11.

G65. ga-tarhjan wkvI σημειοῦν, δειγματίζειν *distinguish, note* 2Th 3.14; *-hiþ* n sg papl (gloss in Cod A to *swikunþ*) ἔκδηλον *manifest.*

PGmc *torga- view* (← PIE *dr̥ĥo-*: Skt *dr̥śview*; Gk δράκ-ος n *eye*; OIr *drech face*) in Nor GN *Torget, Torghatten* etc (Hesselman 1929 *F* A Kock:512ff); PIE *-to-* in PGmc *turhta-*: OE *torht*, OS *toroht*, OHG *zoraht bright, clear*, OHG *ougo-zorhtan* wkv *reveal.* Possibly also in OI *tjǫrn* (← **terh-nō* according to Hesselman 1929 *F* A Kock:517ff) f *tarn†, small inland lake*, though see Vries 1962:593, who cites a more credible etymology (a lake as an 'eye' in the landscape is somewhat poetic for the early Gmc period).

PIE *derĥ- glance at*, perfective so that its forms are in the aor or perf in Skt: 3sg aor subj *dárśat*, perf *dadárśa*, Av *dādarəsa have seen*, Skt *dr̥ṣṭás seen* (: PGmc *turhta-*), *darśáyati cause to see* (: Go *-tarhjan*), *dr̥ṣṭiṣ glance*; Gk δέργμα *glance*, δράκων *dragon* (from its baleful glance), δέρκομαι *see*, aor ἔδρακον, perf δέδορκα; OIr *derc eye*, *ad-con-darc have seen*; Alb *dritë* ← *dr̥ĥtī light.* On *-h-* rather than *-g-* in caus *-tarhjan* see Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:349ff, who cites parallels with accented stem in Sl dialects.

P 1959:213.

G66. *ga-tarnjan wkvI ἀποστερεῖν *rob, take away*, only papl in *at þaimei gatarniþ ist sunja* ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἀληθείας *from whom truth is taken away* 1T 6.5.

Caus of PGmc *ter- tear*, as in ***dis-tairan**, **ga-tairan** *tear apart* (trans), **ga-taurnan tear* (intrans), according to Holthausen 1903 IF 14:340-41, 1934b:106. Wood 1901 MLN 16:310 also relates OHG *trinnan withdraw.*

PIE *der- flay, split off*: Wel, Corn *darn* ← **dr̥nó-* (: Skt *dīrṇás split*) *fragment* according to Stokes 1894:147; accepted by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:281. Cf also Lith *dìrti tear* Fraenkel 1962-65:96-97 with references. Other Gmc cognates under ***dis-tairan.**

P 1959:206-08 (and -211 with further suffixes), Watkins 1985:12.

G67. *ga-teihan stvI ἀπαγγεῖλαι *announce, tell* (2pl imp *-hiþ* M 11.4, 3sg prt *ga-taih* L 8.47, 3pl prt *ga-taihun* M 8.33, n sg papl *ga-taihan* L 8.20); **faura-ga-teihan* προλέγειν *tell beforehand* 2C 13.2.

OI *tjā, tēa show, report, tīginn noble* (not = Lat *dignus worthy* W/H 1938-56 I:348,351); OE *tēon*, papl *be-tigen accuse, of-tēon*, OFris *for-tiā*, OS *af-tīhan deny*, OFris *tiā*, OHG *gi-zīhan* stv *accuse*; with voiced obstruent, OFris *tīgia accuse*, MLG *tīgen*, OHG *zeigōn* wkv *show*; *zeiga* wkf *directions*; OI *teigr strip of land* (: Skt *deśás region*), OE *tīg, tīh* m *meadow, pasture*, MLG *tī(g)* m *village square*, OHG *zīah* m *forum*; OE *tiht* m, OHG *bi-ziht* stf *accusation* (: Skt *diṣṭiṣ*, Av *ā-dištiš instruction*).

PIE *deyĥ- show* (on meaning see W/H 1938-56 I:349, who object to conclusions of Gonda 1929): Skt *diśáti, deśayati*; Av *disyeiti, daēsayeiti shows*; Skt *diśā direction*; Gk δίκη *justice*; δείκνυμι *show*; OLat *deicō*, Lat *dīcō*, Osc *deikum say*; Lat *in-dicō indicate, iū-dex judge (who points to justice)*; Hitt *tekkussāi-show.* Not MIr *do-dēcha says*, nor Phryg ετι-τετικμενος = κατηραμένος *denounced, accursed*, according to W/H 1938-56 I:348; they also interpret Gk δεῖγμα *proof* as having secondary *-γ-*, as did Kretschmer 1920 Glotta 10:110; see **taikn.**

P 1959:188-89; Tichy 1979 MSzS 38:171-228 distinguishes PIE *deyĥ- show* from *deyĥ- throw*; Watkins 1985:10.

G68. *ga-timan stvIV (only 3sg prs *-mid* συμφωνεῖ L 5.36) *match.*

OFris *timia*, ODu *teman*, Du *be-tamen*, OHG *zeman* stv *be fitting.*

Possibly from PIE *dem- fit, build* as in **ga-**

tamjan, ***timrjan*** (Fick 1890:66,454). Only Gmc would then have preserved the simplex beside Gk δέμω *build*. PIE *dem-* scarcely an extended form of PIE *dē-, dēy- bind* as suggested by Grienberger 1900:93-94. See P 1959: 183,198-199.

G69. *gatwo fn πλατεῖα *street* (only acc pl *gatwons* L 14.21), OI *gata* f *path, street*, MLG *gate lane, street*, OHG *gazza* wkf *lane*.

Etymology obscure. Relationship possible, though doubtful, to OE *geat* n *gate, doorway*; OI *gat* n *hole*, OFris *gat, iet*, OS *gat* n *hole, opening*, MLG, Flem *gat hole, anus*. The latter may derive from PIE *ghed- defecate, hole*: Skt *hádati defecates*; Av *zadah- anus*; Gk χέζω *defecate*; Arm *jet tail*; Alb *dhjet defecate*; others doubtful, including OSl *zadi behind*, Phryg ζέτνα *gate* (though cf Chantraine 1968-80:1250). P 1959:423.

Many rejected proposals listed in F 1939: 205-06.

G70. *ga-þairsan stvIII *wither*, only acc sg f papl *ga-þaursana hábands handu* ἐξηραμμένην ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα *having a withered hand* Mk 3.1,3.

PGmc caus *þarzjan* (: Skt *tarṣáyati*, Lat *torreō* **parch**) in OI *þerra dry, make dry*, OE *ā-þierran*, MLG, OHG *derran* wkv *parch*, cf NE *thirst* ; MLG *darre*, OHG *darra* wkf *kiln*. See also ***þaursjan, þaursus**.

PIE *ters- thirst*: Skt *tṛṣyati thirsts, tarṣas*, Av *taršnō thirst*; Gk τέρσομαι *become dry*; Lat *torreō parch, roast, terra* ← ****tersā*** (or ****tērsā*****) *earth*; Osc *terúm territory, teras lands*; OIr *tart thirst, tīr land, tīr(im) dry*, OWel, Corn, Bret *tir land* Vendryès 1959-:T-74-75 for other forms and references; Arm *t'aṙamim, t'aršamim wither*; Alb *ter dry in the air*.

P 1959:1078-79.

G71. ga-þlaihan stvVII[†] παρακαλεῖν *admonish, comfort*, ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι *embrace* Tit 1.9, 3sg prs *-hiþ* 1T 5.8, prt not attested; + PIE *-ti-*, ****ga-þlaihts*** fi παράκλησις *comfort* Ph 2.1.

No certain cognates. Scarcely to Du *vleien*, OHG *flĕhon* wkv *flatter, implore* in spite of F 1939:206; comparison of OI *flār sly, treacherous*, OE *flāh traitorous*, as if from PGmc *þlaiha-* is not supportive.

Possibly from PIE *tlex-, tlā-* extended form of *tel- bear, endure*: Dor τλᾱτός *patient, steadfast*; OIr *tlāith weak, gentle*; see **þulan**; P 1959:1060-61. Older proposals in F 1939:206 scarcely credible; regarding the suggestion by Osthoff 1888 BGDSL 13:399, cf Gk λαικάς, see the account by Chantraine 1968-80:613 under λαικάζω, and also W/H 1938-56 I:782 on Lat *lēna pander*, where it is rejected.

G72. gaumjan wkvI βλέπειν, διαβλέπειν, ἰδεῖν, κατανοεῖν *see, observe* L 6.41.

OI *geyma*, OE *gīeman heed, watch*, OS *gōmean guard*, OHG *gaum(j)an, goumōn* wkv *foresee, care for, entertain guests, eat*, derived from PGmc *gauma-* as in OI *gaumr* m, *gaumgæfi* f *attention, care*, OE *gīeme care*, NFris *gumi christening celebration*, OS *gōma entertainment*, OHG *gouma* st/wkf *attentiveness, banquet*; with differing ablaut, OI *guma pay attention to*, OE *ofer-gūmian, -gieman not be concerned about*, OS *far-gūmōn* wkv *neglect*. Basic meaning of set 'observe anxiously' (Rittershaus 1899:1ff); 'provide sustenance, eat' (Rooth 1926:1ff); rejected by Slotty 1928 IF 46:366-72.

Possibly an extended form of PIE *ghow- perceive, pay heed to*: Lat *faveō be favorable*; OI *gā* ← ****gawōn*** *pay heed*; OSl *govĕti honor*, see Torp 1896:186, W/H 1938-56 I:464-66, with references. Older proposals in F 1939:207. P 1959:453.

G73. gaunon wkvII πενθεῖν *bewail*, θρηνεῖν *lament* L 6.25; ****gaunoþu*** mu acc sg ὀδυρμός *mourning*, a conjecture for *gaunoþa* 2C 7.7; *-oþus* ← PIE *-ātu-*, cf ****auhjodus***.

PGmc onomatopoeic *gaw-* with numerous extensions, as in OI *gauša* f *barking*, OE *gēaþ* f *mockery*; OI *gaula howl (of a dog), geyja bark, mock*, OE *gōian* wkv *sob* (Holthausen 1918 ZVS 48:238); OI *gauta prattle, boast*, Du *guiten bark, scold*, NHG dial *kauzen* etc *bark*

(Feist 1908 BGDSL 33:402-03, 1909 BGDSL 35: 387-88); OE *gēanoþ* f *mourning*. Here PGmc *-oþu-* from PIE *-ātū* as also in **gabaurjoþus* and **wratodus* in spite of Benveniste 1948:107; cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:444-46, and examples like Gk βοητύς *cry* beside βοάω *utter a cry*, Lat *ōrnātus ornament* beside *ōrnāre adorn*; OIr *nertad strengthening* beside *nertaim strengthen*.

Etymology uncertain; possibly from PIE *ghēw- yawn, gape*: Gk χάος *empty space*, adj χαῦνος *gaping, porous*; OHG *goumo* m *palate*; OI *gōmr palate, gums*, OE *gōma gum*†; Lith *gomurỹs palate* (Fraenkel 1962-65:161,1312-13). P 1959:449. Possibly also from PIE *ĝhaw- shout*: Skt *hávate*, Av *zavaiti shouts*; Gk καυχάομαι *boast*; OSl *zovǫ shout*; see also **guþ**. P 1959:413-14. As with other onomatopoeic words, no clear basis for determining likely source.

G74. gaurs adj*a* λυπόμενος, περίλυπος *sorrowful, sad* Mk 10.22, σκυθρωπός *sullen* M 6. 16; **gaurei* (only acc sg *-rein* Ph 2.27) f*n*, **gauriþa* (only J 16.6) f*ō* λύπη *sorrow*; *gaurjan* wkvI λυπεῖν *insult* 2C 2.2.

OHG *gōrag miserable, pitiful*. Possibly also with *n*-extension and different vowel OE *gyrn* stn *mourning*, OS *gornōn* wkv *mourn*, *gornword* stn *lament*. And not OE *gnorn* m *sorrow* and related words, including possibly OE *gryre* m, OS *gruri* m *dread*, themselves related, with dissimilation of *(g)n-*. Scarcely OI *gaurr* m *miserable person* or OE *gor* n *dirt* Vries 1962: 159. -- Also, scarcely related to **gaunon** *bewail* (vocal mourning as opposed to *gaurs* for silent mourning[?]).

PIE *ghow-ro-s terrible, fearful*. Skt *ghorás dreadful, awe-inspiring*. Possibly also Ukrainian *žurýty perturb, žurbá sorrow*, Russ *žurítь scold* Vasmer 1953-58 I:434, E Zupitza 1896:172. Grienberger 1900:96 and Petersson 1909 IF 24: 253-54 object, relating the Sl words to OI *keyra* wkv *chase* Vries 1962:308.

P 1959:453-54.

G75. *ga-wadjon wkvII ἁρμόζειν *betroth* from 'give as surety', only 1sg prt *ga-wadjoda* 2C 11.2.

OI *veðja wager, bet*, OE *weddian* wkv *pledge, betroth* (cf NE *wed*), *wedd* n *pledge, betrothal agreement, be-weddung* f *betrothal*, OFris *weddia*, MLG *wedden pay a fine, bet*, MHG *wetten* wkv *pledge, pay, bet* Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:113-16,73-75.

Derived from **wadi** n*ja* ἀρραβών *pledge*; an indication of marriage arrangement when the guardian of the bride pledges her to the groom; see Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:75,110-11; references, LIV-LV; older references in F 1939: 208-09.

PIE *wadh- pledge, redeem a pledge*: Lat *vas*, gen *vadis hostage*; Lith *vādas pledge, hostage*. P 1959:1109. Not derived from PIE *wedh- marry (a woman)*, from 'lead (a woman to one's home)' which has broader distribution than *wadh-*; Av *vāδayeiti*, Wel *dy-weddio*, Lith *vèsti*, OSl *vesti lead, marry*; cf Benveniste 1973:193-97 for discussion of IE marriage arrangements and terminology. PIE *wedh-* → *wed-* before nasal, according to P 1959:1115-16; this form in Gk ἔδνα *dowry*, OE *weotuma, wetma* m, OFris *wetma*, Burg *witemo*, Alemannic *widemo* m *dowry*. See also ***fra-gifts**. As Benveniste 1973:193-97 points out, much of the marriage institution is maintained from early IE times, but the terminology may be changed, as in Lat *uxorem ducere lead a wife (home), marry*, Gk γαμεῖν *marry* (of unknown etymology), Go **2. *liugan**. See also Buck 1949:98-102.

G76. ga-wairþi n*ia* εἰρήνη *peace* M 10.34; **ga-wairþeigs* adj*a peaceful*, only nom pl m *-gai sijaiþ* εἰρηνεύετε Mk 9.50.

OHG *gi-wurt* stf *pleasure*, cf OHG *giwerdan* stv *desire, take pleasure in*; see **wairþan**.

According to Brugmann 1916:13, originally something like 'conventio'; **ga-wairþan* = 'convenire', like Skt *sam-vart- turn to one another, form a union*. But Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:650 associate *ga-wairþi* with **wairþ**

price, value, assuming its origin in the 'common evaluation' or agreement of two parties leading to peace. F Kauffmann 1912-13 IF 31:321-22 interprets *ga-wairþi* as *money, pledge, pledge of peace,* like Franco-Lat *fredus* = OF *frethu,* OFris *fretho, fretto-panning,* OI *friðkaup* n *peace-money* = *conciliation* in Gmc law; cf Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:141.

Elsewhere, PGmc *friþu-*: OI *friðr* m, OE *friþu* f, *friþ* m/n, OFris *fretho,* OS *friðu,* OHG *fridu* stm, *frida* stf *peace;* Go ***Friþareikeis*** PeN, Loewe 1922 ZDA 59:258-61; scribal error for **Friþi-gairneis Fritiger* [?] or *Friþugernus,* Scardigli 1973:163.

G77. *ga-wargeins fi/ō κατάκριοις *damnation,* only dat sg *-geinai* 2C 7.3, derived with **-eins** from **ga-wargjan* wkvI κατακρίνειν *outlaw, condemn* Mk 10.33; cf ***launa-wargs** and **wargiþa.**

OE *wiergan curse,* OS *gi-waragean,* OHG *for-wergen* wkv *punish as a criminal;* actually, 'to make into a **wargs*' (ie, *a destroyer, wolf*); see Go ***launa-wargs*** ἀχάριστος *ungrateful,* OI *vargr wolf, robber, evil-doer,* OE *wearg,* OS, OHG *warg* stm *criminal;* Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:134.

G78. *ga-weison wkvII ἐπισκέψασθαι *visit, provide for* L 1.68.

OS, OHG *wīsōn* wkv *visit, seek out.* PIE *-eyō*-formation in OI *vīsa show;* OE *wīsian,* OFris *wīsa,* OS *wīsian,* OHG *wīsen* wkv *direct.*

Denom of PGmc *wīsa-* (***fulla-weis** beside PGmc *wissa* in **un-wiss*) ← PIE *weyd-to-* (Osthoff 1881:77); less likely, from PIE *es*-stem, as in Skt *védas* n *knowledge;* Gk εἶδος *form;* Lith *véidas face, figure,* OSl *vidz appearance* (Fraenkel 1962-65:1212-13; PIE *weyd-* see in *fra-weitan,* **1. witan**).

See also Lat *vīsō visit,* Umbr *revestu* 'revisitō' *revisit* ← PIE *weyd-sō* (not as above, W/H 1938-56 II:784-85, also 396-97; Go **-weison* ← **weyd-tay-* [?], as in Osthoff 1881: 77, Specht 1927:40, and not borrowed from Lat, as in Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:307). Brugmann relates the *-s-* of both Lat *vīsō* and Go **gaweison* to desiderative *-s-,* as in Skt *vi-vit-s-ati wishes to know* Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:55; objections by Güntert 1912 IF 30:136. Inner-Gmc formation most likely.

G79. gawi n*ja* (gen *gaujis,* dat *gauja*) χώρα *country,* περίχωρος *environment* L 4.14; **gauja* mn (only nom and acc pl *-jans* L 8.37, 3.3) *people of a country.*

OE *-gē* (as in GN *æl-gē eel-country*), OFris *gē,* OS *-gō* (as in GN *Pather-gō Padergau*), OHG *gawi,* MHG *gou,* gen *gouwes, göu(we)* stn *county.* Further, OHG *gaw(i)a,* MLG *gō,* LG *gohe* f *county.* In cmpds (see list in Förstemann 1913-16:1023ff) *-gawi* often replaces or parallels older **-warja-, *-awja-* (Feist 1920 BGDSL 44: 335ff).

Possibly from **ga-awja,* cf OI *ey,* OE *īg island, ēg sea,* OHG *ouwa* f *island, meadow (near water),* see **aƕa,** because *Gau* formerly referred to counties near water, such as OHG *Rīnahgouwe Rhine-county* (Burk 1902 ZDW 2: 341-42); the Go uses of *gawi* also refer to areas near water, such as that near the Jordan River, Galilee, and so on in contrast with **airþa, land, þaurp,** except in the parable of the Prodigal Son, where the country is mythical and might also be assumed to be well-watered and fertile to heighten the contrast with its subsequent famine. **-awja* ← **ag^{w}jō,* cf **aƕa, Oium;** *ga-* with collective force as in OI *gamall,* OE *gomol old* ← **ga-mēla-,* cf *mēl time,* OS, OHG *gibirgi mountain range,* etc; scarcely to Gk οἴη *village,* in spite of repeated argumentation, as listed in F 1939:210-11, Frisk 1960-72 II:359-60, etc; see Vries 1962:106. Unlikely, relationship with **2. weihs** *village,* as if from **ga-wih-,* collective from PIE *wik-village,* as in Skt *viṭ, viś-* f *settlement of a clan, tribe,* OSl *vьsь village,* etc, Feist 1891 BGDSL 15:547-48.

For less likely proposals see F 1939:210-11, and P 1959:449.

G80. *ga-widan stvV συζευγνύναι *bind,* only 3sg prt *ga-waþ* Mk 10.9; **in-widan*

ἀρνεῖσθαι *deny, desert*, 3sg prs *-diþ* 1T 5.8, (questionable; Grienberger 1900:131 proposes original meaning 'tie on'); ***kuna-wida** *fō* ἄλυσις *fetter*; **dis-wiss fi*, only gen sg *-sais* 2T 4.6, calque of ἀνάλυσις *dissolution*; **ga-wiss fi* (only acc pl *-sins* E 4.16, Col 2.19) ἁφή *bond*; **us-wiss* adj*a loosened*, only nom pl m 2T 2.18 (*-wiss* ← PIE *wedh-ti-*).

OHG *(gi-)wetan* stv *bind, yoke to*. But OE *wætla*, OHG *wadal* m *band* is not related to *-widan*, if this is derived from PIE *wedh-*.

PIE *wedh- bind*: Skt *vivadhás shoulder-yoke*; possibly Hsch ἑθμοί· δεσμοί. πλόκαμοι *bonds*, according to Lagercrantz 1897-98 ZVS 35:273, Frisk 1960-72 I:448; ; OIr *fedil*, Wel *gwedd yoke*; OIr *fedan yoke, harness*; Hitt *ɣeda-, ɣete- build*, if from *'wattled' house*. PIE *wendh- bind* generally linked to *wedh-*, as in P 1959:1148; cf ***bi-windan**; yet PIE *aw-edh-* weave is not related, as in OI *vāð weaving*, OE *wǣd*, OHG *wāt* f *dress*, though see P 1959:75-76; nor is *wedh- lead*, as in ***ga-wadjon**. Other speculation in F 1939:211-12.

P 1959:1116.

G81. *ga-wigan stvV σαλεύειν *move, shake*, only nom sg f papl in *mitads ga-wigana* μέτρον σεσαλευμένον L 6.38; caus **wagjan** wkvI σαλεύειν *move*, also in cmpds; **wegs** m*a/i* σεισμός *shaking, storm*, κλύδων *surge, flood*.

OI *vega move*, OE *wegan bring, be in motion*, OFris *wega weigh*†, OS, OHG *wegan* stv *move, weigh*; OE *weigan*, OHG *weggen* wkv *move, shake*; OI *vaga*, OE *wagian*, OHG *wagōn* wkv *shake, wag*†, OI *vǫg* f, *vægr* m *lever, scale*; OE *wǣg(e)*, OLG, OHG *wāga* wkf *scale*; OI *vētt* f, OE *wiht* n, OFris *wicht*, MLG *wicht* f, *gewechte* n, MHG *gewichte* stn (*-ti-* as in Lat *vectis*) *weight*†.

PIE *wegh- move: shake*: in Hom γαιή-οχος, Dor γαιᾱ́-οχος (Bechtel 1921-24 II:299) *earth-shaking*, Gk αἰγί-οχος *bearing the aegis*, ὀχλεύς *lever* (: OI *vagl* n *cross-beam*); Lat *vectis lever*, possibly *vēlum sail* (causing motion[?]), cf W/H 1938-56 II:745-46; Hitt *wehantari they turn*, iterative *weheskizzi wander about, patrol*. See also Puhvel 1981c: 246-51, who interprets Hitt *huwigatar* as *grain accumulation on the threshing floor* and posits **hu(w)ig(a)-* as verb for threshing and winnowing parallel with **ga-wigan*. PIE *wegh- move*, etc widely attested in words for travel and wagon, esp for battle (in spite of Meillet 1924 *F* Andler:249ff); Skt *váhati*, Av *vazaiti travel*; Skt *vahítram* (: Lat *vehiculum*) *vehicle, ship*; Av *vazyam* (: OE *wicg* n *horse*) *load*; Pamphylian Gk ϝεχέτω *he should bring*, Cypriot ἔϝεξε *he produced*, ἔχος, ὄχος (: Sl *vozъ*) *wagon*, *es*-stem in Hsch ἔχεσφιν· ἅρμασιν, Hom ὄχεα *chariot*; Lat *vehō*, OSl *vežǔ lead, travel*; Alb *vjedh steal* (G Meyer 1884 BKIS 8:187 or with OSl *vedǫ lead* Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36:335); CrimGo **waghen**; **wigs**.

P 1959:1118-20.

G82. *ga-wrisqan stvV[?] τελεσφορεῖν *bear fruit*, only 3pl prs *-qand* L 8.14.

OI papl *roskinn ripe, mature*, *rǫskvast* wkv *grow, ripen*, *rǫskr valiant, brave*.

Probably from PIE *wer-dh-, wr-edh- grow, high*: Skt *várdhati increases, strengthens*, *ūrdhvá-*; Gk ὀρθός *high*; OSl *roditi produce, bear*; Latvian *radīt bear*; probably Lith *ràsti*, *randù, radaũ find, meet* Fraenkel 1962-65:700-01, Alb *rrit grow*; other proposals in F 1939: 213.

P 1959:1167.

G83. gazaufwlakio = Gk dat γαζοφυλακίῳ *treasury* J 8.20.

G84. gazds m*a* (only 1C 15.55,56) κέντρον *sting* from 'goad'.

OI *gaddr*, OHG *gart* m *goad*; OE *segel-gerd* f *antenna*, OS *segal-gerd* m, *segal-gerda* f *sail-yard*, OHG *segal-gerdun* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 II:709,42) 'antemne'; *ja*-derivative in OE *gierd*, OFris *ierde*, OHG *gardea, garti, gerta* st/wkf *rod, twig*.

MIr *gat willow-withe* (← **ghazdhā*), *tris-gataim bore through*; MIr *gas sprout, shoot* ← **ghasto-* like Lat *hasta spear*. Only in Ital, Celt

and Gmc; PIE *ĝhasto- rod*, as in P 1959:412-13, therefore without basis. Older speculation in F 1939:213. Szemerényi 1953 ArL 5:1-21 posits PIE *ghozdhos* with reference to Umbr *hostatu armed with a spear* though opposing *o/a* ablaut, as in W/H 1938-56 I:636.

G85. giban stvV (prt *gaf*, pl *gebum*, papl *gibans*) (ἀπο)διδόναι *give* M 25.58; **gibands* mnd δότης *donor*, only acc sg *giband* 2C 9.7; **af-giban sik* χωριοθῆναι *separate*, only 3sg prt Phil 15; *at-giban* διδόναι, παραδιδόναι *give to* M 27.10; *fra-giban* διδόναι, χαρίζεσθαι *give, bestow* J 10.29; *us-giban* ἀποδιδόναι *repay, present* M 5.26; **fra-gifts** f *presentation, betrothal*; possibly also **gabei** f *riches*. Now also *ingibe ƕa* θανάσιμόν τι *something deadly* Mk 16.18, taken as gen pl of an *a*-stem by Szemerényi 1972 Lg 48:1-10 and interpreted 'poison' with similar semantic development as NHG *Gift*; see also Stutz 1971 ZVS 85:85-95 and Tollenaere 1972 TNTL 88:1-10, who posits a f *i*-stem. *giba* fō δόσις, δῶρον *gift* M 5.24; *geuua* name of *g*-rune in Sal.

Run 1sg prs *gibu* (Seeland II), 3sg prt *gAf* (Stentoften), Krause 1966 I:211,262; OI *gefa*, OE *giefan*, OFris *geva*, OS *geƀan*, OHG *geban* stv *give*†. OI *gjǫf*, OE *giefu*, OFris *geve*, OS *geƀa*, OHG *geba* stf *gift*†.

Probably from PIE *ghabh- take, grasp*: Skt *gábhastiṣ*; Lat *habeō hold, have*; OIr *gaibid takes, seizes*; Lith *gãbana armful (of hay)*, *gabenù, gabénti take away*. Verb remodeled in Gmc on loss of PIE *dō- give* with influence from *niman* (Kretschmer and Wahrmann 1931 Glotta 19:208); see OI *gæfa* f *luck*, *gæfr pleasant*, MHG *gǣbe welcome* with *ē*. PIE *dō-* in Skt *dádāmi*, Av *dadaimi*, Gk δίδωμι, Lat *dō*, OSl *dat*ъ, OLith *dúomi give*; Hitt *dā- take*.

P 1959:407-09; Seebold 1970:217-19.

G86. *gibla mn πτερύγιον *gable*, only dat sg *-lin* L 4.9.

MLG *gevel*, OHG *gibil* stm *gable*; OS *gibilla*, OHG *gebal*, *gibilla* stm *skull, gable*; different vowel, OI *gafl* stm *gable*†, *gable-side*.

PIE *ghebh-el-/-lo- gable, head*: Gk κεφαλή *head*, Macedonian κεβαλή; TochA *śpāl head*; Chantraine 1968-80:522; Benveniste 1954 Word 10:255-56, orig meaning: 'skull'; see also Trier 1939 ZDA 76:13-44, 1948-49 ZDP 70:356-57 on development of meaning. Probably not Hitt *hupallas scalp*; PIE *k-* did not become Hitt *h-*, Tischler 1983- I:290-91.

P 1959:423.

G87. gild na[?] φόρος *tax*, only acc sg L 20.20; *kaisara-gild* na[?] κῆνσος *census, tax*, only acc sg Mk 12.14; **fra-gildan** *restore*, *us-gildan* ἀποδιδόναι *requite* 1Th 5.15.

OI *gjald payment, recompense, punishment*, OE *gield substitute, sacrifice*, OFris, OS *geld* stn, OHG *gelt* stm n *recompense, payment, sacrifice* (synonym of OHG *bluostar* stn *sacrifice* in OHG *gote-kelt* stn *divine worship*; Rooth 1926:74-98). Benveniste 1973:57-61 ascribes to the guild a central role in Gmc society. First, 'guild' referred to a sacred banquet of a fraternity (cf Tacitus, Germania 21-22), then it came to have economic implications in fraternities of merchants. By another shift it developed legal implications, applied in recompense for a crime, as in OE *wergild*, OFris *werield*, MHG *wergelt*, Lang *virgild recompense for a man*. When the new concept 'taxes to a ruler' was introduced into Gmc culture, **gelda-* was adapted as a term for it.

The old economic sense was, however, maintained in OI *gildi* n, OE *(ge-)gild*, OFris *jelde, jold*, MDu, MLG *gilde* f/n *fraternity, guild*†. The medieval guilds in this way maintained an ancient social organization, though with totally different aims from those of the earlier Gmc culture.

NE *yield produce, give way* reflects Romance influence in modification of sense after that of Lat *reddere*, Fr *rendre* and their cmpd forms (Onions 1966:1020); NHG *Geld money* illustrates a different specialization, also reflecting the earlier sense, and like NE *yield*, modifications of culture during the attested periods of the Gmc languages. P 1959:436; see

also ***fra-gildan***.

G88. *gilstr na (only acc pl *-stra* R 13.6) φόρος *tax*; *gilstra-meleins fi/ō* (only L 2. 2) ἀπογραφή *enrollment in the tax-list* (see **meljan**).

OHG *gelstar* stn *sacrifice, tax*.

PGmc *geld-tra-* (Osthoff 1877 ZVS 23: 315), PIE *ghelt- + -s-tro-*; cf ***bolstr***, basis for *(guþ-)blostreis* Kluge 1926:74; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:346-47; PIE *-tro-* under **fodr**. Cf ***fra-gildan**.

G89. gilþa fō (only acc sg Mk 4.29) δρέπανον *sickle*.

Possibly from PIE *ĝhel- cut + -(e)tā-* (applied in Gmc also to indicate tools, as in OE *sigþe* f *scythe*†, OE *egeþe*, OHG *egida* wkf *harrow* Kluge 1926:53). OE *gielm* m *sheaf* also from *ĝhel-* with different suffix.

Niedermann 1903-04 IF 15:106-07 and Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:120-21 relate Skt *halás/m plow* (orig from 'cut-off branch'); Lith *žúolis piece of wood*; Arm *joł stick, jlem plow*; (for objections cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:584; Fraenkel 1962-65:1323). Possible parallel to OE *gielm* in OWel *gylym knife, dagger*. Scarcely Gk γάλλος *priest of Cybele (a eunuch)* Chantraine 1968-80:208. Other fanciful proposals in F 1939:215, with rejections.

P 1959:434.

G90. gistra-dagis adv gen αὔριον *tomorrow*, only M 6.30.

OE *giestron, geostran-dæg, giestran-dæg*, OHG *gestre, gestaron, gesteren yesterday*†, MHG *e-gester day before yesterday*. Lengthened vowel in OI *ī gær* (*giār*), OSw *ī gār yesterday*, but in the Eddic poem Hamðismāl 30.6, *tomorrow*. Much speculation on the meaning, and also the form, esp for its PIE etymon. The meaning in Gmc must have been 'adjacent day'; see Brugmann 1917 BGWL 69: 15, who left the problem unexplained.

The syllable-initial is one of the most widely treated problems of IE phonology. Skt *hyás*, Gk χθές, ἐχθές, Alb *dje*, Lat *heri yesterday*, and also OIr *in-d(h)ē*, Wel *doe*, Corn *doy yesterday* are all taken as cognates of the Gmc forms. The Gmc and Gk reflexes find a parallel in Gk χθών, Go **guma**, and on the basis of Hitt *tekan earth* might be reconstructed with an initial dental + velar. Yet because of Skt *hyás*, Brugmann assumed **ĝjh-*, Gdr 1897-1916 I:794. Benveniste 1937 BSLP 38:[art]144 proposed **gzhy-es*. With no further evidence, such reconstructions are little more than ad hoc, as are proposals that a comparative suffix is to be assumed in forms like Gk χθιζός *yesterday* Specht 1944 ZVS 68:201ff, Lat *hester-nus of yesterday*, Wel *neithiwr* like Gmc forms extended with PIE *-tro-* (**fodr**).

Earlier bibliography in F 1939:215-16, P 1959:416; more recent in Frisk 1960-72 II:1097-98, Chantraine 1968-80:1258 and Otrębski 1970 ZVS 84:85-87. See also **guma** for references on initial cluster.

P 1959:416.

G91. *giutan stvII (3sg prs *-tiþ* Mk 2.22, 3pl prs *-tand* M 9.17, no prt) βάλλειν *pour*; **ufar-giutan* (papl f sg *ufar-gutana* L 6. 38) ὑπερεκχύννειν *pour to overflowing*; **us-gutnan* wkvIV ἐκχεῖσθαι *be spilled* M 9.17 (*-n*-suffix with zero grade of stem).

OI *gjōta spawn*, OE *gēotan*, OFris *(g)iāta*, OS *giotan*, OHG *giozzan* stv *pour*.

PIE *ĝhewd-* also in Lat *fundō* (*n*-infix in prs, perf *fūdī*) *pour*. Extended form of PIE *ghew- pour*: Skt *juhóti, juhuté pour into fire, sacrifice*, papl *hutá- sacrificed* (: Gk χυτός), Skt *hótā*, Av *zaotor priest*; Gk χέ[ϝ]ω (Hom imp χεῦε) *pour*, χοή, χεῦμα a *pouring*; Lat *fūtilis futile, useless (readily poured out), fovea pit* (: Gk χέεια, χειή *cave*); Arm *julem pour, joyl* (← **ĝhew-lo-*) *poured* Solta 1960:259; Alb *dyllë wax* Huld 1984:57; Hitt *kutt- wall* Schindler 1967 ZVS 81:297, with *t*-extension, Tischler 1983- I:676-78; TochAB *ku- pour, dispense*; Phryg ζευμαν· τὴν πηγήν *spring*; OI *gjōsa stream out, gush*†; OI *geysa send out with violence*, NI *Geysir* = a well-known hot spring, with *s*-extension. The Gmc forms provide excellent examples of the prevalent employment

of extended root-forms rather than simple roots in Gmc. Such extended forms are the stems for strong verb classes I-III.

P 1959:447-48, Watkins 1985:22-23.

G92. glaggwaba adv ἐπιμελῶς *diligently* L 15.8; *glaggwuba* adv ἀκριβῶς *precisely* L 1.3; *glaggwo* adv ἀκριβῶς *accurately* 1Th 5.2.

Adv of Go adj **glaggw(u)s*, as in OI *glǫggr clear-sighted, stingy*, OE *glēaw clear-sighted, intelligent*, OS, OHG *glau intelligent*; zero grade in OI *gluggr* m, OSw *glugger opening, window, glugga* wkv *look, lurk*.

Like OI *glōa*, OE *glōwan*, OS *glōwian*, OHG *gluoan* wkv *glow*† from PIE *ĝhlōw-, ĝhleγ-w-* (an extended form of PIE *ĝhel-* as in **gulþ*); cf Gk χλωρός *green* (from 'vibrant, young' from 'liquid, watery'[?]; cf Chantraine 1968-80:1264-65), χλόη *young plant*, χλοερός *becoming green* (Frisk 1960-72 II:1104-06); possibly also Lat *lūridus pale yellow*, though see W/H 1938-56 I:837-38; Wel *glo*, MBret *glou coals*; Ir *gluair* ← **ghleu-ri- pure, clean*. Not Lith *želgiù look*, in spite of Brugmann 1904 IF 16:500; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:1326-27. *-ggw-* and OE *-ēaw-* an example of Holtzmann's law. Here PIE *-eγw-*.

P 1959:429-34.

G93. *glitmunjan (only prpl nom pl f *-jandeins* Mk 9.3) στίλβειν *gleam*.

Derived from **glitmuni*, *ja*-extension of the same formation as ***lauhmuni***. Cf Gk πημαίνω *harm* beside πῆμων *harmful*; Skt *brahmanyati is devout* beside *brahmā́ priest, brahman*.

OHG *glizemo* m *brightness*; stem in OI *glit* f *brightness, brocade*, OHG *gliz* m *brightness*; OI *glita* wkv *shimmer*; OS *glītan*, OHG *glīzan* wkv *glitter, gleam*; OE *glitenian*, OHG *glizinōn* wkv *gleam*; OE *glitorian*, Dan *glitre*, MHG *glitzern* wkv *glitter*†. The variety of formations parallels that of other clusters of cons + *-l-* with sound symbolism in Gmc.

PIE *ĝhleyd- gleam*: also in Gk χλιδή *voluptuousness, luxury*, χλιδών *ornament*, χλιδανός *delicate, voluptuous*; an extension of PIE *ĝhley-* as in Gk χλίω *become warm or soft*, χλιαρός *warm*; Ir *glē*, Wel *gloew clear*; OI *gljā gleam, glȳ* n, OE *glēo, glīw* n *joy, glee*†, OFris *glīa glow*, OE *glǣm* m *gleam*†, OS *glīmo* m *brightness*, OHG *glīmo, gleimo* wkm *glowworm*. Probably not Lat *laetus luxurious, fat*, as if from **ĝhlay-* (W/H 1938-56 I:750) or Latvian *glaĩma caress*, not to speak of Lith *glíẽti smear* and related words (Fraenkel 1962-65:156-57). Ultimately from PIE *ĝhel- gleam, yellow*, which has many extensions; P 1959: 429-34.

G94. goda-kunds adj*a* (only L 19. 12), calque of Gk εὐγενής *of good descent*, made up of **goþs** and *-kunds* (cf ***airþa-kunds**), Velten 1930 JEGP 29:345.

Formed in accordance with pattern in OE *god-cund*, OS *god-kund*, OHG *cot-chundi* (Benedictine Rule), *kot-cund* (Murbach Hymns) *divine* (Go **guda-kunds* is not attested), cmpd of PGmc *guð-* (cf **guþs**) and *-kunds*.

G95. goljan wkvI ἀσπάζεσθαι *greet* M 5.47; *goleins fi/ō* ἀσπασμός *greeting* L 1.29.

OI *gœla comfort, soothe*, OFris *gēla pursue*, ablaut vowel as in OHG *guol-līh boastful, ur-guol* adj *famous*; cf the simplex verb OI *gala*, OE, OS, OHG *galan* stvVI *sing* (with secondary prs based on prt *gōl*, Brugmann 1913 IF 32:190 fn1); OI *gōla howl*, MDu *gālen make noise*; here OI *galdr* m *singing, charm, magical song*, OE *gealdor*, OHG *galstar* stn *charm* (Mezger 1934 ZVS 61:289ff on formation); OS, OHG *galm* m *sound, noise*, OE *or-gal* (*-e/ol*) *pride*, MHG *gal* m *melody, song*; OE *nihte-gale*, OS, OHG *nahti-gala* st/wkf *nightingale*† (= 'evening singer'); OI *gjalla resound*, OE *giellan cry out, yell*†, MDu *gillen*, OHG *gellan* stv *resound loudly* (← PGmc *gel-n-* or *gel-z-*[?]).

PIE source unclear, possibly *ghel- call*; Gk χελιδών *swallow* may then be a cognate, though the formation is problematic; Chantraine 1968-80:1252-53 considers its etymology obscure; κίχλη *thrush* may be re-

lated (Chantraine 1968-80:536), but it adds no clarification. Berneker 1908-14:293 relates MBulg *galěti jest*, Russ *na-gálitь cry, sing, galitь-sja mock*, Cz dial *háliti se laugh loudly* (Sl *a* = Gmc *ō*); cf also Vasmer 1953-58 I:254, P 1959:428.

According to Vries 1962:170, following H Schwarz 1954:442-44, the basic meaning of the root is 'praise', as in OI *gjalp boast*, with an origin in the cultic song of praise. If, following Brugmann 1913 IF 32:190, the present *gal-* is secondary to the prt stem *gōl-*, the PIE stem may have been *ĝheH-*, as in Skt *hávate calls, hūtá- invited, hóman* n *shout of praise* ← *ĝheH-w-*; see P 1959:413-14 and **guþ**. The many Gmc forms, as in Vries 1962:170, may represent a merger of two PIE roots.

G96. Gothiscandza GN; according to Jordanes 60,9, 82,13, name of a stretch of shore on the Baltic Sea where the Goths landed. Grienberger 1895 ZDA 39:173, 1900: 102 interprets it as **Gutisk-andja*, dat sg of **Gutisk-andeis(-andi) Gothic peninsula*, cf **andeis**; see also Lang *Ant-aib border district*; OE *ende* m **area**, NE *-end cape* (in GN *Landsend* etc), *Ost-ende* etc. Possibly also a conflation of **Gutisk-Skandia Gothic Scandinavia, Götland* N Wagner 1967:209, with references, Hachmann 1970:120-21.

G97. goþs (only 1T 4.6), elsewhere *gods* (4 times) adj*a* ἀγαθός, χρηστός, καλός *good, kind, beautiful*; **gasti-goþs* adj*a* (probably a calque of) φιλόξενος *hospitable* 1T. 3.2; **godei* f*n* ἀρετή *virtue* Ph 4.8; **gasti-godei* f*n* φιλοξενία *hospitality* R 12.13; also with *-a-*, **gadiliggs** m*a* ἀνεψιός *cousin* Col 4.10.

OI *gōðr*, OE *gōd*, OFris, OS *gōd*, OHG *guot* good†; OFris *gēde*, OS *gōdi*, OHG *guoti* stf *goodness*. PGmc *gōða- fitting*[?], cf OSl *godъ fitting occasion, vъ godě byti be fitting, u-goditi be agreeable* (Vasmer 1953-58 I:283-84).

PIE *ghadh- unite, fit together* (W/P 1927-32 I:531-33; not *ghedh-* as in P 1959:423-24); Skt *gadh- cling to, gádhyas what one clings to, ā-gadhitas clinging to* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 I: 320-21): Lith *gūodas honor, hospitality*, Latvian *gùods honor, glory*, with many related forms (Fraenkel 1962-65:159-60); possibly also TochAB *kātk- rejoice*. Many older attempts to relate Gk ἀγαθός *good*; cf F 1939:218; Frisk 1960-72 I:5-6 considers the relationship highly doubtful; Chantraine 1968-80:6 simply gives proposed explanations with no bibliography, considering the Gk form to lack an acceptable etymology.

Like **þiuþ** *good*, Go *goþs* developed its meaning 'good' in Gmc; Buck 1949:1175-77 may be consulted for the variety of roots adapted in the IE dialects with this meaning.

G98. *graba (only dat sg *grabai* L 19. 43) f*ō* χάραξ *rampart*; *graban* stvVI (inf L 16. 3, 3sg prt *grob* L 6.48) σκάπτειν *dig*; **bi-graban* (only 3pl prs *-band* L 19.43) περιβάλλειν *surround (with a rampart)*; **uf-graban* (only 3pl prs *-band* M 6.19,20) διορύσσειν *dig up*; **us-graban* (3 sg prt *us-grof* Mk 12.1, nom pl m prpl *-bandans* G 4.15, Mk 2.4) ἐξορύσσειν *dig out*; **groba* f*ō* φωλεός *hole* L 9.58.

OI *grǫf* f *hollow, grave, græfr to be buried*, OE *grafu* f *hollow*, OHG *graba* wkf *spade*; OE *græf*, OFris *gref*, OS *graf*, OHG *grap* stn *grave*†; OI *grafa*, OE *grafan*, OHG *graban* stv *dig, bury*. Nor dial *gruvla*, OFris *grova*, OI *grufla grovel*; OHG *grubilōn* wkv *dig, bury*; OFris *greva dig*.

PIE *ghrabh- dig, scratch together*: Russ *grábli* pl *rake*; Lith *grõbti seize forcefully, grõbis booty*; Latvian *grâbt seize, rake* (Vasmer 1953-58 I:302). Beside PIE *ghrabh-* is a stem *ghrebh- dig, scratch*, as in OSl *grebǫ scrape, scratch, po-grebǫ bury, grobъ grave*; Lith *grẽbiu, grėblỹs rake*; Latvian *grebt scrape, hollow out* (cf Sw *grāva dig*, with *e*-vowel), *grebinât hollow out with curved knife (spoon), greblis rake, scraper* (Fraenkel 1962-65:165-66). PIE *ghrebh- dig* is identical with *ghrebh- seize*: Skt *gṛbhṇáti*, Av *gərəwnāiti seize*; OPers *ag(a)rbāya seized*; Lith *grõbiu seize forcefully, grabinėti seize here and there, grabùs dexterous*; Sw *grabba*, cf NE *grab*, MHG *grāpen*

grope, OHG *garba* st/wkf *sheaf*, NHG dial *grapsen grasp*†; possibly also Hitt *karp- lift up, carry off*, though relationship to Lat *carpō pluck*, etc is also possible (Tischler 1983- I:513-14).

P 1959:455-56; Seebold 1970:235-36, for good analysis of Gmc forms; Watkins 1985:23.

G99. *gramjan wkvI παροργίζειν *provoke to anger*, only 2pl opt prs *gramjaiþ* Col 3.21; **in-gramjan* παροξύνειν *irritate*, only 3sg prs pass *-jada* 1C 13.5.

OI *gremja*, OSw *græmia make angry*, OE *gremian, gremman provoke*, OHG *gremman* wkv *irritate*, derived from PGmc *grama-* as in OI *gramr*, OE, OS, OHG *gram inimical, angry*; a variant, PGmc *grimma-* (← PIE *ghremnó-*[?]), OI *grimmr*, OE *grim*, OFris, OS *grim(m)*, OHG *grim angry*, cf NE *grim*; with zero grade, Dan *grum*, Sw *grym cruel*; Nor, Sw *grymta grunt*, OE *grymetan*, OHG *gramizzōn* wkv *bellow, rave*.

PIE *ghrem- resound loudly, be angry*: Av papl *granta- angered*, gen pl prpl *grəməntąm of those angered*; NPers *γaram anger*; Gk χρόμος *noise, neighing*, χρεμετίζω *neigh, snort*, χρόμαδος *gnashing* (PIE *d*-suffix as in OHG *gremezī* stf *annoyance, anger, gremizōn rave*); OSl *gromz, -grъměti thunder*; Lith *gramėti fall with a crash, gruménti thunder dully, threaten*; with *d*-suffix *gruñsti, grumzdžiù grind, threaten*; Latvian *gremst threaten*, OPruss *grumins thunder* (Fraenkel 1962-65:163).

Not Hitt *karpi- anger* (Tischler 1983- I: 515-17); nor Lat *fremere roar, rage* (← PIE *bhrem-*, W/H 1938-56 I:544-45).

P 1959:458-59, Watkins 1985:23.

G100. *gramst n[?] κάρφος *dry particle, speck*, only dat sg *gramsta* L 6.41,42.

Possibly to NHG Bav *gramel remains of melted fat*; with zero grade, Dan *grums*, Sw *grummel*, OFris *grum*, NFris *grom sediment*; MLG *grom intestines*.

Etymology disputed. Diefenbach 1846-51 II:427 suggested relation to Lith *grėmžti scrape*, which Fraenkel 1962-65:167 associates with *gréndžiu scrape* contaminated by *gramėti* etc (**gramjan**), and relates to Lat *frendere gnash* (PIE *ghren- grind* as in OE *grindan grind*, Go **grinda-fraþjis faint-hearted*). Persson 1912:99 fn3,466 accepts relationship with cognates of **gramjan**, as does Grienberger 1900:98-99.

P 1959:458 posits PIE *ghrem- grind*.

G101. granos acc pl, Isidor's Origines XIX.23.7: "videmus ... granos et cinnabar Gothorum" 'We see the pigtails and red color of the Goths'. Go-Lat *granus, grana* (W/H 1938-56 I:619) = Go **grana pigtail* and is identical with OI *grǫn* f, OE *granu*, OHG *grana* st/wkf, dial (Siebenbürgen) *grunen mustache*. Other relationships in Krogmann 1935 Glotta 23:223; Sw dial *grån fir*, etc.

PIE *gher-, ghrē- project*, also with *n*-suffix: OSl *granъ edge, tip*; with *-endh-*: MIr *grenn beard*, Wel *gran eyelid*, Alb *krande straw*. Borrowed from Gmc[?]: OSp *greñon*, Sp *greña*, OFr *grenon beard*, etc; but Meyer-Lübke 1935:3862 derives these from Gaul **grĕnnos hair*, because of Go *-a-*.

P 1959:440.

G102. gras nα χόρτος, λάχανον *grass, weeds* Mk 4.28.

OI *gras*, OE *græs, gærs*, OFris *gres, gers*, OS, OHG *gras* stn *grass*†; ablaut variant in MLG *grōse* f *sap of plants*, MHG *gruose* stf *sap*; *s*-extensions of stem in OI *grōa*, OE *grōwan*, OFris *grōia*, MLG *grōien*, OHG *gruoan* wkv *grow*†, *become green*; see also OI *grønn*, OE *grēne*, OS *grōni*, OHG *gruoni* stf *green*†; OE *grǣd* m *grass* (*-ē*-grade); OI *grōðr* m *growth*†, MHG *gruot* stf *new growth, greening*.

Etymology disputed, except for Lat *grāmen grass, stalk* (J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:133 fn1; Brugmann 1878:50-51, Holthausen 1904-05 IF 17:294-95) ← **ghra-s-men* (W/H 1938-56 I: 616-17). Probably not related to Gk γράω *feed, eat*, γράστις *green fodder* (Solmsen 1909:228ff); Skt *grásati devour*; OSl *groznz, grozdz vine* (possibly from **ghras-no-, -dho-*, Berneker 1908-14:355). Probably based on a laryngeal

extension of PIE *gher- project*, as in Hsch ἄγχαρμον *projecting* (P 1959:440), PIE *ghrō-, ghrə-* (ibid:454). Seebold 1970:242-43 proposes development from a variant of PIE *ḱrē-, ḱergrow* (P 1959:577); doubtful. Older suggestions in F 1939:220.

G103. *gredus (only dat sg *gredau* 2C 11.27) mu λιμός *hunger*; *gredags* adja πεινῶν *hungry* M 25.42; **gredon* wkvII πεινᾶν *hunger*, only 3sg prs opt *-do* R 12.20.

OI *grāδr* m *greed†, avarice*, OE adv dat pl *grǣdum greedy*; also, OHG *grātida* f *zeal*[?]. OI *grāδugr*, OE *grǣdig*, OS *grādag*, OHG *grātag greedy†*; Du *graag*, with loss of *-δ-*, *hungry*; adj PIE *-ko-* as in **ainaha**.

Probably an extension of PIE *ĝher- desire* as in ***gairnei***, with *-ē-dh-*: cf Skt *gṛ́dhyati desires, gardhas greed, gṛdhnuṣ swift, greedy*. Also Lith *gardhùs*, Latvian *gaŕds tasty* (Fraenkel 1962-65:136). Not OIr *gorte hunger*, which Pedersen 1909-13 I:33 relates to Ir *goirt*, OSl *gorьkъ bitter*.

P 1959:440-41; older references in F 1939: 220.

G104. greipan stvI (3 sg prs *greipiþ* Mk 14.44, 3pl prt *gripun* Mk 14.51) κρατεῖν, συλλαβεῖν *seize*; *fair-greipan* (1sg prt *-graip*) κρατῆσαι, ἐπιλαβέσθαι *take, seize* Mk 5.41; *und-greipan* κρατῆσαι, λαβεῖν *take, seize* M 12. 12.

OI *grīpa*, OE *grīpan*, OFris *grīpa seize, take*, OS *grīpan*, OHG *grīfan* stv *touch, take hold of*; OI *grīpr* m *possession, treasure, grip* n, OE *gripe* m, MHG *grif* stm *grip†*; OI *greip space between the thumb and other fingers*, OE *grāp* f *grasp*; MLG *grīpe grip, fork*. LG *mesgrēpe pitchfork*, OHG *greifa* f *fork*; OI *greipa seize*; iterative OE *grāpian*, OHG *greifōn* wkv *grope†, touch*.

PIE *ghreyb-* in Lith *griẽbti*, intens *graibýti*; Latvian *greĩbt seize, griba will, gribẽt desire*. PIE *ghreyb-* is an extension of *gher-* (+ *-ey-* + *-b-*) which may have a parallel in *ghrebh-, gherbh-* as in Skt *grabh- seize* etc, which is further extended in Skt *gṛbhāyati, gṛbhṇā́ti seizes*; OSl *grabiti snatch up*: Lith *grẽbiu rake*; OHG *garba* stf *sheaf*. Cf Reichelt 1906 ZVS 39:21, Seebold 1970:237-39, P 1959:455,457-58. There is, however, no evidence for the simple root PIE *gher-*, only for *ĝher- take, seize* as in Skt *hárati brings* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:578-79, P 1959:442-43).

G105. Greotingi (*Greutungi, Grutingi*) [tribal name of a people associated with the Ostrogoths], EN in Ammianus XXVII 5.6; names treated as variants in Schönfeld 1911:113-14, but not N Wagner 1967:192 fn307; see extensive discussion in N Wagner 1967:171-93, Hachmann 1970:128-29.

After Zeuss 1837:407 fn (Streitberg 1920:7 approves, countering Frantzen 1909 ZVS 42: 330-31), derived from OI *grjōt* n, OE *grēot* (cf NE *grit, grits*) n, OS *griot* n, OHG *grioz* stm n *rocks, sand* (see the Finn borrowing *riutta sandbank* Thomsen 1870:166). Also OI *grautr* m *groats†*; OE *grēat*, OFris *grāt*, OS *grōt*, OHG *grōz thick, coarse, large, great†*.

Based on PIE *ghrēw- crush* as in Lith *grū́sti stamp, grū́das grain, graudùs brittle*; Latvian *graûds grain*; without *-d*, Wel *gro*, OCorn *grou sand*. Yet interpretation of ethnic names is problematical.

P 1959:460-62.

G106. gretan, *greitan* stvVII κλαίειν *weep, lament*, 1sg prt *gaigrot* M 26.75; *grets* ma[?] κλαυθμός *weeping*, only M 8.12.

OI *grāta*, OE *grǣtan*, OS *grātan* stv *weep*, NE dial *greet weep, lament*; from *ō*-grade (cf Go *gai-grot*) OI caus *græta make someone weep*, OFris *grēta accuse*, OE *grētan approach, treat; speak to, greet†*, OS *grōtian speak to*, OHG *gruozan* wkv *address someone, greet*; OI *grātr weeping*, MHG *grāz* stm *rage, grāzen cry out*. See also CrimGo **criten**.

Etymology uncertain. Possibly from PIE *gher-* with *d*-extension (P 1959:439), from which derive words representing sounds, such as OSl *gъrkati coo*. Older proposed relation to Skt *hrādate sounds, hrādas noise* (Meillet 1898 MSLP 10:280; not in Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:

615-16); other proposals in F 1939:221. No ascertainable cognates; possibly an onomatopoeic creation.

G107. *grinda-fraþjis adj*ja* ὀλιγόψυχος *faint-hearted*, only acc pl *-jans* 1Th 5.14, cmpd of **grinda- ground up* and **fraþi**; cf also **grundu-waddjus**.

OE *grindan grind*†; Sw (actually LG) *grand* m *sand, scab* (Froehde 1869 ZVS 18:313-14); OI *grandi* m *sandbank in the water*, Du *grintzand gravel*, MLG, OHG *grint* stm *scab*.

PIE *ghren-dh-*, extension of *gher- scrape, scratch*: Lith *gréndžiu, grándau rub, scrape*. But Lith *-d-* could also be from PIE *-d-*, as in Gk χόνδρος m *groat*, Lat *frendō grind*. Without *-d/h/-*, Gk χραίνω (← **ghṛn-yō*) *smear, paint*.

P 1959:459, Seebold 1970:240.

G108. *griþs *fi* βαθμός *standing*, only acc sg *grid* 1T 3.13.

Unclear whether vowel is from PGmc *e* or *i*. MHG *grit* 'passus' *step, stride, griten* stv *straddle*; NHG dial (Bavarian) *gritt stride, gritten straddle, grittel fork (of the thighs at the rump)*.

Etymology disputed. Fraenkel 1962-65:171 follows Būga 1922:219, in adopting position of Siebs 1904 ZVS 37:321, who proposes PIE *ghreydh-*: Lith *grìsti carry, bring, grìdyti go*. P 1959:456-57 posits PIE *ghredh- stride* (excluding Gmc words with *i* like MHG *grit*): Av *aiwi-gərədmahi we begin*; Lat *gradus step, gradior stride*; Lith *grìdyti wander about*; with infixed *n* in OIr *in-grenn- pursue*, OSl *grędǫ come* (opposed by W/H 1938-56 I:615). Assuming PIE *-i-*, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:143-44 relate to PGmc *gri-*, OI *grīna*, MLG, OHG *grīnen* stv *grin*†; OI *grein* f *twig*, Sw *gren step*, dial *grena straddle* (see Vries 1962:188,189, who separates OI *grīð vehemence*). Relationship with OI *skrīða*, OE *scrīdan*, OS *skrīðan*, OHG *scrītan* stv *stride* (by assumption of movable *s*) also rejected by Vries 1962:503.

G109. grundu-waddjus mu θεμέλιος *foundation* 2T 2.19; *af-grundiþa* fō ἄβυσσος *abyss* L 8.31.

Cmpd of *grundu-* and **-waddjus**.

OI *grunn(r)* ← **grunþu-*, *grūþr* ← **grunþa-* m *sea bottom, grunn* n *shallow spot*, OE *grund*, OHG *grunt* stm *ground*†, *bottom*; OI *grund field, earth*, adj *grunnr shallow*. See A Hübner 1923 ZVS 51:18 on the gender of the set; also f in northern dialects and possibly in Go.

Possibly from PIE *ghrendh-*. (PGmc *grundu-* ← PIE *ghrn̥-tu-*) as in ***grinda-fraþjis**; **grundus* then was *something crushed, ground* like **malma** to ***malan** (Grienberger 1900:99-100; Persson 1912:293 fn2).

Older, rejected proposals in F 1939:222. P 1959:459.

G110. *gud-hus *na* ἱερόν *the (Jewish) temple*, only dat sg *gud-husa* J18.20; cmpd of **guþ** and **-hus**. Calque of Lat *domus Dei* after Gk κυριακόν (Kretschmer 1906 ZVS 39:542); see **aikklesjo**.

Voiced fricative *-d-* because *h* is silent (Streitberg 1909 IF 24:181); connecting vowel *a* lost in hiatus as in **and-augi** (Streitberg 1910 IF 27:156-57). OI *goða-hūs* stn *(heathen) temple* (Mikkola 1924 MSNH 7:271), MHG *gotes-hūs* stn *church, monastery*. According to F Kauffmann 1907 ZDP 39:286-87, **gud-hus* is *the sanctuary of the temple*, since Gmc *hūs* is a building with a single room (cf LG *bak-hūs, brau-hūs*; also **gards**).

Go *-hus*: CrimGo *hus* 'domus'; OI, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *hūs* stn *house*†.

PIE *(s)kew-, kewH-*: *kū- cover, surround*, with *s*-extension is the most likely source though exact parallels are lacking; Gk σκῦνια pl *eyebrows*; Lat *obscūrus covered* to *dark, obscure*; OIr *cūl hiding-place*. With *t*-extension in Gk σκῦτος n *hide, leather*; OI *hūð*, OE *hȳd*, OHG *hūt* stf *skin, hide*†. With *dh*-extension in Gk κεύθω *conceal*, κεῦθος *deep place* (cf J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:166). With *s*-extension + *ḱho-* in Arm *xuc* ← **khŭ-sḱho room*; cf Arm *çiw* ← *skēu̯o- roof, cover*; possibly also Gk κύσθος *vulva*; also OI *hauss* m *skull*; cf **huzd**. Other forms proposed in the past are difficult

to support; cf P 1959:951-53, and older references in F 1939:223-24.

G111. *gudisks adj*a* 2T 3.16. Christian calque of Gk θεῖος (Cahen 1924 *F* Andler: 85-86) *divine*, derived from *guþ* with the suffix *-iska-* as in **barnisks*.

Cf OSl *božьskъ divine*, also formed with the (borrowed) suffix *-isko-* from *bogъ god*.

G112. Gudilub PeN, Go deacon in DeA; emended to **Gudilaib* by Massmann because of the Lat equivalents *Gudilebus*, *Gudilinus*, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:480. See Wrede on stem-final *i* (Stamm/Heyne 1920: 323). Schütte 1933 ZDA 70:122 on the other hand takes *i* for *a* as a late Go development. Cf the name *Gudeliva* of an Ostrogothic queen in Cassiodorus X.21,24 (Schönfeld 1911:114); NHG *Gottlieb* (Förstemann 1900:682). *Guderit* PeN in DeN = Go **Gudareþs*, cf **ga-redaba** for *-reþs*.

Cmpd of PGmc *guδa-* (**guþ**) and *luδa-* (see ***broþru-lubo**) beside adj *liuδa-* (cf ***liufs**); see Förstemann 1900:1020 on OHG PeN *Lubo*, *Lupo* beside *Liupo*; ibid 1205-06 on OHG *Goderat*, f *Goderada*. According to Arwid Johannson 1932-33 APS 7:144, a doublet **Gudi-lufs* exists beside *Gudi-laifs*. See also Scardigli 1973:290.

G113. gudja m*n* ἱερεύς, pl *gudjans* ἀρχιερεῦς (orig *the heathen*) *priest* M 8.4 (*-ja*-suffix, cf **arbja**); **ufar-gudja* m*n* calque of Gk ἀρχιερεύς *high priest* Mk 10.33 (also *reikists gudja*, *maists gudja*, *auhumista gudja*, *auhumists weiha*, calques of Lat *summus sacerdos*; cf Friedrichsen 1926:169ff); **gudjinassus* m*u* ἱερατεία, λειτουργία *priesthood* L 1.9, derived with **-assus** (cf ***blotinassus**) from **gudjinon* ἱερατεύειν *be a priest* L 1.8.

Run *gudija priest* (Nordhuglo, Krause 1966 I:146-47; a PeN[?]), *gode* (Glavendrup), *kuþi* (Helnæs), OI *goði* m *priest*, *gyðja* f *priestess* (also *goddess*); with another suffix, OHG *coting* m 'tribunus' (actually 'a priestly chief of a court'). Derived from **guþ**; according to Osthoff 1899 BKIS 24:197ff, actually 'summoner, commenter, magician'; approved by Feist 1919 ANF 35:264-65.

G114. *gulþ n*a* χρυσός *gold*, only dat sg *gulþa* 1T 2.9; *figgra-gulþ* n*a* δακτύλιον *ring for fingers* L 15.22; ***gulþeins** adj*a* χρυσοῦς *golden* 2T 2.20.

CrimGo *goltz* (*tz* = *þ*, cf *tzo* = Go *þu*) 'aurum' *gold*; OI *gull*, OE *gold*, OFris, OS, OHG *gold* stn *gold*†. Comparing OI *fingrgull* Carr 1939:67,276 posits the cmpd for the PGmc period, before the Goths left the Baltic area.

PIE had no word for 'gold'; Gmc, Slav and Latvian use derivation of PIE *ĝhel- yellow* with *-t*-suffix, Indo-Iran with *-n*-suffix. Lat *aurum*, OLith *ausas*, possibly TochA *wäs gold* are cognate with Lat *aurōra dawn*; Gk χρυσός was borrowed from Semitic (Buck 1949:610). PGmc *ĝhl̥to-* : PSl *ĝholto* as in OSl *zlato*, Russ *zóloto gold*; Latvian *zèlts* ← **ĝhelto- gold*. According to some, Skt *hāṭakam* (← **halt-*[?]) *gold* may be related; name also of a country from which gold comes, it may be nonIE (cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:589, also for references). Skt *hiraṇyam*, Av *zaranya-*, *zaranim*, OPers *daraniya*, Sogdian *zyrn gold* are cognate with Skt *hári-*, Av *zairis yellow* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:581,598-99). Earlier, also Thrac ζηλτα *gold* proposed; extensive references in F 1939: 225; dismissed subsequently as a ghost-word (cf Porzig 1954:142).

Other words derived from PIE *ĝhel-*, Gk χόλος, χολή (: Lat *fel gall*) *gall, anger*, Gk χλωρός *greenish yellow*, χλόη *green, turf, weeds*; Lat *helvus honey-yellow*; OIr *gel white, glan clean*; OSl *zelenz* (: Av *zairina-*) *green, zelije weeds*; Lith *žélti become green*, *žãlias green*, *želvas greenish*; *zel̃t become green*; OE *geolo*, OS, OHG *gelo* (: Lat *helvus*) *yellow*†; with zero grade, OI *gulr yellow*. Also Alb *dhelpër fox* (actually 'the yellow one'; Jokl 1923:297ff). Phryg γλουρός *gold* may be borrowed from Gk χλωρός (cf references in F 1939: 225, Chantraine 1968-80:1265).

P 1959:429-34 has extensive treatment of root and its derivatives; Watkins 1985:21.

G115. guma *mn* ἀνήρ *man* L 19.2; **guma-kunds* adja ἄρσην *male* G 3.28 (*-kunds*, cf ***airþa-kunds**); *gumein na* ἄρσεν *male*, only acc sg Mk 10.16.

OI *gumi*, OE *guma*, OFris *-goma* (in *breid-goma bridegroom*), OS *gumo*, OHG *gomo*, MHG *gome* wkm *human being, man*; OHG *gom-man* m *man*; OE *brȳd-guma*, OS *brūdi-gumo*, OHG *brūti-gomo* m, NHG *Bräutigam bridegroom*† (folk etymological remodeling after *groom*); cf **bruþfaþs**.

PIE *ĝh(ə)món- earthling* based on **dh(e)ĝh-em- earth*: (Peeters 1977 ZVS 90:8-9 posits only *ĝhm-* for Gmc) OLat acc *hemōnem*, Lat *homō human being*, *nēmō* ← **nĕ-hĕmō no one*; OIr *duine*, Wel *dyn human being*, pl *dōini* (← **ĝhdonio-*; Pedersen 1909-13 I:89); Lith *žmuõ* (older form; today *žmogùs*), pl *žmónės human beings*; OPruss *smoy man*, *smunents*, *smonenawins human being* (← PBalt *ĝhmō*, Specht 1934 ZVS 61:208); OI *Gymir* [name of a giant] (← **gum-ja-*); on form, cf Skt *kṣámyas*, Gk χθόνιος *earthly* beside χθών *earth*.

Determination of initial cluster one of the cruxes in PIE phonology; earlier scholars proposed **ĝhdhem-* (Gdr 1897-1916 I:790-93, II. 1:135). Hitt *tekan earth*, gen *taknas*, loc *dagān to the ground* suggests **dh(e)ĝh-em-* etc. IE root structure requires assumption of initial unit; hence Benveniste 1937 BSLP 38:[art] 139-47 proposed *k, gz, gzh*. Initial cluster of unspecified order, *dhĝh* or *ĝhdh*, more likely (WP Lehmann 1952:99-100). Skt *kṣấs*, gen *kṣmás* (also gen *gmás* and *jmás*); Av *zå*, gen *zəmō*; TochA *tkaṃ*, B *keṃ*, *kan earth*; Gk χαμᾶζε *to the earth*, χαμαί *on the earth*, χθών (← *χθωμ ← PIE *ĝhdhōm*) *earth*; cf K Johansson 1912 *F* Lidén:116ff; Schrijnen 1911 ZVS 44:20 (χθ : χ alternating); Kretschmer 1932 Glotta 20:65ff (metathesis); χθαμαλός *on the earth* (Chantraine 1968-80:1258-59); Alb *dhe earth*; Lat *humus* ← **hŏmos ground*, Umbr *hon-dra* ← **hŏmi-tero- below*, Lat *humī* (dat) *on the earth*, *humilis lowly*; OIr *dū*, *don place*; OSl *zemlja*, Lith *žẽmė*, Latvian *zeme*, OPruss *semme*, *same earth*.

Possibly also Phryg Hsch ζεμελεν·βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον *barbarian slave*; and Σεμέλη *an old Thrac-Phryg goddess of the earth*. TochA *śom youth*, *śomin girl*, B *śaumo*, pl *śamnă human being*, however, to A *śo-*, B *śau- live* Schindler 1967 Sprache 13:191, as well as 191-205 for data and references.

For other cognates see P 1959:414-16, Watkins 1985:14.

G116. gund *na* (only 2T 2.17) γάγγραινα *gangrene*.

Nor dial *gund* m *scurf*, OE *gund*, OHG *gunt* stm *pus*.

Gk κανθύλη *abscess, tumor* (Holthausen 1887 ZVS 28:282); according to Walde 1924 *FI* Streitberg:189, ← Gk/Gmc basic form **ghond-*; PIE *ghendh-* in P 1959:438. See Chantraine 1968-80:492 for other proposals; by one, κανθύλη is based on κάνθων, κανθήλιος, etc *pack-ass*; by another, on κανθός *inner corner of eye*.

Trautmann 1905-06 ZDW 7:268 also compares Av *gunda- small, round bread*; also, NPers *gundeh round object, ball* Scheftelowitz 1905 ZDMG 59:695-96. Both are uncertain according to F 1939:116. -- In view of isolated forms and morphological patterns, a PIE source or even pre-Gk/Gmc is doubtful. Cf also Frisk 1960-72 I:778-79, who doubts etymology.

G117. *Gut-þiuda *fō people of the Goths*, only dat sg *-dai* in Cal of 23 and 29 Oct; according to Loewe 1922 ZDA 59:246ff = *in the country of the Goths* (cf Ir *Cruithentuath country of the Picts* Windisch 1912:31-32).

Cmpd of *Gut-* and **þiuda**; *Gut-* with syncope (cf **bruþfaþs**, ***gud-hus**) beside wk stem *Gutan-* in Pietroassa inscription, which may not be Go; Krause 1966 I:91-95: *gutaniowihailag*, with many references. This taken most plausibly with Krause as *Gutani*

o(þal) wi(h) hailag ancestral property of the Goths, sacred (and) holy, with *gutani* = *Gutane* gen pl; for detailed discussion of earlier attempts at interpretation see Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:41ff; he himself takes it with R Henning, ed 1889:27ff as *holy possession of the Goths* (NTS 3:51), or as *Gutani Ingwa hailag of the Goths, sacred for Ing* (NTS 3:63), or with *owi* to Run *auja good luck* as in **awiliuþ**; Loewe 1909 IF 26:203-08 and 1930 ZDA 67:49-54 proposed *dedicated to the Gothic god (Thor)* in opposition to Meissner 1929 ZDA 66: 54-60, who interpreted it *Gutanio* (formed like *matres Aufaniae*) *wi hailag holy consecrated gift of the Gothic matres*. See also Isbăşescu 1960 BGDSL 82:333-58 for discussion of possible owner and source.

On the formation of **Gut-þiuda* see OI *Suī-þjōd* f *Sweden*, OE *Angel-þēod* f *Anglia*. Forms of the first element are fully documented in Schönfeld 1911:120-23, with many references on their interpretation; cons stem possibly also in Go *Guth-thico*, *Gutticus*, *a*-stem in *Got(h)i*, *n*-stem in oldest reference (circa 300 BC) *Gutones*, Γοὐτωνες, in Pytheas cited by Pliny. Run in Eggja inscription II.b: *hi ą ląt gotna here to the land of the gotna*; Krause 1966 I:227-35; 1971:70 compares OI *gotna* gen pl to *gotar* n pl *people* (ibid:82, syncope of **gotanō*); *gotna* generally interpreted as *people*, though by Jacobsen 1931:50ff as *horses*. Ethnic names of many peoples have arisen from their self-designation as 'the people'; E Schwarz 1951:30 assumes that the name 'Goths' has its origin in the designation 'people'.

Ablauting form in *Gauti* Γαυτοί, Schönfeld 1911:103-04; *Gauthi-goth*, N Wagner 1967:155-72,208-11; OI *Gauti*, *Gautr*, *Gautar*, Vries 1962:159, OE *Gēatas*, OS *-gōt*, OHG *-gōz* in EN *inhabitants of Götland*; on phonological relationships see Collitz 1897 JEGP 1:222-38, Streitberg 1920:6-7, Krause 1968:4-5. -- Lith *gùdas*, Latvian *guds* *White Russian* orig referred to the Goths; *-d-* rather than *-t-* has been explained variously, as by borrowing through Finn, Jacobsohn 1929 ZDA 66:226ff, by direct borrowing before the Gmc consonant shift, Karsten 1930 ZDA 67:253ff, but more plausibly by Fraenkel 1962-65:174 as modification by OPruss *gudde woods*.

gut- is generally related to ***giutan** pour*, but the basis of the designation for 'people' is disputed: some, comparing OI *gjōta spawn*, take it as *inseminators*, an interpretation supported by the meaning *horse* of OI *goti*; Krause 1968:5 points out the similar bases for Go *auhsus*, Skt *ukṣan bull* to Skt *ukṣáti moisten, impregnate*, Lat *verrēs boar*, Skt *vṛṣabhas bull* to Skt *várṣati rain, impregnate* and also *vṛ́ṣā man, male animal*; as adj, *procreative*; others, like F 1939:227, reject this explanation; Grienberger 1900:101-03 assumes a transfer from the place of settlement: Go **gut sea, bay* -- **Gut-þiuda* are *the people on the *gut*; Lindroth 1914 NB 2:75ff, followed by others who apply the name to the people, takes the name of the island *Got-land* from the river name *Gute-ån river of the Goths*; W Bennett 1980:19 assumes the Goths were "named for their flooded homeland"; Krause 1968:5, drawing on the interpretation of PGmc *gewt-* as *impregnate*, proposes that the Goths received their name from an animal deity whose power they wished to secure for themselves.

The term and its implications for the early history of the people is one of the most widely discussed in Gmc study. Earlier scholars generally assumed that the Goths originated in Scandinavia, basing their views on legend, as in Jordanes 59,10 on the departure in three ships (see N Wagner 1967:154), and on location-names. Questioning previous views on the basis of underlying method Hachmann 1970 (eg 465, but also throughout the book) concludes largely on archeological evidence that the Goths formed as a people or nation on the mainland along the Vistula around 100 BC, and that a part of them then went to Scandinavia. He concludes his thoroughly reasoned

treatise with a request for reexamination of the philological and historical evidence independently of archeological evidence, in which he finds the best hope of an improved answer to the many problems. Carrying out one of the suggested linguistic studies, Mańczak 1982 IF 87:127-37 proposes a southern origin for the Goths, near the Roman Empire. His textual analysis procedures may, however, produce results swayed by subsequent social and cultural influences, and they are not supported by archeological or historical evidence. Nonetheless, the current approaches reflect an understanding that groups like the Goths resulted from social and political forces rather than from racial or tribal backgrounds. In a far-ranging study Birnbaum 1984 JIES 12:235-59 reviews recent proposals, rejecting Mańczak's, and assuming ultimate origin in Scandinavia. Discussing the origin of the East-Slavic kingdom, Söderlind 1984:133-70 proposes that the Rus´ were the Goths who remained in the east. As his references and bibliography suggest, discussions of the Goths, their origin and their eventual disappearance are by no means at an end.

G118. guþ *ma* θεός *god* (*n* when referring to *heathen god*) M 6.30, the most frequently attested noun; almost always abbreviated *gþ*, *gþs* gen, *gþa* dat, to be read *guþ*, *guþs*, *guþa*, Streitberg 1920:96-97 and not with Hench 1896 BGDSL 21:562-68 as *gudis*, *guda* (*þ* in abbreviation from nom); but Ebbinghaus 1961 JEGP 60:477-90 posits gen **guþs* with no decision on dat; cf B/E 1981:72-73; pl *guda*, J 10.34,35 in transferred sense, but *g+þa* G 4.8A; **ga-liuga-guþ** *na* εἴδωλον *false god, idol* 1C 8. 10; **af-guþs** *godless*; **af-gudei** *fn* ἀσέβεια *ungodliness* R 11.26; **ga-guþs** adj*a* εὐσχήμων *respected, honorable* Mk 15.43; *ga-gudei fn* εὐσέβεια *piety* 1T 4.8A; *guda-faurhts* adj*a* εὐλαβής *god-fearing*, only L 2.25; **guda-laus** adj*a* ἄθεος *godless*, only nom pl m *-sai* E 2.12; *gþ* in **guda-skaunei** *fn*, calque of θεοῦ μορφή *form of God* Ph 2.6; and *gud-blostreis mia*, calque of θεοσεβής *worshipper of God*, only J 9. 31; **gud-hus** *temple*; **gudisks** adj*a*, calque of θεῖος *godly* 2T 3.16, Cahen 1924 *F* Andler:85-86; **Gudilub** PeN, **gudja** *priest*.

OI *goð*, *guð* stn, nom acc pl *guða heathen god*, *guð* stm (cf Helgason 1929 *F* A Kock: 441ff, Hatto 1944 MLR 39:247-51), OE, OFris, OS *god*, OHG *got* stm *(Christian) god*†; because of OI pl *guðir*, OSw *guþir*, OHG *(ab-)gotir*, Lidén 1896 BKIS 21:97 fn proposes a Gmc *es*-stem: OE *god-fyrht*, OHG *got-forht* adj *god-fearing*†, OI *guð-lauss*, NHG *gott-los godless*†; cf also OSl *božьskъ godly*, also + borrowed *-isko-*, based on OSl *bogъ god*.

Etymology uncertain; found as word for 'god' only in Gmc. Favored source, *-to*-form of PIE *ĝhew-* (P 1959:413 *ĝhau-*) *call*, as in **gaunon**, Osthoff 1899 BKIS 24:191-94; cf Skt *puru-hūtás often called on*, an epithet esp of Indra, OSl *zavěti employ magic*; OI *galdr* etc under **goljan**; *guþ* then is a *divine being summoned to the sacrifice* Schrader 1935:126, Laird 1940:48-52. Less likely, to PIE *ĝhew- pour*, ***giutan**, as in Skt *hótā*, Av *zaotar priest, sacrificer* Pictet 1877:659ff and others.

Variant interpretations of these proposed sources and still others are taken up by subsequent scholars. Raumer 1845:338 already mentioned three suggestions: (1) relationship to *goþ*, for which he could cite no phonological basis; (2) borrowing of Pers *ẖudā(y)*, also assumed subsequently as noted in F 1939:228 but already suspected by Raumer and definitively disproved as non-existent in Wulfila's day by Bartholomae 1920:2,50; (3) cognate with Gk κεύθω *hide*, and acc *what is hidden*, also in Ebel 1856 ZVS 5:236 and others. Citing further variants, such as Franz Schröder 1927 BGDSL 51:30 'image poured from metal', F 1939:228 finds these suspect and definitely rejects L Meyer 1858 ZVS 7:12-18 who proposes relationship with Skt *jyótiṣ light, brightness, jyótati shine*, now taken as a MInd form of *dyótate shine*, and then to PIE *dyew- shine*, as in Skt *dyáus heaven*, Gk Ζεύς *Zeus*; this however is

represented in Gmc in OI *tívar*, cf ***sinteins** and **tyz**. Such speculation continues, as by Watkins 1974 *F* Güntert:102 who returns to derivation from *ǧhew- pour* as 'the libated one' ... 'the spirit immanent in the heaped-up hallowed ground of a tumulus'. *guþ* may simply be a non-IE word taken over from the earlier peoples in the Gmc area.

P 1959:413-14 *ǧhaw- call to*, Watkins 1985:23.

H

H1. haal (= *hal* ← **hagl*, Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:203), name of the *h*-rune in the runic alphabet of Sal, where it implies 'ruin' = OI *hagall*, OE *hæg(i)l*; identical with OI *hagl* stn, OE *hagol*, *hægel* stm, OS, OHG *hagal* stm *hail*ᵗ. Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:150 attributes the name to the concept of a nature-demon; see also Arntz 1944:203-04, Krause 1966 I:4,66,258-59, Antonsen 1975:36.

No certain cognates; scarcely related to Gk κάχληξ *pebbles*, in spite of P 1959:518; Chantraine 1968-80:507,1243 tentatively assumes imitative origin.

H2. haban wkvIII (prt *-baida*) ἔχειν *have* M 5.23, κρατεῖν *hold*, (with adv) ἔχειν *be*; **af-haban sik* ἀπέχεσθαι *abstain*, only 2pl imp *-baiþ* 1Th 5.22; **ana-haban* only nom sg f papl *-baida* συνεχομένη L 4.38, nom pl m *-baidans* ὀχλούμενοι *possess* L 6.18; **at-haban sik* προσπορεύεσθαι *approach*, only 3pl prt *-baidedun* Mk 10.35; **dis-haban* συνέχειν *take, hold* L 8.37; *ga-haban* κατέχειν, κρατῆσαι *hold, maintain* Mk 3.21; **uf-haban* αἴρειν *raise up*, only 3pl prs *-band* L 4.11; **un-habands* prpl μὴ ἔχων *not having* L 3.11; **un-ga-habands sik* prpl ἀκρατής *lacking self-control* 2T 3.3; with *o*-grade, *ga-hobains fi self-control* G 5.23; **un-ga-hobains fi* ἀκρασία *lack of self-control* 1C 7.5.

OI *hafa*, OE *habban*, OFris *habba*, *hebba*, OS *habbean*, OHG *habēn*, *haban*, *hān have*ᵗ. See Collitz 1912:84-88 for attested forms. OI *hōf* n *moderation*, OE, OFris, MLG *behōf* m *purpose, use*, MHG *behuof* m *business, purpose*; OI *hœfa hit, fit*, OE *be-hōfian* wkv *need*.

Etymology uncertain, even after copious treatment; probably in accordance with Collitz 1912:86-88 a conflation of forms from PIE *ghabh-* + *-ēy-* and PIE *kap-*. Since PIE lacked a verb corresponding to 'have' indicating possession and auxiliary function, *haban* must have originated in Gmc; at the time it may have been in close contact with Ital, Porzig 1954:108.

PIE *ghabh- seize, take*: Skt *gábhasti-* arm, *hand*; Lat *habēre hold, have*; OIr *gaibid takes, seizes*; Lith *gabanà armful*; see also **gabei** and **giban**. PIE *kap- seize*: Gk κάπτω *gulp down*, Lat *capiō seize*; Gk κώπη *handle*, cf vowel of *-hobains*, MIr *cāin law, tribute*; ***haftjan**.

P 1959:407-09,527-28; see F 1939:229 for older bibliography; also W/H 1938-56 I:630-31.

H3. *haftjan αἴρειν *lift*, only nom pl n prpl *-fanana* αἰρόμενον Mk 2.3; *and-hafjan* ἀποκρίνεσθαι *answer* Col 4.6; *at-hafjan* καθελεῖν *take down* Mk 15.36; **ufar-hafjan sik* ὑπεραίρεσθαι *exalt oneself*, only prpl *-fjands* 2Th 2.4; *us-hafjan* (ἐπ)αίρειν *lift up* L 18.13; **ufar-hafnan* ὑπεραίρεσθαι *exalt oneself*, only 3sg opt prs *-fnau* IIK 12.7, ***hafts**, ***haftjan** *sik*.

OI *hefja*, OE *hebban*, OFris *hebba*, OS *hebbean*, OHG *heffan* wkv *lift*, cf NE *heave*; OS *ant-hebbian hold up*, *a-hebbian*, OHG *ar-heffan lift up*, *ubar-hepfan abandon* wkv; OI *hefna* wkv *abandon*; further derivatives in Torp and Falk, eds 1909:71-73.

PIE *kap-*: Gk κάπτω *gulp down*; Lat *capiō*, *cēpī* (*ē* also in OI *hāfr* stm *fishing-net* Brugmann 1896 IF 6:95) *seize*, Lat *capulus holder*; possibly OIr *gabāl*, Wel *gafael*, *cafael fork* Pedersen 1909-13 I:93; but Thurneysen 1946:455 relates these to OIr *gaibid* ← PIE *ghabh-*. κώπη *handle*; OI *hōf* stn *moderation*; OE, OFris *behōf*, MHG *behuof* stm *purpose*.

P 1959:527-28; older proposals in F 1939:229-30. See also Seebold 1970:244-45, Watkins 1985:27.

H4. *haftjan (*sik*) wkvI κολλᾶσθαι, προσέχειν *hold fast to* R 12.9; **ga-haftjan sik* κολλᾶσθαι *join*, only 3sg prt *-tida* L 15.15; **ga-ga-haftjan* συμβιβάζειν *join together*, only n sg papl *-tiþ* E 4.16; **ga-haftnan* wkvIV κολλᾶσθαι *cling to*, only acc sg m prpl

-tnandan L 10.11.

OI *hefta*, OE *hæftan*, OFris *hefta*, OS *heftian*, OHG *heftan* wkv *fortify, secure*; OS *gi-heftian*, OHG *gi-heftan* wkv *fetter*.

Derived from ***hafts**.

H5. *hafts adj*a*, only dat pl m *þaim liugum haftam* τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν *the married* 1C 7.10, *laden with, subject to*; **anda-hafts** *favored*; **qiþu-hafto fn* ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα *pregnant*; ***hafjan**.

OI *haptr* stm *prisoner*, *hapt* stn *bond*, OS (Merseburg charms) *hapt*, OHG *haft* stm/n *device for retaining, fetters*, OHG *hafta* st/wkf *union*, NHG dial (Swabian) *heft* f *hook and eye*; OE *hæft*, OS, OHG *haft* stm *captive*.

Lat *captus, captīvus captured*; Gaul PeN *Moenia-coeptus* (Livy 24.42.8), if interpreted as *Moeni-captos* (Holder 1896-1907 II:606); OIr *cacht female slave*, Wel *caeth slave*, OCorn *caid* captured, MIr *cachtaim take captive* (: Lat *captō seek to seize*, OS *haftōn* wkvII *adhere to*).

According to Meillet 1930 RevGer 21:40 the Gmc set was borrowed from Celt. More likely a *to*-derivation in the western languages, with its own semantic development; Gmc cognates of ***hafjan** do not mean 'capture', which is expressed by **fahan** and cognates, Porzig 1954:126-27.

H6. *hahan stvVII αἴρειν *hang, keep in suspense*, only 2sg prs *-his* J 10.24; **at-hahan* χαλάσαι *set down*, 3sg prs *-hid* L 5.4, prpl *-hans* 2C 11.33; **us-hahan sik* ἀπάγχειν *hang oneself*, 3sg prt *us-haihah* M 27.5; **hahan* wkvIII ἐξεκρέματο *cling to*, only 3sg prt *-haida* L 19.48; *faur(a)-hah* na καταπέτασμα *curtain* Mk 15.37, MHG *vür-hanc* stm *curtain*; *ga-hahjo* adv καθεξῆς *orderly* L 1.3.

On root-final *h* in Go as opposed to general Gmc *g* see Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15: 351-52 (orig shift of accent not demonstrable).

OI *hanga* (prt *hekk*), OE *hōn* (prt *hēng*), OFris *hūa*, OS papl *bi-hangan*, OHG *hāhan* stv (prt *hiang*) *cause to hang*; OI *hanga*, OE *hongian*, OFris *hangia*, OS *hangōn*, OHG *hangēn* wkv ***hang**†; caus OI *hengja*, OE *hengan*, OHG *hengen* wkv *cause to hang*; OI *hā-sin* f, OE *hōh-sinu* f, OFris *hō-sene Achilles' tendon*; OE *hēla* (← **hōhila*) m ***heel**†, OHG *hāhsa* wkf (← PGmc *haŋhsjō*) ***hock**†; Pogatscher 1930-31 Teuthon 7:156; MDu *vorhanc*, MHG *vür-hanc* stm *curtain*.

Probably from PIE *ĝenk- waver* from 'hang' Skt *śaṅkate doubt*; Lat *cunctor hesitate* (probably from **concitor*, frequentative of **concō*), OI *hætta* (← PGmc *haŋht-jan*) *run a risk*, OI *hætta* f *danger*; hesitation of F 1939: 231 not supportable, in view of Skt *śankitas concerned about*. Cf also Hitt *gank-*, inf *gankuwar hang* Kammenhuber 1961 ZVS 77: 63; Tischler 1983- I:482-83.

Not related to Skt *kákṣā armpit*, Lat *coxa hip*, OIr *coss foot*, from PIE *kenk-*, P 1959:566. Nor to ***hoha** *plow* P 1959:523.

P 1959:566; Seebold 1970:249-50.

H7. Haibraius m*u/i Hebrew* = Gk Ἑβραῖος Ph 3.5; ← Aram *'ebhráy* ← Heb *'ibhrī*, literally 'he who came across (the River)', E Klein 1966-67:712.

H8. *haidus m*u* τρόπος *way, manner* Ph 1.18.

OE *hād, hæd*, OS *hēd*, OHG *heit* stm *rank, status*; as suffix, OE *-hād*, OFris *-hēd*, OHG *-heit -hood*†. Also OI *heiðr* stm *honor, rank*, and probably Run (Björketorp) *hAiðz(-runo) bright (-runes)*; also OI *heiðr* n *bright sky*. J Palmér 1930-31 APS 5:289-304 proposed development of meaning from 'lustre' to 'person of rank'; rejected by Krause 1966 I: 215; cf also Antonsen 1975:86, who reads *hidezruno*. Shift from 'brightness' to 'form' may be PIE; further shift to 'rank', 'manner' may be PGmc.

PIE *(s)kāy- bright*; *kəy-tu- brightness*: Skt *ketúṣ brightness, form, ketas mark, sign*; *citrás*, Av *ciþrō bright* (with different ablaut form OI *heiðr*, OE *hādor, hædor*, OS *hēdar*, OHG *heitar* adj *brisk*). Probably not related to Skt *cetati perceives* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I: 398-99; nor to Lith *skaidrùs clear* Fraenkel

1962-65:791, or *hais, heito.

P 1959:916-17; see also A Scherer 1953: 101-05.

H9. haifsts *fi* ἀγών *conflict* Ph 1.30; *haifstjan* wkvI ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀθλεῖν *fight, contend* 1C 9.25.

OI *heipt, heifst* **hate, revenge**, OE *hǣst* **enmity, vehemence**, OFris *hāst* **haste**, MLG *heist* stf **vehemence**; adj OE *hǣste*, OFris *hāste*, OHG *heisti* **vehement, forceful, heistigo vehemently**, Otfrid III 13.6 (cf *Leges Alamannorum* 10 *[ala]-heistera handi*; OFris *mid hāster hand* **with forceful hand**). NE **haste** from OF *haste* **speed**, a borrowing from Gmc.

No certain etymology.

P 1959:542-43 posits PIE *ḱēy-bh-/-gh-* **rapid, vehement**: Skt *śībham* adv **rapidly**, *śībhya-* adj **moving rapidly**, following E Zupitza 1896:182; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:350 skeptical, viewing also Skt *śighrás* **quick** as unexplained. This proposal earlier rejected by F 1939:231. Other unsuccessful proposals: relation to Skt *képiṣ* **evil-minded**, only RV 9.44.6; to OSl *cěpiti* **split**; to Lith *šaipýtis* **mock, show one's teeth** Grienberger 1900:104; opposed by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:286.

H10. *haihs adj*a*, only dat sg m *-hamma* μονόφθαλμος **one-eyed** Mk 9.47; not in other Gmc dialects.

PIE *kay-ko-* **one-eyed, having only one straight eye, cross-eyed**; then, in Lat, **blind** P 1959:519-20; Skt *kekaras* **cross-eyed**; Lat *caecus* **blind**; OIr *caech*, Corn *cuic*, Wel *coeg-ddall* **one-eyed, coeg vacant**; cf also MIr *leth-chaech* **cross-eyed** Stokes 1904 ZVS 37:254-55.

Attempts to relate Gk καικίᾱς **northeast wind** (as 'the dark wind'; cf Lat *aquilō* **north wind** and *aquilus* **dark**) not generally accepted, F 1939:232, Chantraine 1968-80:479. Not related to Lith *kéikti* **curse** from 'stare at with baleful eye', as proposed by Pedersen 1931: 204ff. Fraenkel 1962-65:234, like F 1939:232, rejects relationship because of Lith *e*-vowel; P 1959:520, however, posits PIE *kēykmi* : *kaykmes*. See also Saussure 1912 *F* Thomsen: 202ff on the *a*-vocalism.

H11. *hailags n*a* adj [?] **holy**; only on the Pietroassa gold ring, which may not be Go, *gutaniowihailag*. As interpreted by Krause 1966 I:91-95 *Gutani o(þal) wi(h) hailag* 'heritage of the Goths, consecrated (and) inviolable'; by Antonsen 1975:73, 'Sacrosanctum (wih-[h]ailag) of Go women'. *hailag* found only here in the older runic inscriptions; the Kärlich brooch *wodini hailag* is probably not genuine, Krause 1966 I:8. See also B/E 1981:9.

OI *heilagr*, OE *hālig*, OF *hēlich*, OS *hēlag*, OHG *heilag* **holy**†. Derived from PGmc *haila-*, as in **hails**, with PGmc *-aga-*: **possessing favorable life force, sacred, inviolable**; Weisweiler 1959:81, See 1964:131ff. Scardigli 1973: 219-23, basing his views on Baetke 1942, discusses the contrast between PGmc *wīhaz* and *hailagaz*, proposing that Wulfila deliberately rejected use of *hailagaz*. Older proposals in F 1939:232-33 and Weisweiler; for interpretation of first part of Pietroassa ring, see Krause and Antonsen. (In 1956 the long missing ring was returned to the National Museum in Bucharest; Isbăşescu 1960 BGDSL 82:333-58.) See **hails** and **1. weihs.**

H12. hails adj*a* ὑγιής, ὑγιαίνων **hale, healthy** J 7.23, χαῖρε **greetings** J 19.3; written *eils* in the epigram, Scardigli 1973:200,262: "Inter eils goticum scapia matzia ia drincan" 'Among Go [clamor]: "Hail, waiter, [we want to] eat and drink" ...'; this interpretation preferable to F 1939:131, who cites older references. *ga-hails* ὁλόκληρος **whole, unblemished** 1Th 5.23; *un-hails* ἄρρωστος, κακῶς ἔχων **sick** L 5.31; *un-haili* n*ia* μαλακία **sickness, weakness** M 9.12; *(ga-)hailjan* wkvI θεραπεύειν, ἰᾶσθαι **heal** L 5.17; *ga-hailnan* wkvIV ἰᾶσθαι **be healed** M 8.8; ***hailags; eils; iel.**

OI *heill*, OE *hāl*, OFris *hēl*, OS *hēl*, OHG *heil* **hale**†, **sound**, cf NE *whole*; OE *wes hāl* **greetings, wassail**†; OI *heil* stn **lucky portent**, OE *hāl* stf **health, luck**, OS *hēl*, OHG *heil* stn

greetings, good luck; OI *heila*, OE *hǣlan*, OFris *hēla*, OS *hēlian*, OHG *heilan* wkv *heal*†; OI *heilsa greet*, OE *hālsian* wkv *exorcize evil spirits*, OHG *heilisōn* wkv *observe portents*; OE *hālettan*, OHG *heilazzen* wkv *greet*.

PIE *kay-lo/u-* *hale, intact*: Wel *coel omen*; (OIr *cēl augury*, borrowed from Brythonic); OWel *coilou augurs*, OBret *coel interpreter of omens*, OPruss *kails hail!, pats kails hail! (in return), kailūstikun* acc sg f *health* Toporov 1975- III:136-43; OSl *cělъ whole, hale, cěljǫ heal, cělujǫ greet*.

In discussing the notion of sacred in IE, Benveniste 1973:445-69 finds contrasting terms: "positive, 'what is charged with divine presence', and negative 'what is forbidden for men to contact'" -- Av *spənta* : *yaoždāta*; *hails* : **1. weihs**; Lat *sacer* : *sanctus*; Gk ἱερός : ἅγιος. Widely discussed, Porzig 1954:141-42, Polomé 1970:62-63 and other references in Toporov 1975- III:143.

P 1959:520, older references in F 1939:232-33, Watkins 1985:26.

H13. *haimoþli n*ia* *homestead, landed property inherited in the family*, only acc pl *-lja* Mk 10.29,30; W Schulze 1966:523 fn1, Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:93.

OHG *heimōdil* stm, beside *heimōte* stn *home*; OE *fæder-ēþel*, OS *fader-ōðil*, OHG *fater-uodil* stm *paternal home*; cf also OE Beowulf 911 *fæder-æþelum* dat pl *paternal rank*.

Cmpd of PGmc *haima-*, see ***haims** and Go *-oþli*, based with *-ja-* on PGmc *ōþala-* in OI *ōðal*, OE *ōþel*, *ēþel*, OFris *ēthel*, OS *ōthil*, OHG *uodil* stm *inherited property*; cf **utal**. *a*-grade in OI *aðal* stn *nature, disposition, eðli, øðli* stn *nature, origin*, OE *æþelo* f, *æþelu* stn pl *noble descent*, OS *athal(i)* stn *property, noble descent*, OHG *adal* stm/n *race, descent*; adj OE *æþele*, OS *athali*, OHG *edili noble*.

PGmc *ōþala-* *ancestral property* in ablaut variation with *aþala-* *lawful claim to inheritance, legitimate relationship*; OHG *uodal* n = OHG *adal* *ancestral property* Neckel 1916 BGDSL 41:385-436.

Etymology obscure. Proposals to relate PIE *at-* to **atta** find no support; W/H 1938-56 I:77, P 1959:71. Similarly, to PIE *at- beyond* as in Lat *at-avus father of grandparent*; see W/H 1938-56 I:75, P 1959:70-71. A Gmc legal term of undemonstrable origin, provided with ablaut grades of stvVI. Older speculation in F 1939: 233. P 1959:71.

H14. *haims f*i/ō* κώμη *village* M 9. 35, pl *-mos* also *country* Mk 5.14; **af-haims* or **-haimeis* adj, only nom pl *-mjai* 2C 5.6,9, ἐκδημῶν *away from home*; **ana-haim(ei)s*, only pl *-mjaim* 2C 5.8,9, ἐνδημῶν *at home*.

OI *heimr* stm *place of abode, world*, *heima* stn, OE *hām* m, OFris *hām, hēm*, OS *hēm*, OHG *heim* stm/n *home*†; adv acc OI *heim*, OE *hām*, OHG *heim homeward*; OI *heima*, OE *-hǣme*, OHG *heimi at home*; OE *hǣman cohabit*, MHG *heimen* wkv *take home, marry*.

Formerly PIE *ḱey- lie*: Skt *śéte*, Gk κεῖται, Hitt *ki- lie*; + *-m-* κοιμάω *put to bed*; OIr *cōim*, OWel *cum*, Corn *cuf dear*; Lith *šeimà*, Latvian *sàime family* (Fraenkel 1962-65:970); OSl *sěmija household, slaves*; but see ***heiwa-frauja**. Lith *kiẽmas farm, káimas village* probably unrelated, Fraenkel 1962-65:251.

P 1959:539-40.

H15. hairaiseis nom pl G 5.20 corresponds to Gk αἱρέσεις *heresies*.

H16. hairda f*ō* ποίμνη, ἀγέλη *herd* M 8.30; *hairdeis* m*ia* ποιμήν *shepherd* J 10.2.

OI *hjǫrð*, OE *heord*, OLF *herda*, OHG *herta* stf *herd*†; OI *hirðir*, OE *hierde*, OS *hirdi*, OHG *hirti* stm *shepherd*. Probably also OHG *herta* stf *change*, as in the dat pl *(bi) hertōn alternately*; meaning may have developed from alternate use of pastures by herds.

Probably PIE *ḱerdho-, ḱerdhā herd, series*: Skt *śardha- crowd, might*, Av *sarəδa- type*, but see Wikander 1938:49; Gk κόρθυς *sheaf, heap*, MWel *cordd crowd*; OPruss acc *kērdan time*, Lith *(s)keřdzius senior shepherd* (possibly borrowed from Gmc, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:332,

possibly one of the Balt words not undergoing change to sibilant); OSl *črěda series, daily order, herd.* These according to WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18:130 from PIE *ḱer- grow* + *-dh-* = *what has been nurtured.* Vries 1962:233 relates to *ḱer- braid,* then 'woven fence', but the shift in meaning to 'herd' is scarcely credible.

P 1959:579,577.

H17. hairto nn καρδία *heart* M 6.21; ***arma-hairts** adja εὔσπλαγχνος *merciful*; *hauh-hairts* adja αὐθάδης, ὑπερήφανος *proud* Tit 1.7; *hauh-hairtei* fn ὑπερηφανία *pride*, only Mk 7.22; ***hrainja-hairts** adja calque of καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ *pure in heart* Sk 6.27,28 / VId.21-22.

OI *hjarta*, OE *heorte*, OFris *herte*, OS *herta*, OHG *herza* wkn *heart*†; OE *hēah-heort proud*, OI *hrein-hjartaðr*, OHG *hrein-herzi pure of heart.*

PIE *ḱerd- heart*: Lith *šerdìs*, Latvian *sẽrde marrow, heart*; with *ē*: Gk κῆρ, OPruss *seyr*, Arm *sirt heart*; with zero grade, καρδία, Lat *cor*, gen *cordis*; OIr *cride* ← ***kr̥dio̯m*,** Wel *craidd*; Lith *širdìs*, Latvian *sirds*; OSl *srъdьce*; Hitt *ker-* ~ *kard- heart.* Also with *e*-grade, but with different meaning OSl *sréda middle* Specht 1935 ZVS 62:140. Also Skt *hr̥d-*, Av *zərəd- heart*, in spite of different initial, Szemerényi 1970:519, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 604-06,386-87,799,805.

P 1959:579-80, Watkins 1985:30.

H18. hairþra pl σπλάγχνα *bowels, heart*, dat pl *-ram* 2C 6.12, and *hairþra* marginal gloss to acc pl **brusts** Phil 12, Cod A.

OE *hreþer breast, stomach, heart*, OHG *herder* stm *bowels*; not directly here OI *hreðr* stn *penis, hreðjar* f pl *scrotum*, OE *herþan* pl *testicles*, though probably from same root.

Probably from PIE *(s)ker-, (s)krē- cut*, with derivatives referring to the body, such as Skt *cárman- skin*, Lat *scortum skin, whore, scrōtum scrotum*, OE *heorþa pelt*; + *-t-*: Skt *kr̥tti- pelt*, Lat *cortex rind, hull, cortex.* Less likely earlier proposals: from PIE *ḱerd-* + *-tro-* → *ḱert-ro-*, Saussure 1889 MSLP 6:246ff and others; see **hairto**; from PIE *kert- weave*, with reference to OSl *črěvo belly* Meillet 1902-05: 167, Berneker 1908-14:150-51; see F 1939:235 for references.

P 1959:938-47, esp 942.

H19. hairus mu μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία *sword* L 2.35.

OI *hjǫrr*, OS *heru-*, OE *heoru* stm *sword.*

Probably from PIE *(s)ker- cut*: Gk κείρω *cut off*; OIr *scaraim separate*; OI *skera*, OHG *sceran* stv *shear*†, *cut*; OHG *scar* stm *plowshare*; Lith *kiřvis*, Latvian *cìrvis ax*; Hitt *kars- cut off*; Luft 1900 ZVS 36:145, P 1959: 938-40. This source preferable to PIE *ḱer-*: Skt *śr̥ṇā́ti smashes*, which is not otherwise represented in Gmc; cf P 1959:578. Other proposals in F 1939:235.

H20. *hais n[?] λαμπάς *torch*, only dat pl *haizam* J 18.3.

Gmc relationships uncertain. Possibly as *-es*-stem pre-Go ***haiz-iz-*** to OHG *gehei* stn *heat*†, *hei dry, ar-heigēn* wkv *singe* Kögel 1884 BGDSL 9:543; + PIE *-d-*: OI *heitr*, OE *hāt*, OS *hēt*, OHG *heiz hot*†, cf Go **heito**. Scarcely to OI *hārr grey*, for which see **hiwi**.

PIE *kăy- heat*: + *-t-*, Lith *kaĩsti get hot*, Latvian *kàitêt burn*; OE *hǣþa* m *hot weather* Fraenkel 1962-65:204. Older proposals in F 1939:235-36.

P 1959:519.

H21. haitan stvVII καλεῖν *name, call*, prt *haihait* M 8.18, papl *-tans* M 27.8, mediopass *-tada be called* M 5.19; ***ana-haitan*** ἐπικαλεῖσθαι *call on, scold* 2C 1.23; *and-haitan* ὁμολογεῖν *acknowledge, praise* R 10.9; ***at-haitan*** προσκαλεῖσθαι *call to* M 10.1; ***fair-haitan*** χάριν ἔχειν *thank*, only 3sg prs *-tiþ* L 17.9; *ga-haitan* συγκαλεῖν, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι *call together, promise* L 9.1; ***faura-ga-haitan*** προκαταγγέλλειν *foretell*, only acc sg m papl *-tanan* 2C 9.5; ***us-haitan*** προκαλεῖσθαι *provoke*, only nom pl m prpl *us-haitandans* G 5.26; *anda-hait* na ὁμολογία *confession* T 6.13; ***bi-hait** na καταλαλιά *evil report* 2C 12.20; ***ga-hait** na ἐπαγγελία *promise* R 9.8; *bi-haitja*

mn *boaster* 2T 3.2; **dulga-haitja* mn δανειστής *debtor* L 7.41; **haiti* fiō ἐπιταγή, κέλευσμα *promise* 1C 7.6.

Run *haite* 1sg prs (Kragehul spearshaft); see OE *hātte be called*, the only Gmc reflexes of IE middle outside Go; Run *hait-ika* (see **ik**) (Sjælland bracteate). Antonsen 1975:35-36,65-66; papl *haitinaz* (Kalleby) Antonsen 1975:42; OI *heita*, OE *hātan name, promise*, OFris *hēta*, OS *hētan*, OHG *heiz(z)an* stv *be called, name, command*; OE *and-ettan confess*, OS *ant-hētan commend*, OHG *ant-heizan promise*; MHG *heize* stf *promise, command*, OI *heit*, MLG *hēt* stm *promise, oath*; OHG *ant-heiz* stm *oath*; OS *ant-hēti engaged, married*, OHG *ant-heizo* wkm *sponsor, hostage (one who has sworn an oath)*; OE *ge-hāt*, MHG *ge-heiz* stm *command*; OE *ōret-(lof)* stn ← pre-OE **or-hāt triumph*, OHG *ur-heiz* stm *challenge*; OE *ōretta* wkm *warrior*.

Etymology disputed. In accordance with Prokosch 1939:176-78, from PIE *kēy-* ← *ke²y-* + *-d-*; probably PIE *kēy- set* or *be in motion* to *command* in Gmc: Gk κῑνέω, Lat *cīēre set in motion*, Lat *acciō call, summon* O Hoffmann 1903 *F* Fick:40-41; possibly Ir *cid-* in *cisse carried in* Pedersen 1909-13 II:490-91; also Brugmann 1896 IF 6:89-90 and others. Scarcely to PIE *skĕy- cut* as in Lith *skiesti decide* P 1959:919-21, or to other sources proposed; see F 1939:236-37.

P 1959:538-39; Seebold 1970:246-48.

H22. *haiþi fiō ἀγρός *field*.

OI *heiþr*, OE *hæþ*, OS *hētha*, MLG *hēde*, OHG *heida* stf *heath*†; NE *heather*.

PIE *kaito- uncultivated land, woods*, only Celt and Gmc; basis for Gmc *-iō-* unclear: Gaul *caeto-* as in GN Καιτό-βριξ, *Cēto-briga*, *Eto-cētum*; OWel *coid*, NWel *coed*, OCorn *cuit*, Bret *coet woods*; Gmc borrowing in GN *Reiffer-scheid* ← **Rīphere-cētom Ripuarian forest* Ernault 1883-85 RevCelt 6:485. Not Lat *(bū)cētum pasture (for cattle)* W/H 1938-56 I:120, which probably arose by suffix-clipping from *frutic-ētum thicket* Thurneysen 1923 *F* J Wackernagel:117ff.

Dispute on original meaning; whether 'uncultivated land', W Schulze 1966:521-24, with reference to Grimm 1899:499, 'cultivated land', Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:430-31, or 'heather', Kluge 1909 ZDW 11:26, Much 1909 ZDW 11:213. Attempted solution in PIE unprofitable, as in reference of F 1939:237; Vries 1962:217, following Trier, not convincing in proposing orig meaning 'common land'.

P 1959:521.

H23. *haiþiwisks adj ἄγριος *wild (of honey)*, only n sg in *miliþ haiþiwisk* μέλι ἄγριον Mk 1.6.

Like adv **judaiwisko** a new formation, with unexplained *-w-* E Schröder 1917 GGA 179:377, Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:431 fn2, M Jellinek 1926:170; based on patterns now lost; A Sturtevant 1949 GR 24:140-41.

Marginal gloss *wilþi wild* in Cod A; see **wilþeis**. Grienberger 1900:106, proposing that *-wisko* was based on **iudaiw-iska-*, assumes Go **haiþjus*; rejected by F 1939:237, although *-w-* may have been clipped from *u*-stems.

H24. haiþno fn Ἑλληνίς *heathen woman*, only nom sg Mk 7.26. The pl Ἕλληνες is translated *þiudos* (**þiuda**) to express the religious contrast with Jews, ie Gentiles, as opposed to *Krekos* (**Kreks**) for the ethnic contrast, M Jellinek 1923 BGDSL 47:436, Simon 1928 ZDP 53:46ff.

An apparently straightforward, yet highly disputed, word, Weisweiler 1959:90-91, with references. Generally derived from stem in **haiþi**, as already in Raumer 1845:286. *haiþno* then f of Go adj **haiþns* with syncope of *-i(a)-*; OI *heiðinn*, OE *hæþen*, OFris *hēthen*, OS *hēðin*, OHG *heidan heathen*†. According to Simon, op cit, a hybrid of *haiþi* with Gk *-ινος*, then borrowed in other Gmc dialects; M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:134 disagrees; see also M Jellinek 1926:165,179,190 (pre-Wulfila),196.

Possibly PGmc *haiþanaz* or variant = *living on the heath, wild*, with meaning subsequently influenced by Lat *pāgānus* to

'uncultivated, heathen', Grienberger 1900:106. (But *pāgānus* is first attested in 2nd half of 4th century, Vries 1962:216-17, and not the model on which the Gmc form was created; hence meaning shift may have been purely Gmc.) See also EN χαιδεινοί in Ptolemy, OE *(mid) Hæþnum*, Widsith 81, and others, Kluge 1909 ZDW 11:24-25, Much 1909 ZDW 11:211-18. On suffix, see **þiudans**.

Gmc meaning transferred to religious sphere among the Goths and Anglo-Saxons; OE glosses *hæþen* "barbarus i. gentilis" 'barbarian, ie gentile', Napier, ed 1900:1,4037. Then taken to the continent by Anglo-Saxon missionaries, it replaced the older designation for 'heathen' *hinnici* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 I:126,28) ← VLat *ennici* = Lat *ethnici* ← Gk ἐθνικοί. See also Hoops 1920 *F* Braune:27ff, Krogmann 1935 ZDP 59:209ff, both with bibliographical references.

Less likely, *haiþno* is taken as a remodeled form of Gk ἔθνη; see esp W Schulze 1966:519-27, who interprets it as a nonce form in Mk 7. 26, supporting his view by citing the similarity in Coptic *hέθνος* and Arm *het'anos*; see also **spwreidans**; other references in F 1939:237-38.

H25. *hakuls m φελόνης *cloak*, only acc sg *hakul* 2T 4.13.

OI *hǫkoll* m *priest's cape, cloak-like liturgical garment*, OE *hacele* f, OFris *hezil*, MLG *hakel*, OHG *hachul* m *cloak*.

Assumed to be based on Go **hoka goat*, cf OE *hēcen* n *kid*, MLG *hōken* n *young buck* ← **hōkīna-* + *-lo-*: OSl *koza goat*, *kozьlъ buck*, cf OSl *koža skin*; Hirt 1899 BKIS 24:277, Meillet 1902-05:172, Justi 1901 ZDA 45:421 fn2; but see Berneker 1908-14:595-96,597. Possibly the outer garment found in bog burials; see Glob 1974:47. Compare ***snaga** *garment* and **paida** *tunic, mantle* = Gk βαίτη *garment made from (goat[?])* *skins*.

Less likely, based on cognate of OE *haca*, OS *haco*, OHG *hāko* wk/stm *hook*†, also *fibula holding cloak together*, as synecdoche, Diefenbach 1846-51 II:513, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:287, 1906 TNTL 25:273; Grienberger 1900: 107 proposed origin in the word for 'chin', as in OI *haka* f. Trautmann 1905-06 ZDW 7:171 compares NSlov *kozól woven vessel*, suggesting a garment made of bark fiber; similarly, Wiedemann 1905 BKIS 29:314, with reference to OPruss *saxtis rind*, Latvian *sagša cover*; rejected by Uhlenbeck, op cit.

H26. *halbs adj ἥμισυς *half* Mk 6.26.

OI *halfr*, OE *healf*, OFris, OS *half*, OHG *halb halft*. Cf derived abstract **halba* fō only dat sg *halbai* 2C 3.10,9.3, OI *halfa*, OE *healf*, OFris *halve*, OS *halba*, OHG *halba* st/wkf *side, direction*.

Etymology not clear; possibly from PIE *(s)kel-* + *-p-*: Skt *kalā small part*; **kalpate succeed*, based on active *distribute*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:183; Lat *scalpō cut with a sharp tool*; OE *scielfe* wkf *shelf*†; OHG *scelifa* wkf *shell, peel*; OE *hælftre halter*† P 1959:926; see also Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:287. Others assume PIE *ḱel- lean* + *-bho-*, Grienberger 1900:107-08: Lith *šalìs side*, disputed, Fraenkel 1962-65:959-60; also in **hulþs**, **wiļja-halþei**, P 1959:992. Other older proposals in F 1939:239.

P 1959:923-27.

H27. haldan stvVII βόσκειν, κομαίνειν *tend, feed, graze cattle* inf L 15.15, 3sg prs *haldiþ* 1C 9.7, prt not attested, n pl prpl *haldana* M 8.30.

OI *halda*, OE *healdan*, OFris *halda*, OS *haldan*, OHG *haltan* stv *hold*†, *guard*; also OSw *halla* ← **halþan*, OHG *halthan* stv *hold* (PIE *-t-*[?]); see Brugmann 1913 IF 32:181 on *a*-vowel.

PIE *kel- drive*: Skt *kālāyati drive*, Gk κέλλω *drive (a ship toward land)*; Lat *celer fast, celeber thronged, honored* (+ *-dhli-*); + *-dh-* in Gmc, WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18:129, Vries 1962:204, with shift in meaning from 'driving' to 'pasturing' cattle. See Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:236, OI *halda geitr* HH II 22.2, OE *heorde haldan* Blickling Hom 45.15, OHG *hirta haltente* O I.12.1 *shepherds tending (flocks)*. Further shift to 'hold' influenced by a Gmc

verb corresponding to Lith *kélti lift* F 1939:240, WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18:129,132; see Fraenkel 1962-65:237-38, who relates *kélti* to Skt *kaláyati*. Grienberger 1900:108 then upheld.

Not related to Gk -κολος in βου-κόλος *cow-herd*; αἰ-πόλος ← *αίγ-πολος *goat-herd* points to PIE *$k^{w}el$-*, as also in OIr *buachail cow-herd*; labial element in OIr and Gk -κολ- lost by dissimilation with initial labial (Saussure 1889 MSLP 6:161) and thus not a useful parallel for those deriving Go *hal-* from PIE *$k^{w}el$-*, in spite of Seebold 1970:248-49.

P 1959:548, erroneous on *-t-*, Watkins 1985:28.

H28. haldis comp adv *more*, only in *ni þe haldis not more than that, by no means* Sk 4.22 / IVd.4; see OHG *neo dana halt by no means* Hildebrandslied 31; both are archaic comp phrases in the OV pattern, WP Lehmann 1972b:245.

OI *heldr*, OS *hald*, OHG *halt rather*, comp adv as in OHG *thiu halt rather than that, nonetheless*; OHG *halto* adv *quickly, at once*.

Etymology unclear. May be from PGmc *halþaz inclined*, as in OI *hallr leaning*; see **wiljа-halþei**; Diefenbach 1846-51 II:517-18, Vries 1962:221. This more likely than relation to **haldan**, Grienberger 1900:108-09. See also Kroes 1955 GRM 36:345-47.

P 1959:552.

H29. halis-aiw adv μόγις *hardly* only L 9.39. See ***aiws**. No etymology for *halis-*; probably an adv gen, like **allis**, Holthausen 1921 IF 39:70, on stem as in MHG *hel weak, hæl concealed*, with basic meaning *weakly (ever)*; see **huljan**.

H30. haliurunnas (determined from the ms variants; Grienberger 1900:109); Jordanes 89,11: "repperit in populo suo quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone haliurunnas is ipse cognominat" '[Filimer] found among his people some sorceresses, that in his native language he himself calls haliurunnas'.

Relating *-runnas* to ***rinnan** *run*, and maintaining *halju-* as a variant of *halja-* in cmpds (cf ***broþrulubo**), Scardigli 1973:70-71 interprets 'hell-runners' as female shamans. This interpretation preferable to Müllenhoff's ****haljo-runas*** with reference to OHG *holz-rūna* stf *witch* F 1939:240. See Scardigli 1973:57-94 for further information.

H31. halja fō ᾅδης *hell* M 11.23.

OI *hel* f [also name of the goddess of death], OE *hell*, OFris *helle*, OS *hellia* OHG *hella* stf *hell*†. See also OE, OHG *helan* stv *conceal*.

PIE *$\hat{k}el$- conceal*, as in **huljan**. See also MIr *cuile room for stores, kitchen*; moreover, MIr *luid ar cel went to hell* Güntert 1919:34-35. The underworld as a hidden place is more likely than the view by Trier 1951:52-61 as a family grave surrounded by huge stones.

H32. halks adja κενός *in vain* 1C 15.10, πτωχός *weak* G 4.9.

According to Holthausen 1930 IF 48:258 = Franc dial *helk insipid*; dubious.

No certain non-Gmc relationships. According to Grienberger 1900:109-10, from PGmc *hal-kaz*; possibly to OE *healoc corner, hollow*; Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:287 relates further to Go ***us-hulon** *hollow out*. Other proposals highly unlikely; see F 1939:241. Proposed as source of OSl *cholkz unmarried*, Berneker 1908-14:394; dubious semantically. Scardigli 1973:68 lists with unexplained words belonging to the shamanistic sphere.

H33. *hallus mu πέτρα *rock*, only acc sg *hallu* R 9.33.

CrimGo **ael** 'lapis', Run *halaz* ma *stone* (Stenstad), *hali* mi *whetstone* (Strøm), Antonsen 1975:49-50,54-55; OI *hallr* ma *stone*, *hella* ← ****haljōn-*** *fiā flat stone*, OE *heall* stm *stone*, *hyll* ← ****hulnja-*** m/f *hill*†.

Etymology disputed; possibly PIE *kel-project*: Gk κολωνός, κολώνη; Lat *collis hill*; MIr *coll leader*; Lith *kálnas hill*; OSl *čelo forehead, čelesьnz steep*. With other suffixes, Lat *columen tip*; OI *holmr, holmi* m *island*, OE *holm* m *wave, sea, island*, OS *holm* m *hill*; Lith *kalvà small hill*, Latvian *kalva hill, island*

in river. Verb in Lat *ex-cellō* ← *-ld- project above*; possibly Lith *kélti lift*, though Fraenkel 1962-65:237-38 relates Skt *kaláyati*; cf **haldan**. But N Wagner 1984 ZVS 97:281-83 derives from PIE *kal- hard* as in Lat *callum callous*, OIr *calath hard* P 1959:523-24.

Finn *kallio rock* borrowed from PGmc *haljō*, Thomsen 1870:139, Karsten 1915:141.

P 1959:544, Watkins 1985:544.

H34. hals m*a* τράχηλος *neck*, only acc sg L 15.20; **frei-hals** *freedom.*

OI *hals*, OE *heals*, OFris *hals*, OS *hals-(meni)*, OHG *hals* stm *neck.*

OLat *collus*, Lat *collum* ← **kol-s-o neck*, (MIr *coll head, chief*, ← **kol-s-o-*, Stokes 1901 IF 12:187; better derived from **kolnos*; see ***hallus**, though P 1959:544,39 lists both); Lith *kãklas neck*, a reduplicated form of PIE *k^{w}el-turn* Fraenkel 1962-65:205.

In spite of the problems with labio-velars, probably from PIE *k^{w}el- turn*: Skt *cakrás*, Gk κύκλος *wheel*, πόλος *axle*; OSl *kolo wheel*; similar relationship in OSl *vrats neck*: *vrъtěti turn* Noreen 1894 IF 4:320-21; Solmsen 1897 ZVS 34:547; Niedermann 1905-06 AinIF 18:76. Others point to maintenance of labio-velar in OI *hvēl*, OE *hwēol* ← **hwehwula wheel*', and also in Go *has, hopan* before back vowels; yet some take these as analogical forms, Prokosch 1939:71-74. -- This source is preferable for semantic reasons to PIE *kel- project*, as in ***hallus**, for which there are no parallels, esp since OSl *klasъ ear of grain* is now derived from PIE *kel- prick* P 1959:545.

P 1959:639-40.

H35. *hals-agga mn τράχηλος *neck*, conjecture by Gabelentz and Loebe 1848:1245 for acc sg **balsaggan** Mk 9.42A. Rejected by Ebbinghaus 1963 MLN 78:426.

NHG dial, Palatinate, *halsankl neck*; this may be a recent formation. Cmpd of **hals** and *aggan-*: OHG *ancha*, MHG *anke* wkm, NHG dial, Rhine F, Swabian *anke* f *neck.*

PIE *anĝh- narrow*: Skt *aṁhúḥ narrow*; Gk ἄμφην ← **anĝhw- neck*; Lat *angiportus narrow street*; ***aggwus**. P 1959:42-43. Scarcely from PIE *ank- bend*: Skt *añcati bends, áṅkaḥ curve*, Gk ὄγκος, Lat *uncus curve, hook*, OI *angi*, OE *onga* m *point*, OHG *ango* wkm *point, pivot.* P 1959:45-46.

H36. *halts adj*a* χωλός *lame* M 11.5.

OI *haltr*, OE *healt*, OFris, OS *halt*, OHG *halz lame*, as NE adj, frozen in *the halt and the lame.*

Relationships difficult; many words for bodily infirmities have no secure etymology, see **blinds**, ***daufs**, **dumbs**, ***hamfs**, etc.

Probably from PIE *kel-, klā-, klād- strike, kol-do- broken*: Gk κλαδαρός *weakly*; Lat *clādēs harm*; with PIE *-dh-*, OIr, Wel *coll*, Bret *koll harm, ruin.* The Gmc meaning may have arisen from 'broken (bones)'; cf Gk κλάω *break*; Lith *kálti forge, hammer*; OSl *klati hack, split.* Yet Russ *kolča one who limps*, and related words, do not belong here, Berneker 1908-14:660; nor do Skt *khoḍas* and Lat *claudus limping* W/H 1938-56 I:231.

P 1959:547-48.

H37. *hamfs adj*a* κυλλός *maimed* from 'bent'[?], only dat sg *hamfamma* Mk 9. 43.

OS *hāf with maimed hands*, OHG *hamf crippled*; borrowings from Go according to Aufderhaar 1933:21-22.

Possibly from PIE *kam-p- bend*: Skt *kumpas* (only in dictionaries) *with maimed hands*; Gk καμπή *bend*, καμπύλος *curved*, κάμπτω *curve, bend*; Lat *campus field* (from 'bending', like Gk ἄγκος *valley* to ἀγκών *elbow, angle* or Lith *lankà valley, meadow* to *leñkti bend*); Lith *kañpas corner, region, kuñpas crooked, kuñpti curve*; Latvian *kùmpt crooked*; OPruss *et-kūmps* adv *again.*

See parallel PIE *(s)kamb- bend*: Gk σκαμβός *crooked, bowlegged*, PeN Σκόμβος (Hobble); Sw *skumpa limp, hobble*; OIr *camb*, Wel, Corn *cam*, Bret *kamm crooked*, Gaul GN *Cambo-dunum, Cambo-ritum*, P 1959:918; Saussure 1912 *F* Thomsen:205. Not from PIE *(s)kĕp-*, Gk κόπτω *strike*, as in Diefenbach

1846-51 II:529ff; P 1959:930-33 nor to OI *hnafa cut off*, as in H Schröder 1910 AinIF 26: 59.

P 1959:525.

H38. hana mn ἀλέκτωρ *cock, rooster* M 26.74.

CrimGo *ano* 'gallina' Stearns 1978:128; OI *hani*, OE *hana*, OFris *hona*, OS, OHG *hano* wkm *cock*; OE *henn*, OHG *henin* stf *hen*† ← PGmc *hanjō* or *hanenī*, Brugmann 1916-17 IF 37:249ff; with *-ō-*: OS *hōn*, OHG *huon* stn *hen*; OI pl *hœns* : OHG *huonir chickens* point to *es*-stem; cf also OE GN *Hēns-brōc*, LG *Hoensbroech*, and Lapp *vuönca* ← PGmc *hōniz*. Thomsen 1870:101; OI *hœna* ← **hōnjōn hen*. PGmc *hanan-* and collective *hōniz-*, Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:23, point to a lost Gmc verb **hanan sing* (questioned by Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:247), also used for religious and magical purposes, Marstrander 1934 NTS 7: 335ff; cf Lith *gaidỹs cock* to *giedu sing*; *gaidỹs gieda the cock crows* (Go **hrukjan*).

PIE *kan- sing, resound*: Gk κανα̃χή *clangor*, possibly ἠι-κανός *cock* from 'early singer', Chantraine 1968-80:408,491 (ἠι ← *ᾱ̆ὐσ-ι-; cf **Ostrogothae**) as also Skt *uṣā-kalas cock*, cf **hlamma**; Lat *canō sing, carmen* ← **can-men song* (not *cicōnia, cōnea stork* W/H 1938-56 I:212-13); OIr *canid sing, cētal*, Wel *cathl* ← *kan-t-lo- song*. Not Lith *kañkalas bell*, but rather with **hlamma**, Fraenkel 1962-65:215; nor Skt *kaṅkaṇam bracelet (with bangles)* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I: 136-37.

P 1959:525-26, Watkins 1985:27.

H39. handugs adj*a* σοφός *wise*, only 1C 1.20, *handugozei* f comp 1C 1.25; *handugei* f*n* σοφία *wisdom* M 11.19.

OE *(list-)hendig having skillful hands*, MLG *handlich*, MHG *handec dexterous*, cf NE *handy*. OI *hannarr* ← **hanþaraz clever*; OHG *handeg bitter, stern, handegi* stf *torment*, probably not here, though see Gk verb below.

Etymology uncertain. Possibly to PIE *k̂ent- pierce, prick*: Gk κεντέω *prick*, κέντρον *point, spur*, κοντός *pole*, Kluge 1926:100; this borrowed into Lat as *contus pole*; then *per-contor investigate (with a sounding pole)*, also *centrum point, center*; taken from Lat, OIr *cinteir*, Wel *cethr nail, tip* Pedersen 1909-13 I: 198,234; but Vendryès 1908 *F* Saussure:319 assumes only OIr from Brythonic; Latvian *sīts hunting-spear* P 1959:567. For Gmc meaning, cf NE *sharp* = *clever*. Less credibly related to **handus** ('dexterous' to 'wise'), Meillet 1896 MSLP 9:49, Kern 1901 TNTL 20:245-46, Blankenstein 1907 IF 21:115. Older proposals in F 1939:244. According to Berneker 1908-14: 400, OSl **chǫdogъ*, yielding *chǫdožьstvo experience* is based on a Go **handags*; also Stender-Petersen 1927:333-34.

H40. handus f*u* χείρ *hand* M 5.30; **laus-handus* adj only acc sg m *-djan* M 12.3 κενός *with empty hands*.

CrimGo *handa* 'manus', Stearns 1978:137-38, OI *hǫnd* 'manus', A Sturtevant 1932 JEGP 31:247-50, OE *hond*, OFris, OS *hand*, OHG *hant* stf *hand*†.

Etymology uncertain. A Gmc innovation, possibly with stem of **(fra-)hinþan grasp; hand* from 'grabber', Grimm 1878:35 ("manus, qua capimus" 'hand, by which we grasp'), Markey 1984 JIES 12:261-92 posits refashioning of derivatives from this stem by forms from the stem of **bi-gitan**, in a wide-ranging discussion. The IE languages have many different words for hand, probably introduced for taboo reasons; see Buck 1949:238-39. Skt *hasta-*[?], Gk χείρ, Arm *jeṙn*, Alb *dorë*, Hitt *kessar-*, Luw *issari-*, TochA *tsar*, B *šar*. These are no longer derived from PIE *ĝher- seize*: Skt *hárati takes*, but from PIE *ghés-or* f *hand*, as in P 1959:447; the proposed semantic parallel is therefore missing. See also Duchesne-Guillemin 1938 BSLP 39:[art]211-21, Schindler 1967 IF 72: 244-49; Tischler 1983- I:558-63, with copious bibliography. A semantic parallel may exist in Lith *rankà hand*, probably based on stem in Lith *riñkti collect* Fraenkel 1962-65:697. Go *handus* scarcely from PIE *k̂omt- -ty*, as in Gk

τεσσερά-κοντα *forty*; see ***fidwor-tigjus**; nor related to Lith *kùmstis fist*, now taken from **punkstė*, Fraenkel 1962-65:309-10. References in F 1939:244-45. See now Markey 1984 JIES 12:280-82, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:850.

P 1959:447.

H41. *handu-waurhts adj*a* χειροποίητος *made by hands* Eph 2.11; **un-handu-waurhts* ἀχειροποίητος *not made by hands* Mk 14.58; calque on Gk, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:349. Cmpd of **handus** and **waurhts*; see **fra-waurhts** and **waurkjan**.

OE *un-hand-worht not made by hands*; OE *hand-weorc*, OHG *hant-werch* stn *work of the hands, handwork*†.

H42. hansa f*ō* σπεῖρα *troop, cohort* J 18.3,12, Mk 15.16, πλῆθος *crowd* L 6.17.

OE *hōs* (only dat *mægða hōse with a band of maidens* Beowulf 924, *troop of attendants*), OHG *hansa* stf (only acc, Tatian 200.1) *cohort*, MLG *hanse*, MHG *hans(e)* stf *merchants' guild*. MLat *hansa association, right to trade or tax*. (Scarcely Sw, Nor *hos at the place of, with*, as in Noreen 1886 ANF 3:12; see Falk and Torp 1910-11:421, ← *hus*, like Fr *chez* ← Lat *casa*.)

No certain etymology; numerous proposed, as in F 1939:245-46. For a recent review of development in Gmc, see Benveniste 1973:63-65; orig 'a company of warriors', like the *comitatus* of Germania 13-14, and thereupon 'an economic organization'. Possibly best from PIE *ĥens- pronounce solemnly*: Lat *cēnseō propose, assess, tax*; Alb *thom say* (though see Huld 1984:119), in the sense of 'council' or 'retinue' around prince, as in Germania 13 and in Beowulf 924 around queen, and also in war, Germania 14, E Zupitza 1896:109. Not like Helm 1904 BGDSL 29:194ff from later meaning of 'tax, levy'; cf F Kauffmann 1906 ZDP 38: 238ff.

Less likely, related to **hunsl**, as if 'a group involved in sacrifice', Meissner 1900:72, Crome 1924 *F* Mogk:515 fn1, Rooth 1926:168; not likely for phonological (loss of *l*) and semantic reasons. Also doubtful, derivation from ad hoc cmpds, such as PIE *kom-sōd*, = Lat *cum with* and PIE *sed-* as in **sitan**, Bugge 1887 BGDSL 12:418-19, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:71; even less credible, ← PIE *con-d-tā*, with *d* ← PIE *dō give* Osthoff 1888 BGDSL 13:425-26. Nor to **(*fra-)hinþan**, as by Wiedemann 1902 BKIS 27:212, itself without etymology; and not to Lat *scandula shingle*, ← PIE *(s)kend- split up, strew*, as by Schnetz 1922 BBGS 58:37-38, though accepted in Kluge/Mitzka 1967:288. Other older conjectures in F 1939:245-46.

Borrowed as Finn *kansa people, society*, Russ Karelian *kanža* συναγωγή *synagogue*, Est *käz(a) companion, spouse*. Thomsen 1870:140; see Kylstra 1961:59,66. Early Gmc attestation in Go of great interest in view of later use and prominence.

H43. hardus adj*u* αὐστερός, σκληρός *stern, hard* L 19.21, n comp *-dizo* only Sk 6.21 / VIc.24; *-duba* adv δεινῶς, ἀποτόμως *terribly* M 8.6; **hardu-hairtei* f*n* calque of Gk σκληροκαρδία *hardness of heart*, only acc sg *-tein* Mk 10.5; **ga-hardjan* σκληρύνειν *harden*, only 3sg prs *-deiþ* R 9.18.

OI *harðr hard, strong*, OE *heard hard*†, *brave*, OFris *herd*, OS *hard*, OHG *hart hard, firm*; adv OI *harða*, OE *hearde*, OFris, MLG *herde*, OHG *harto* (cf Gk κάρτα) *very*; OE *heard-heort hard-hearted*†; OI *herða*, OE *hyrdan*, OFris *herda*, OS *herdian*, OHG *harten* wkv *harden*†.

PIE *kar-*: Skt *karkara- rough, hard* = Hsch κάρκαροι· τραχεῖς; also Skt *kárkaṭas*, Gk καρκίνος, Lat *cancer* (with dissimilation) *crab*; + *-t-*, Hom κρατύς, comp κρατερός *strong*. Not Skt *kaṭú sharp, biting, kaṭhinas hard*, or other similar words, such as Lith *kartùs bitter*; Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:143,144, Fraenkel 1962-65: 225; older references in F 1939:246-47.

P 1959:531-32.

H44. harjis m*ja* λεγεών *army* L 8.30, gen *harjis* στρατιᾶ *of the host* L 2.13.

Run *harja* m*jō* (Vimose; Skåäng or *harijan* gen, Antonsen 1975:66) PeN (Warrior),

harisō fōn (Himlingøje) PeN (Female Warrior), and as component of PeN *hAriwulfs* (Rävsal), *hAriwolAfz* (Stentoften), *hAriwulfa* (Blekinge), *hariuha* (Sjælland 2), *harisą* (Eggja; Krause 1966 I:229-31), *Swaba-harjaz* m*ja* (Rö) (Antonsen 1975:32,35,43,65,66,84,85, 88; Krause 1966 I:30-32,63-64,167-70,183-85, 191-92,209-14,218-20,262); OI *herr*, OE, OFris *here*, OS *heri* stm, OHG *heri* stm/n *army, host.*

PIE *koro-s war, koryos*: OPers *kāra- army*, Lith *kāras war*; MIr *cuire* (← **corio-*; Specht 1933 ZVS 60:130ff on *-yo-*) *host*, Wel *cor community* Loth 1927 RevCelt 44:273-74; Lith *kārias army, karỹs warrior*, Latvian *karš army, war*, OPruss *kargis army, karyago military campaign, caryawoytįs military review* Toporov 1975- III:221-25,228; Gk κοίρανος ← **koryanos ruler* : OI *Herjann* [name of Odin] Chantraine 1968-80:553, possibly also Myc *ko-re-te administrator in a city*; Vries 1962:223-24, with earlier references; possibly also Hitt *kuriyana- independent*, though rejected by Tischler 1983- I:647-49 with lengthy discussion.

Celto-Gmc *koryo-*: *harja-* also in PeN, PGmc *C(h)ario-viscus, Hario-baudes, Chariomerus*; in EN, Gaul *Vo-corii, Tri-corii, Petrucorii possessing two, three, four armies*, GN *Coriono-totae*, Gk PeN Κοιρό-μαχος Chantraine 1968-80:553.

Also the Negau helmet: *harigasti tei V. A. III.IL.* See Kretschmer 1929 ZDA 66:1ff with bibliography; Specht 1933 ZVS 60:130-38, Arntz 1944:59-60,72,218,Plate 1, Tollenaere 1967.

P 1959:615-16.

H45. hatis *na* ὀργή, θυμός *hatred, anger* E 2.3; **hatan* wkvIII μισεῖν *hate*, only prpl nom pl m *-ndans* L 6.21, gen pl *-ndane* L 1.71; **hatjan* wkvI μισεῖν *hate*, only prpl dat pl m *-jandam* M 5.44, gloss to *fijandam* L 6.27 Cod A; **hatizon* wkvII χολᾶν *be angry*, only 3sg prs *-zoþ* J 7.23. Once (E 2.3 Cod B) gen *hatis* (*hatize* in Cod A); if not a scribal error, gen of **hat* (: OHG *haz*); Bahder 1880:53; Kremer 1882 BGDSL 8:388; opposed by Streitberg 1920:103, though affirmed by M Jellinek 1926:119.

OI *hatr* stn; OE *hete*, OS *heti* stm; OHG *haz* stm *hatred, enmity*; with *-ō-*, OS adj *hōti inimical.* OI *hata*, OE *hatian*, OFris *hatia* wkv *hate*†, OS *hatōn* wkv *hate, persecute*, OHG *hazzēn, hazzōn hate, persecute*; caus OE *hettan persecute*, MHG *hetzen* wkv *pursue, hunt.*

PIE *ḱad- mood, hate*: Skt *ri-śādas* [epithet of gods], Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:61-62; Gk κῆδος *sorrow*; Osc *cadeis* 'amnud' *by reason of hatred*; MIr *caiss*, Wel *cas* ← **kəds-i- hate*; TochA *kat destruction.* Not here because of stem-final, Gk κότος *anger*; rather to Skt *śátruṣ enemy*; Gaul *catu-*, as in *Catu-rīges lord of battle*, OIr *cath*; OE *heaþu- battle*, as in *heaþo-lāc*, OHG *hadu- battle* in PeN's *Hadubrant, Hadu-wīg.*

P 1959:517.

H46. haubiþ (*haubid*) *na* κεφαλή *head* M 6.17.

CrimGo *hoef* 'caput' (misprint for **hoeft*, Stearns 1978:138); OI *haufuð* (Bragi, see I Lindquist 1924:347), OE *hēafod*, OFris *hāved*, OS *hōbid*, OHG *haubit* stn *head.* Probably a remodeled form of PGmc etymon for OI *hǫfuð*, Gotlandic *hafuþ*, OE *hafud* stn *head*†.

Disputed etymology. Securely based only on Lat and NWGmc; PIE *kap-ut- head*, from 'pot' (Skt *kapúcchalam tuft of hair on back of head* is uncertain, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:156-57); Lat *caput head*; with *-lo-*: Skt *kapálam cup, skull*; OE *hafola* stm *head*, but see W/H 1938-56 I:158-59.

PGmc *haf-* may have been modified by parallels from PIE *kup-*: Hsch κύπη· τρώγλη *drinking vessel*; Lat *cūpa barrel*; OE *hȳf* f *beehive*†; OI *hūfa*, OE *hūfe*, OFris *hūve*, OS, OHG *hūba* wkf *cap* P 1959:590-91; with *-ou-*, Lith *káupas*: OE *hēap*, OFris *hāp*, OS *hōp*, OHG *houf* stm *heap*†. Noreen 1890 ANF 6:310 and others. Marstrander 1925:33ff proposed modification of PGmc *haf/ƀ-* to *hauƀ-* by the

following *-u-*. -- PIE *kew- bend, curvature* has many labial and velar extensions, such as NE *shock*, Go **hauhs high*, Go **hups hip*, OHG *hūba cap*, OI *hof temple* P 1959:588-92. On the basis of these, and similar forms, further explanation has been attempted; see F 1939:248.

Many different words for 'head' are found in the IE languages, with some innovations clearly documented; NHG *Kopf head* ← MHG *kopf (drinking-)cup*; Fr *tête* ← Lat *testa bowl*, replacing *caput* Buck 1949:212-13. Documentation is inadequate to determine the early Gmc situation.

P 1959:530.

H47. *hauhs adja ὑψηλός *high* Mk 9. 2; adv *hauhaba* R 11.20, comp adv *hauhis* ἀνώτερον *higher*, only L 14.10, superl **-hista* ὕψιστος *highest* L 1.32; *hauhei* fn ὕψος *height*, only E 3.18; *hauheins* fi/ō δόξα *praise, honor* J 8.54, derived from *hauhjan*; *hauhisti* nia *highest*, only *in hauhistjam* ἐν ὑψίστοις L 2.14; *hauhiþa* fō ὕψος, ὕψωμα, δόξα *height, elevation, honor* J 7.18; *hauh-hairts* adja αὐθάδης, ὑπερήφανος *arrogant* Tit 1.7; *hauh-hairtei* fn ὑπερηφανία *pride*, only Mk 7.22; *hauh-þuhts* adja (for τετύφωται *is puffed up* 1T 6.4) *arrogant*; *hauhjan* wkvI (calque of Gk ὑψοῦν *magnify*) δοξάζειν *praise* R 15.9; **ufar-hauhjan* only papl *-hiþs* τυφλοῦν *be puffed up* 1T 3.6; *us-hauhjan* ὑψῶσαι *magnify* J 12.34; *us-hauhnan* ἐνδοξασθῆναι *be glorified*, only inf 2Th 1.10, 3sg opt prs *-hnai* 2Th 1.12. See also **hiuhma, *huhjan.**

OI *hār* (rather than *hǫr*, from infl forms, Pipping 1921 SNF 12:57-58), OE *hēah*, OFris *hāch*, OS, OHG *hōh high*†; OS, OHG *hōhī* stf; OI *hæð*, OE *hīehþu*, MDu *höchte*, OHG *hōhida* stf *height*†; OE *hēah-heort arrogant*; OE *hīean*, OFris *hēia*, OS *hōhian*, OHG *hŏhen, ir-hŏhen* wkv *praise, elevate*. Also the Gmc EN *Chauci*, Schönfeld 1911:131-32.

PIE *kew- bend* + *-k- bend, curve*: Skt *kucati curves, kucas female breast*; Ir *cūar* ← **kuk-ro- crooked* Strachan 1894 BKIS 20:23; Lith *kaũkaras height, hill, kaũkas swelling*, Latvian *kukurs hump*; Russ *kuča heap*; TochB *kauc high*.

P 1959:588-92, esp 589; Vries 1962:210; Watkins 1985:30-31.

H48. hauns adj ταπεινός *humble*, only 2C 10.1, *haunjan* ταπεινοῦν Ph 4.12; **ga-haunjan* ταπεινῶσαι *abase* Ph 2.8, **hauneins* fi/ō ταπεινοφροσύνη, ταπείνωσις *lowliness* Col 3.12; **hauniþa* fō *humbleness*, only *in -þai* ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ 1T 2.11.

OE *hēan lowly, despised*, OFris *hāna accused*, OHG *hōni despised*; OE *hȳnan*, OFris *hēna*, OS *hōnian*, OHG *hōnen despise*; OE *hīenþ(o) disgrace*, OFris *hānethe, hēnde accusation*, OS *hōnða*, OHG *hōnida* stf *shame*; OHG *hōna* stf *mockery*; without *-ni-*, OI *hāð* ← **hawiþa* n *mocking*.

PIE *kaw- humble*: also with *-ni-* Latvian *kàuns* m *shame, disgrace, kàunîgs bashful, kàunêtiês to be ashamed*; possibly Hsch καυνός· κακός. σκληρός *evil, harsh* Chantraine 1968-80:506. Without *-n-*, Lith *kūvėtis be ashamed* Fraenkel 1962-65:323-24. Also Lith *kaũnas lowly site* Fraenkel 1962-65:231. Scarcely MHG *hūren cower*, in spite of E Zupitza 1896:110.

P 1959:535.

H49. haurds fi θύρα *(woven) door* 1C 16.9.

OI *hurð*, ONor *hurð*, ME *hirde*, OS *hurth* stf *door*, OHG *hurd* stf *wattle, hurdle*†. For change of meaning from 'wattle' to 'door' see Meringer 1898 *F* Heinzel:184, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:557.

PIE *kert- twist, weave*: Skt *kárṭa- mat, kṛtsná- complete*; Gk κάρταλος *basket*, κυρτία *wattle*, κύρτος, κύρτη *fishtrap, cage*; Lat *crātis wicker-work, hurdle* (ī-stem, Jacobsohn 1914 ZVS 46:57), *crassus thick* W/H 1938-56 I:285-86; OIr *ceirtle club*; but not *crett wagon-box* (borrowed from OE *cræt wagon* Thurneysen 1910 AinIF 26:25), nor Lith *kraũtas steep bank*, and related words, Fraenkel 1962-65:288; OSl *črьstvъ firm*, with nasal in OSl, Russ *krutъ steep*, OSl *krętajǫ move, touch* Berneker 1908-

14:612-13, but not Vasmer 1953-58 I:671. See also Skt *kṛṇatti twists, spins* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:257.

P 1959:584-85, Watkins 1985:584.

H50. *hauri n*ja* only acc pl *-rja* ἄνθραξ *coals* R 12.20, ἀνθρακιά *coal-fire* J 18. 18.

OI *hyrr* ← **hurja* ← PIE *kr̥-yo-* m *fire* Petersson 1917:40-41.

PIE *kerH- burn, glow*: Lith *kùrti*, Latvian *kuŕt heat*, OSl *kuriti sę smoke*; + *-d-*, Skt *kūḍayati scorches* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:252, dubious; possibly Lat *carbō coal* W/H 1938-56 I:165-66.

Also with *-e-*, OE *heorþ* f, OFris, OS *herth*, OHG *herd* stm *hearth*†, *dust*; MLG *harst rust*; OE *hierstan roast*, OHG *ga-harstit roasted, parched*, *harsta* f *roast*; Lith *kárštas*, Latvian *kařsts hot* Fraenkel 1962-65:223; also 319 on semantic relation to *kùrti produce, erect*. Further intricate developments, both phonologically and semantically, such as Lith *preĩkšas a widow's second husband; bridegroom, lover* Fraenkel 1962-65:319.

P 1959:571-72.

H51. haurn n*a* κέρας *horn* L 1.69, κεράτιον *fruit of the cerob tree* L 15.16, M Jellinek 1893 ZDA 37:319; **haurnja* m/n *flute (horn) player*, only acc pl *haurnjans* M 9.23; ***þut-haurn** n*a* σάλπιγξ *trumpet* 1C 15.52; **haurnjan* M 6.2, **þut-haurnjan* σαλπίζειν *blow a horn* 1C 15.52.

Run (Gallehus) acc sg *horna*, OI, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *horn* stn *horn*†; OE *ānhorn(a)*, OHG *ein-hurno* wkm *unicorn*; OS *hōh-hurnid having large horns*; OHG *hurnen* ← **hurnjan* wkv *equip with horns*.

PIE *ḱer- tip, head, horn*; with various suffixes, such as *-n-* in Gmc: Lat *cornū horn* (borrowed in MIr, Wel, Bret, Corn *corn drinking-horn*, according to Loth 1892:152, but denied by P 1959:576, because of EN *Cornoviī*); Wel, Corn, Bret *karn hoof of unicorn*, from 'horn', cf Gaul **carnon*, as in Gk κάρνον· τὴν σάλπιγγα. Hsch γαλάται and κάρνυξ *trumpet* (Eustathius 1139.57 to Iliad 18:219); Gaul (-Lat) *carnūtus horned* Vendryès 1925 RevCelt 42:222; Latvian *sirnas* pl *deer* Endzelin 1909 ZVS 42:378; OSl *srъna horn*. With *-n-* + *-g-*, Skt *śr̥ṅga-* n *horn* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:369-70.

With *-wo-*, Gk κερα(ϝ)ός *horned*; Lat *cervus*, Wel *carw*, Corn *carow*, OPruss *sirwis deer*; Hitt *karayar horn* Tischler 1983- I:500-02; Av *srū-*, *sr̥vā horn, nail*; Lith *kárvė cow*, OPruss *curwis ox*, OSl *krava cow* (*ḱ* depalatalized before resonant, Kortlandt 1977:239). With *-u-* + *d*, OI *hr̥ṛtr*, OE *heorot*, OS *hirot*, OHG *hiruz* stm *hart*† (cf Gk κόρυ-δ-ος *crested lark*).

Further, Skt *śíras-*, Av *sarah-*; Gk κέρας, κάρᾱ *head* Chantraine 1968-80:496,517-18; Lat *cerebrum* ← **ḱerəs-rom brain*; OI *hjarsi* m *crown*, Du *hersen*; OI *hjarni* m, OHG *hirni* stn *brain*. Unrelated, **hvairnei skull*.

P 1959:574-77, Watkins 1985:29.

H52. hausjan wkvI J 8.43, *hausjon* wkvII ἀκούειν *hear* J 6.60; **and-hausjan* ἀκούειν, ἐπακούειν *listen, obey* Mk 6.20; *ga-hausjan* ἀκοῦσαι *perceive* Mk 7.37; *uf-hausjan* ὑπακούειν, ὑποτάσσεσθαι *obey* G 3.1, prpl *-jands* ὑπήκοος *obedient* L 2.51; **hauseins* ῐ/ō̆ ἀκοή *hearing, ear, preaching* 2T 4.3; *ga-hauseins* ἀκοή *preaching* R 10.17; **uf-hauseins* παρακοή *disobedience*, only gen pl *-no* 2C 10.6.

OI *heyra*, OE *hīeran*, OFris *hēra*, OS *hōrian*, OHG *hōren* wkv *hear*†; possibly also OE *hāwian look at* ← PIE *kēw-*, Pogatscher 1902 BzA 13:233, in spite of meaning. Etymology problematic as below.

PIE *(s)kew-s- note, perceive, hear*: Skt *kaví- wise, seer*, *ákutam intention*; Gk κοέω *note*, ἀκούω, ἀκεύω (Gortynian) *hear* Delbrück 1867 ZVS 16:271, α- probably from PIE *sm̥-, sem- together, one* as in **simle**, Schrader 1890 ZVS 30:465, though other views have been proposed, Chantraine 1968-80:50-51. κῦδος *glory, see* ***skauns**; Lat *caveō take heed, custōs watchman* W/H 1938-56 I:186-87: OSl

čudo wonder, čuti note, with *-s-* in Russ dial *čuchatь perceive* Vasmer 1953-58 III:360.

Others analyze ἀκούω ← **ak-ous-yō I hear distinctly* Fick 1877 BKIS 1:334, Kretschmer 1893-94 ZVS 33:565, with PIE *ak-* as in **ahs** and *ous-* as in **auso**. Lindeman 1963 SL 17:91-94 assumes PIE *ɣews-* → *ows-*; *kows*, of which *hausjan* is a denom; this preferable to Fick, but less likely than derivation from *kew-*.

P 1959:587-88.

H53. hawi n *ja* χόρτος *hay* J 6.10.

OI *hey*, OE *hīeg*, OFris *hā*, *hē*, OS *houwi*, *hōi*, OHG *hewe*, *houwe*, stn **hay†**, *grass*.

Probably a noun beside OI *hṓggva*, prt *hiō*, OE *hēawan*, prt *hēow*, OFris *hāwa*, OS *gi-ha(u)wan*, OHG *houwan*, prt *hio* stv; OHG *houwōn* wkv **hew†**, *strike*; on PGmc *-ww-* see **glaggwaba**; 'hay' is 'something that has been cut', Vries 1962:226.

PIE *kāw-* ← *kezw- strike*: Lith *káuti*, Latvian *kaût forge, strike*, Lith *kovà battle*; TochA *ko-*, B *kau- kill*, Fraenkel 1962-65:232; + *d-* Lat *cūdō* ← **caudō* in cmpds *strike*; MIr *cuad war*. Less likely to Skt *śākam vegetable*, possibly a borrowing, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:320-21; Lith *šẽkas*, Latvian *sẽks newmown hay* Vries 1962: 199, see P 1959:544; rejected with other suggestions, F 1939:252.

P 1959:535, Watkins 1985:27.

H54. hazer CrimGo 'mille' *1000*, borrowing from MPers *hazār 1000* through Turk, like Hung *ezer* from the same source, Kisch 1925 KVSL 48:2. Cf CrimGo borrowing also in **sada** *100* Stearns 1978:138, with comments on the value of *h-*. Note also **þusundi**.

H55. hazjan wkvI αἰνεῖν, ἐπαινεῖν *praise* L 19.37; *hazeins fi/ō* αἶνος, ἔπαινος *praise, song of praise* 1C 4.5.

OE *herian* wkv *praise*; OHG *harēn* wkv *call, ana-harēn call to, fora-haro* wkm *herald*, though not by Holthausen 1904 Archiv 113:46.

No etymology. No source has been established for Skt *śáṁsati praise*; no cognates outside Ind-Ir, including Lat *cēnseō judge* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:330-31. Nor for Skt *śā́sti punishes* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:284-85. Nor is Lat *car-men* ← **can-men* (not **cas-men*) related, W/H 1938-56 I:169-70; hence Skt *carkarti mention, praise, kārá- victory chant, kārú- poet* not pertinent in spite of Gk κήρυξ *herald*, OI *herma* wkv *report*, though suggested by Vries 1962:224; see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 201,202,377. Older speculation has led to no solution. P 1959:530-31 treats PIE *kar- praise*, though without clarification for Go *hazjan*; see ***hroþeigs**.

H56. heito *fn* πυρετός *fever* M 8.15.

Cf OI *heitr*, OE *hāt*, OFris *hēt*, OS *hēt*, OHG *heiz hot†*; OI *hiti* m, OFris *hete* f ← PGmc *hitan-*; OE *hitt*, OS *hittia*, OHG *hizza* stf ← PGmc *hitjō-*; OE *hǣte* f ← PGmc *haitja-*; OE *hǣtu* f *heat†*.

PIE *kắy-, kī- heat* in OHG *hei parched, gehei* stn *heat*, cf ***hais**; with *-t-* rather than *-d-* in Lith *kaitrà oppressive heat, kaĩsti heat up*, and other cognates including possibly OPruss *ankaitītai troubled* Toporov 1975- I: 89-90, Fraenkel 1962-65:204. Possibly also in ***haidus** *manner* and with moveable *s-* in **skeinan**.

P 1959:519,916-18.

H57. *heiwa-frauja m *n*, only dat sg *-jin* Mk 14.14 οἰκοδεσπότης *master of the house as host to guests* in contrast with *gardawaldands* L 14.21, M 10.25, as *master over family members and slaves* Benveniste 1973: 273-75.

Gmc *hĭ̄wa- member of family, spouse*: OI *hȳski* n *household, family*, *hȳ-bȳli* n pl *homestead*; OE *hīw-rǣden* f *household, family*, *hīw-cūþ familiar, well-known*, OS, OHG *hīwiski* stn *family*; *-n-* in OI *hjōn* or *hjūn* n *one of the household*, pl *married couple* (old du n **hīwōnō* according to Helten 1889 BGDSL 14: 251); OE *hīwan* pl, OFris *hīuna members of a household*, OS *sin-hīwun*, OHG *hīun* wkn *married couple, parents, family members* (Heinertz 1915 IF 35:314ff); OE *hī-red* m, MHG *hī-rat* stm f *marriage*; OS *hīwa* f *woman*, OHG *hī(w)o* wkm, *hī(w)a* wkf *spouse*; PGmc *hĭ̄wa-*

in OI *heraδ* n, OSw *hæ-raþ district; hæ-skaper family*. Also OI *hīδ(i)* stn *bears' den*, Vries 1962:226, but see below.

PIE *ĥey- homestead; dear, friendly*; with adj *-wo-, -mo-, -ro-* (considerable speculation on "original" sense of these adjectives, according to Hirt 1897 ZDP 29:301 'dear'; according to Streitberg 1906 Lit Zbl 38:824 'kin'; according to W Schulze 1966:201 fn1 'peace'; according to Benveniste 1973:273 'social reference and overtones of sentiment'); + *-wo-*, Skt *śévas dear, intimate, śivás friendly, dear*; OLat *ceiuis*, Lat *civis*, Osc *ceus (fellow-)citizen* Benveniste 1973:274-75; Latvian *siẽva wife*; OSl *po-siva cunning*[?]; + *-mo-*, OIr *cōim dear*, OWel *cum*, MBret *cuf expensive* Windisch 1894 IF 3:78ff; Lith *šeimà*, OPruss *seimīns household servants*, Latvian *sàime*; OSl *sěmija servants, sěmьja family*, cf **haims*; + *-ro-* Arm *sēr devotion, sirem I love* Bugge 1893 ZVS 32:25, Scheftelowitz 1904 BKIS 28:284.

The orig meaning of *ĥey-* in *heiwa-* is often given as 'lie', as in Skt *śéte*, Av *saetē*, Gk κεῖται *lies*; also Gk κοίτη, κοῖτος *place to lie down, bed*, ἄ-κοιτις *spouse* (ἀ for ἁ ← PIE *sm̥-with*), Chantraine 1968-80:48,509-10; Arm *gi-* ← **ĥi-* in *han-gčim I rest, han-gist rest* Meillet 1936 BSLP 37:[art]11, Hitt *ki- lie* Tischler 1983- I:568-69; Bret *ar-gud light sleep* Loth 1901 RevCelt 22:334. See however WP Lehmann 1985:519-25 who posits PIE *ĥey- here* as source for the Gmc derivatives, distinguishing this root from PIE *ĥey- lie*, which would be the source in Gmc only for OI *hīδ* and cognates; cf **hi-**.

P 1959:539-40,609-10.

H58. helei *my God* = Gk ἡλί from Heb *'ēlī* M 27.46.

H59. her adv ὧδε *here* M 8.29.

OI, OE *hēr*, OFris *hīr*, OS *hēr, hīr*, OHG *hia(r) here*†. PGmc *ē²*; on which see *fera*.

PIE *ĥey-* + adv *-r*, without parallels elsewhere. Taken by many to have *-ē-* from PIE *-ēy-*, for which there is no evidence; references in F 1939:254, WP Lehmann 1952:67, Connolly 1979 BGDSL-T 101:1-29. According to WP Lehmann 1952:72-73, *-ē-* in *her* is a Gmc development, as also in pronominal OHG *thie he, (h)wia as*; so also Ringe 1984 Sprache 30: 138-55, who derives *her* from PIE *ĥī- with, this*, with Gmc lowering before *r*. But he considers PGmc *hē²r* the only instance of the vowel, and dismisses it from the system without treating examples like **Kreks** and **mizdo**.

On PIE *-r* in adv see K Johansson 1889 BKIS 14:163ff, 1890 BKIS 16:130ff, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:735-36, Skt *kár-hi when, tár-hi then*; OLat *quōr*, Lat *cūr why*; Lith *kur where* W/H 1938-56 I:313. See **aljar, ƕar, jainar, þar**.

H60. *heþjo *n* ταμιεῖον *chamber*, only acc sg *-jon* M 6.6.

No clear cognates. Possibly OE *heaþor* n *enclosure, prison, heaþorian* wkv *enclose, hide*.

May be from PIE *ket- room*: Av *kata-* m, NPers *kad(a) house* Bartholomae 1904-05 ZDW 6:355, though scarcely Skt *cattás hidden* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:370. Possibly Gk κοτύλη *cup*, though its origin is disputed, Chantraine 1968-80:573. Not Skt *cátvālas cavity*. Nor Lat *cassis helmet* W/H 1938-56 I:177; this probably from PIE *kadh- protect, cover*, as are also OE, OFris *hōd*, OHG *huot* stm **hat**, NE *hood*; OFris, MLG *hōde*, OHG *huota* stf **watch**; possibly also OI *hǫttr* m **hat**, OE *hætt* m **hat**†; also OE *hēdan*, OFris *hōda*, OS *hōdian*, OHG *huoten* wkv *watch, protect*, cf NE *heed*; possibly also OI *heδinn fur coat*, OE *heden mantle* (though not the identical OE *heden cooking utensils* ← Lat *catīnus pan*).

Grienberger 1900:112 assumed scribal error for **heiþjo* which he related to Gk κεῖμαι *lie*; cf **heiwa-frauja*; unlikely.

P 1959:586,516.

H61. hi- pronominal stem in *fram himma* dat ἀπ' ἄρτι *from this (time on)* J 13. 19, *himma daga* σήμερον *on this day, today* M 6.11, acc m *und hina daga* μέχρι τῆς σήμερον *unto this day, unto today* M 11.23, acc n *und hita* ἕως ἄρτι (τοῦ νῦν) *until now* M 11.12, adv *hidre* (*hidrei* L 9.41) ὧδε *to here*.

Run *hino* (Strøm whetstone) acc m, *hin* (Eggja) Krause 1966 I:111,230, OI *hin-i/ug* (← **hina-wig*) *to here*; OE, OS, OHG *hĕ* nom sg *he*†, OE *him*, OS *himo* dat sg, OE *hine* acc sg *him*†, adv *hina, hinan(a) from here, from now on*; OE, OFris *hit* nom acc sg n *it*†; inst in OE *hēo-dæg*, OFris *hiu-dega*, OS *hiu-diga, hiu-du*, OHG *hiu-tu today*; OHG *hiuru* (← **hiu-jāru*) *this year, hī-naht tonight*. OI *hečra*, OE *hider hither*†, *-drē* in vowel and accent variation with *-þrō*, Kieckers 1928:170-71.

PIE *k̂ey- here, this*; same root as for 'homestead, dear', WP Lehmann 1985:519-25; cf ****heiwa-frauja***; Gk κεῖ-θεν *from there*, (ἐ-)κεῖ-σε *to there*, Aeol κή *there*, ἐ-κεῖ-νος, Dor, Aeol κῆ-νος *that one* (meaning change from 'here' to 'there' through ἐ-, Chantraine 1968-80:329); Lat *cis, ci-trā on this side*, PIE *k-* in Lat *hi-c this one*, Osc *ídí-k*, Umbr *eře-k he*; OIr *coi, cē here*, in *bith cē this world*; Lith *šis*, OSl *sь this*; Arm *-s* (suffixed article); Hitt *ki-, kinun now*; Phryg σεμου(ν) *this* Solmsen 1897 ZVS 34:50f,61, Tischler 1983- I:457-59. Also Gk σήμερον (← **ki-* + ἡμέρα) *today* Brugmann 1904b:51, Chantraine 1968-80:1115. See also **hindana**.

P 1959:539-40,609-10, in need of revision.

H62. *hilms ma περικεφαλαία *helmet* E 6.17.

OI *hjalmr*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *helm* stm *helmet*†.

PIE *k̂el- conceal*: Skt *śárma* n *protection, shelter*, with PIE *-mo-*; see **huljan**.

OPruss *kelmis hat*, borrowed from Gmc, Fraenkel 1962-65:960; also PSl *šelmъ, šolmъ helmet*, from which Lith *šálmas helmet* is borrowed, Fraenkel ibid, Vasmer 1953-58 III:388, both with references.

P 1959:553-54.

H63. hilpan stvIII inf L 5.7, 2sg imp *hilp* Mk 9.22.24, **ga-hilpan*, 2sg prt *ga-halp*, βοηθεῖν *help* 2C 6.2.

OI *hjalpa*, OE *helpan*, OFris *helpa*, OS *helpan*, OHG *helfan* stv *help*†.

Possibly from PIE *k̂elb-*, if Lith *šelpti support, help* has changed *-b-* to *-p-* before voiceless consonants, as Fraenkel 1962-65:971-72 suggests; he rejects proposal by Meillet 1929 BSLP 29:[art]31 of alternating suffixes *-b/p-*. Further, Lith *gélbėti* is related to Lith *galėti be able* Fraenkel 1962-65:144. Other proposals weak. Little evidence for PIE *k̂elb-, k̂elp-* of P 1959:554; scarcely related to Russ *xolóp servant, serf*, cf Vasmer 1953-58 III:257.

H64. himins ma οὐρανός *heaven* M 5.18; **himina-kunds* adja ἐπουράνιος, οὐράνιος *heavenly* L 2.13.

OI *himinn*, dat *hifne* (← **hiƀnē*, *ƀ* ← *m*), pl *hifna*, OE *heofon*, OS *heƀan*, LG *hāwen* stm *heaven*†. With different final, probably by dissimilation: OFris *himul*, Du *hemel*, OS, OHG *himil* stm, Prokosch 1939:87, though Sonderegger 1958-59 AinZDA 71:152 assumes different IE suffixes. Also MG *humil* stm *heaven*, with modified vowel; Sw, Dan *himmel* are borrowings from LG. Further, OE *heofoncund heavenly*, OHG *himel-chunni* stn *heavenly race*; cf **kuni**.

Original meaning 'covering'? Cf MLG *hemelte*, OHG *himiliz(z)i* n *ceiling*, NHG *Betthimmel bed canopy*.

Uncertain etymology. Scarcely related to Skt *kmárati is crooked*, which itself is unclear, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:275; nor to Av *kamarā girdle*; Gk κμέλεθρα n pl *beams*, καμάρα *vault*, all of which are unclear, Chantraine 1968-80: 488-89,546, as is Lat *camurus vaulted* W/H 1938-56 I:449-50, P 1959:524-25 (Lat *camera vault* is borrowed from Gk, W/H 1938-56 I: 146-47); nor to Latvian *kamiêsis*, OPruss *caymoys shoulder* Lane 1935 Lg 11:193, Toporov 1975- III:155-57.

Maher 1973 JIES 1:441-62, after Hamp 1967 JL 3:83-90, relates once again Skt *áśman-stone*, Av *asman- stone, sky*, Lith *akmuõ*, OSl *kamenь stone*, as did Reichelt 1914 ZVS 46: 343, though not from 'sky' = 'vault of stone'. Rather, he assumes IE equation of lightning as a solid, so that PIE *Hek̂mon* signifies 'sharp-thing' = ('[stone] axe' = 'thunder' = 'dark sky')

Maher 1973 JIES 1:444, and thus 'stone', 'hammer', and 'heaven', 447. He supports this hypothesis by relating Lat *caelum heaven* to PIE *kayd-*, proposing 'chisel' as alternate meaning, and assuming with Hamp 1967 JL 3:83-90 remodeling of pre-Gmc **ahmon*, cf Lith *akmuõ* to **hamar* ~ **hamon*, on the pattern of Celt **nemes* ← PIE *nebhes- darkness, clouds*; the relationship between **fairguni** and Lith *Perkũnas* is taken to support the semantic context. This bold proposal stretches the bounds of phonological and semantic possibility.

Probably based on PIE *ḱem- cover*, as in **af-hamon**, in spite of F 1939:256. See Hitt *kammara- cloud, vapor, smoke*, which Neumann 1961:31-32 derives from PIE *ḱem-*, followed by Tischler 1983- I:472-73. F 1939:256 pointed out supporting evidence in OE and OHG cmpds, noted above. The formation remains problematic; the suffix may well be *-men-*, following Specht 1944:271-72,330-31, though reduction of the root to *ḱ-* seems less likely than modification of a derivative of PIE *ḱem-*.

P 1959:556-57.

H65. hindana adv πέραν *from beyond*, only Mk 3.8; *hindar* prep with acc εἰς τὸ πέραν, ὀπίσω *over to* M 8.18, w dat πέραν *to the other side of* M 8.28; **hindumists* superl ὁ ἐξώτερος *outer*, only acc sg n *in riqis þata hindumisto* M 8.12. Also **hindar-weis* adja δόλιος *deceitful*, only nom pl m *-sai* 2C 11.13; **un-hindar-weis* ἀν-υπόκριτος *sincere* 2C 6.6; **-sei* fn δόλος *treachery*, only dat sg *-sein* 2C 12.16; see ***fulla-weis**.

OE *(be-)hindan*, OS *(bi-)hindan*, OHG *hintana behind*†; cf **aftana** for *-ana*. OI *hindri* comp adj *later, more distant*, OE, MLG *hinder behind, back of*, OHG *hinder behind*, OE *hindema*; OI *hinztr last*, OHG *hinderōro later, lower, hinderōsto lowest*. Based on Gmc *hind-*, with adv and comp/superl suffixes, used as elatives; Streitberg 1920:132.

PIE *ḱey- here* Brugmann 1904b:38,51,143, WP Lehmann 1985:519-25; meaning of the deictic *ḱi-* may have been modified by addition of *-na-* ← PIE *-no-* in ablative use; see Dal 1932:10-11. OHG *hina from here*; *-d-* as in OI *handan from there*, based on PIE *ḱo-*. Also possibly Gaul *cintu-* as in PeN *Cintu-gnātus first-born*, OIr *cēt-ne*, MWel *kyntaf first* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:52, Vendryès 1926 RevCelt 43: 442, though rejected by Vries 1962:228, and P 1959:563-64; for further cognates see **hi-**.

Not to Skt *kan-ínas young*; nor to Gk κεντέω *prick*, as in Wiedemann 1902 BKIS 27: 199. Nor to Hitt *katta(n) down, under*, in spite of Tischler 1983- I:539-42. Largely a Gmc development. See also Burg *hendinos*, in "apud hos (ie Burgundios) generali nomine rex appellatur *hendinos*" 'among them the king is generally referred to as *hendinos*' (= *first, highest*); Ammianus Marc XXVIII.5.14, Kögel 1892 BGDSL 16:514-15, though others less plausibly relate this to OHG *hunno centurion*, or to **kindins**, W Scherer 1878 AinZDA 4:98.

H66. hiri adv δεῦρο *hither* J 11.43, ἔρχου *come here*, du *hirjats*, pl *hirjiþ* δεῦτε *come here* (used as imp).

A massively discussed set of words with two problems: (1) maintenance of *-i-* before *r*, B/E 1981:28; (2) source of root and *-i*. In the absence of cognates both problems are unsolvable; publication reflects predilections of scholars, as do their objections to alternate suggestions.

Proposed solutions to problem 1: *i* maintained before *i* following *r*, Paul 1894 IF 4:334, Brugmann 1904b:65 fn2, Sverdrup 1928 NTS 1: 196-97; before syllable boundary, F 1939:257-58, with reference to J Schmidt 1871-75 II:423; under strong accent, Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49: 200-218; under weak accent, Güntert 1929 *F* Schrijnen:488ff; through intonation, Streitberg 1920:70-71.

Proposed solutions to problem 2: *hi-* is the pronominal stem **hi-**, Bopp 1868-71 II:216, or as the adv form **her**, J Schmidt 1871-75 II:423, once again Ebbinghaus 1979 GL 19:30-32; *hir-* is from a verb **hirjan* Grimm 1890:246, ←

PIE *ḱer-*, otherwise unattested, Heffner 1929 JEGP 28:343-59; from ***hidar***, with loss of *-da-*, Ebel 1856 ZVS 5:236-37, with varied repetitions of the several proposals by others or with possible mixture of sources, as in Grimm. The ending *-i* is taken as regular imp, Brugmann 1881:414-17, as *-ei* shortened, J Schmidt 1871-75 II:423, as imp of PIE *ey-*, cf **iddja**, as deictic PIE *-i*, Loewe 1916 BGDSL 41:295-312. See surveys in Haeringen 1922 Neophil 7:181-90 and B/E 1981:28.

Cercignani 1984 JIES 12:315-44, after reviewing thoroughly the previous attempts to account for unexpected *-i/u-* before *h* and *r*, as well as unexpected *-ai-/-au-*, ascribes them to sporadic influences such as analogy; to account for the *-i-* of ***hiri*** he returns to Loewe's proposal of analogical influence from ***hidre***; for ***nih*** he assumes influence from ***ni***.

H67. *hiufan stvV ***wail***, only 1pl prt ***-fum*** ἐθρηνήσκαμεν M 11.17 and gloss to ***gaunodedum*** L 7.32.

OE ***hēof(i)an***, OS ***heoƀan***, OHG ***hiufan***, ***hiuban*** stv; + *-r-*, OI ***hjūfra*** wkv ***wail*** Vries 1962:233.

Possibly an extension with *-p-* of PIE ***kăw-howl***, as in Skt ***káuti shout***; also Gk κωκύω ***shout, howl***, Lith ***kaũti howl***, Russ ***kukatь***; TochB ***sáuk- demur***; *-p-* only in Gmc; also in nouns, Arm ***k'uk' moaning*** (Meillet 1903 MSLP 12:214); Lith ***naktìkova night-owl***; OHG ***hūwo*** stm ***owl***. Older proposals in F 1939:258.

P 1959:535-36.

H68. hiuhma (***hiuma***) mn ὄχλος, πλήθος ***multitude*** L 1.10; ***huhjan*** wkvI θησαυρίζειν ***store up***, only prpl ***-jands*** 1C 16.2.

Probably from PIE ***kew-H- bend***, which has many suffixes, + *-k-*; + *-g-* in OI ***hūka***, MHG ***hüchen cower***, NHG (Swiss) ***hock*** m ***heap***; Lith ***káugė large stack of hay***, ***kaugurẽ small steep hill***; see also ***hauhs**. Not Lat ***cumulus mass*** W/H 1938-56 I:306.

PIE ***-me/on-***, as in Skt ***bhárma carrying***; Gk φέρμα ***burden***; Lith ***šelmuõ gable***; OSl ***brěmę load***; OI ***ljōmi*** m, OE ***lēoma***, OS ***liomo*** m ***ray, gleam***, cf ***lauhmuni**; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:238-41, Kluge 1926:46-47, Meid 1967:127-29.

P 1959:589.

H69. hiwi *nja* μόρφωσις ***form, appearance***, only acc sg 2T 3.5.

OI ***hȳ*** stn ***down***, OE ***hīew***, ***hīw*** stn ***appearance, form***, cf NE ***hue***; OI ***hārr***, OE ***hār***, OFris ***hēr grey***, OHG ***hēr noble***.

Probably from IE ***ḱe-y-ᵊ-*** used in color names: Skt ***sjāvas (dark) brown***, Av ***sjāva-black***; MIr ***cēo***, gen sg ***cīach fog***; Lith ***šývas white***, OPruss ***sywan grey*** Grienberger 1900: 114, OSl ***sivъ grey*** P 1959:540-41. Not to PIE ***(s)kew-H- cover***, as in **skauda-raip** ***shoe-lace***; see also ***skuggwa**.

H70. *hlahjan stvVI ***laugh***, only nom pl m prpl ***-jandans*** γελῶντες L 6.25; ***bi-hlahjan*** καταγελᾶν ***laugh at***, only 3pl prt ***-hlohun*** M 9.24, L 8.53, Mk 5.40; ***uf-hlohjan***, only 2pl prs pass ***-janda*** γελάσετε ***cause to laugh*** L 6.21.

CrimGo ***lachen*** 'ridere', Stearns 1978:143-44; OI ***hlǣja***, OE ***hliehhan***, ***hlæhhan***, OS prt pl ***hlōgun***, papl ***bi-hlagan*** OHG ***(h)lahhan*** stv, ***lahhēn*** wkv ***laugh***†; OI ***hlakka***, OWFris ***hlacka*** ← PGmc ***hlagnjan*** wkv ***scream***, OE ***hlacerian*** wkv ***mock***; OI ***hlœgja*** wkv ***make to laugh***.

PIE ***kel- shout, call***, as in Gk καλέω ***call*** P 1959:548-50, + ***-eH-g-***, as in Gk κλώζω ***croak***, κλωγμός ***signal to a horse***, κλάζω ***cry out***; Lith ***klegėti cackle***, Latvian ***kladzêt chatter***. With nasal infix, Gk κλαγγή ***clang***, Lat ***clangō cry***, ***clangor noise***. Individual forms influenced by onomatopoeia.

P 1959:548-60,599-600.

H71. hlaifs *ma* ἄρτος ***bread***, ψωμίον ***crumb*** J 6.33; see ***ga-hlaiba** ***companion***.

OI ***hleifr***, OE ***hlāf*** (***hlāf-weard lord***†, ***hlæf-dīge lady***†), OFris ***hlēf***, OHG ***hleib***, ***leip*** stm, ***(h)laiba*** stf ***bread***, NE ***loaf***. According to Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:166, PGmc ***hlaiƀa-*** = ***unleavened bread*** in contrast with PGmc ***brauƀa-*** = ***bread raised ('brewed') with yeast***; according to Dieffenbacher 1907 I:95 ***hlaiƀa-*** =

baked product, brauða- = 'dough' originally.

Source unknown; introduced in late Gmc period, either with native material or borrowed. According to Trier 1951:59, based on PIE ***klei-lean, bend,*** as in ****hlain,*** orig for 'moistened clay used in wattling'; others relate ****hleibjan strengthen,*** ie 'nourish', Paschall 1909 JEGP 8: 18-24, or in derived noun, OIr ***cliab basket,*** OI ***hlíf*** f ***(woven) defensive armor,*** as 'food prepared in a container', E Zupitza 1899 BKIS 25:94. Highly speculative. Posited sources for borrowing also have little basis; see F 1939:260.

Proposed relationship by Grienberger 1900:114 to Gk κλίβανος, κρίβανος ***oven*** (of uncertain origin, Chantraine 1968-80:582-83) phonologically difficult (β versus ***b***); similarly to Lat ***libum cake,*** from κλίβανος, W/H 1938-56 I: 428.

OSl ***chlěbъ bread,*** borrowed from Gmc, Vasmer 1953-58 III:245; Latvian ***klàips*** borrowed from Go, Lith ***klĩepas loaf of bread*** from White Russ, Fraenkel 1962-65:271.

H72. *hlain n or ****hlains*** m βουνός ***hill,*** only gen pl ***-ne*** L 3.5.

NI ***hlein,*** Nor dial ***hlein*** f ***slope;*** OE ***hlinian,*** OS ***hlinōn,*** OHG ***hlinēn*** wkv intrans ***lean†,*** OE ***hlænan,*** OHG ***(h)leinen*** wkv trans ***lean†;*** OI ***hlein*** f ***comfortable rest,*** OE ***hlæn,*** OHG ***hlina*** f ***rest.***

PIE ***klei- lean,*** with numerous suffixes; Skt ***śráyate lean on, cling to,*** Av ***sray- lean,*** Lith ***šliẽti lean on;*** + ***-n-,*** Gk κλίνω ***lean, bend,*** Lat ***clīnō bend, bow,*** Lith ***šlienù lean;*** Skt ***śréṇi-row*** (Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:394-95), Gk κλίνη ***bed,*** Lat ***tri-clīnium eating couch (for three),*** OIr ***clōen crooked, unjust,*** Lith ***šlainùs crooked,*** Latvian ***slains wavering;*** Lat ***clīēns client,*** cf Skt ***ā-śrita- one seeking protection.*** For derivatives with ***-t-***suffixes, see ****hleiþra;*** with ***-w-,*** see **hlaiw**. Speculation on these as extensions of PIE ***kel-*** in Trier 1951:52-61, Vries 1962:220-21. See also **hulþs**.

P 1959:601-02,553-54.

H73. hlaiw *na* μνημεῖον, τάφος ***grave*** M 27.66; also ***es***-stem + ***-no-,*** ***hlaiwasnos*** fō pl μνημεῖα, μνήματα ***graves*** M 27.52; cf ****arhvazna*** on formation.

Run ***hlaiwa*** (Bø) ***grave,*** ***hlaaiwiðo*** 1sg prt (Kjølevig) ***I buried,*** ***h(l)aiwiðaz*** papl (Amle) ***buried,*** from PGmc ***hlaiwjan*** wkvI ***bury;*** OE ***hlāw, hlæw*** stm, OS ***hlēwe*** dat sg (Heliand 5807), OHG ***hlēo*** stm, pl ***lēwir grave, burial mound*** (Bischoff 1979).

PIE ***klei- lean:*** Lat ***clīvus hill,*** Lith ***šleĩvas bowlegged.*** OSl ***chlěvъ chamber, chlěvina dwelling*** borrowed from Gmc; Finn ***läävä barn,*** from Russ. Orig a chamber or house partially constructed underground, including a burial chamber; this meaning may have applied to such chambers in kurgans. See, for example, Gimbutas 1970:169.

H74. hlamma fō παγίς ***snare, trap,*** only acc sg 1T 3.7;6.9.

OI ***hlemmr*** f ***trapdoor*** (from sound); ***hlamm*** stn, OE ***hlemm*** stm ***sound,*** OFris ***hlem blow;*** OI ***hlamma resound dully,*** OE, OHG ***hlimman resound, roar, hlemman*** wkv ***strike together*** (trans).

PIE ***kel-, klē-, klā- shout, make noise:*** Skt ***uṣā-kala- rooster*** from 'dawn caller'; Gk καλέω ***call, name,*** Lat ***calō call out;*** Latvian ***kalât chatter;*** OS, OHG ***halōn*** wkv ***shout*** (though taken by J Mansion 1908 BGDSL 33:547ff as ***pull,*** related to Gk κάλως ***rope***), OHG ***holōn*** wkv ***shout;*** also, Gaul PeN gen ***Caliaci,*** MIr ***cailech cock;*** Lith ***kalbà language.*** Gk κι-κλήσκω ***shout:*** Lat ***clāmō shout, clāmor noise, clārus famous;*** OE ***hlōwan,*** OHG ***(h)lōjan bellow,*** cf NE ***low (of cattle).*** From simple root: Gk κέλαδος ***noise;*** OHG ***hel loud, hellan*** wkv ***resound.***

H75. *hlas adja ἱλαρός ***cheerful,*** only acc sg m ***hlasana*** 2C 9.7, comp ***hlasoza*** ἀλυπότερος ***less anxious*** Ph 2.28; ****hlasei*** fn ἱλαρότης ***cheerfulness,*** only dat sg ***-sein*** R 12.8.

****hlas*** ← ****hlahs*** based on ****hlahjan,*** Mezger 1938 ZVS 65:124-25, who finds ***s***-formations of joy and exuberance; cf OI ***fūss,*** OE ***fūs,*** OS ***fūs,*** OHG ***funs*** (beside ***findan***) ***desiring, willing, ready.*** Older suggestions in F

1939:261-62.

H76. hlauts ma κλῆρος *lot, inheritance* L 1.9.

OI *hlautr* stm *lot, portion, offering, hlaut* stn *blood of offering*, OE *hlīet*, OS *hlōt*, OHG *(h)lōz* stm/n *lot, property*; zero grade, OI *hlutr*, OE, OFris *hlot*, Du *lot*, OHG *(h)luz* stm *portion assigned by lot, share of land*, NE *lot*. OE *efen-hlyte of same rank, or-hlyte deprived*; OI *hljōta*, OE *hlēotan*, OS *hliotan*, OHG *hliozan* stv *choose by lot, bewitch*.

Etymology uncertain. Probably from PIE *klēw-, klāw- hook, crooked piece of wood; hook on*: Ion κληίς, Dor κλᾱίς, Lat *clāvis key, clāvus nail, steering-oar, claudō close*; OIr *clō nail*; Lith *kliūti* intrans *hang on, kliudýti* trans *make hang on*, Latvian *kļūt become, kļūtas* pl *fate*; cf Lith *ne-kliūtas misfortune*.

Scarcely to Gk κλάδος *twig*, κλῆρος *lot*; cf P 1959:545-47.

P 1959:604-05.

H77. *hleibjan wkvI, only 3sg prt *-bida* ἀντελάβετο *help* L 1.54.

OI *hlīfa*, OHG *liben, lippan* wkv *spare, protect*; OI *hlīf* stf *shield, hlīf-skjǫldr* stm *shield* (from 'woven shield' [?]).

No certain etymology; according to Trier 1951:56, to PIE *ḱel-, ḱley- bend*, as in OIr *cliab basket*; possibly also Lat *clipeus shield* W/H 1938-56 I:235-36. See **hlaifs**, ***hlain**, **hlaiw**, and P 1959:600-02, where no extensions with *-bh-* are given.

H78. *hleiduma, f *hleidumei* adj (with *-m-* in elative use, Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:1-30, B/E 1981:95) ἀριστερός, εὐώνυμος *left* M 6.3.

PIE *ḱley- lean*, as in Gk κλίτος *hill*, ***hlain**, either from PGmc *hlīða-*, or according to Grienberger 1900:116 from the theme itself with Gmc *-þuma-*, cf Gk *-τομος*. From meaning 'most crooked', 'weakest', as in Lat *auguria clivia = auguria sinistra unfavorable (left side) signs/auguries* W/H 1938-56 I:236. OIr *clē*, OWel *cledd* ← **ḱli-i̯os left*, with same meaning as in Go because of shared cultic practices, Vendryès 1918 MSLP 20:284; also P 1959:601.

H79. *hleiþra fō σκηνή, σκῆνος *booth, tent* L 9.33; *hleþra-stakeins* fi/ō (only J 7.2; *e* = *ei*) calque of Gk σκηνοπηγία *Feast of Tabernacles*, literally 'pitching of booths', cf ***staks**; **ufar-hleiþrjan* wkvI only 3sg opt prs *-jai* ἐπισκηνοῦν *pitch a tent over someone* 2C 12.9.

Similar formations in OE *(h)lǣ(d)er*, OFris *hlēdar*, OHG *(h)leitar* stf, *ladder*†; cf also OI *hlið* stn *door*, OE, OFris *hlid*, OHG *lit* stn *cover, lid*†; also OE *hlīdan*, OFris *hliðia*, OS *bihlīdan* stv *cover, enclose*; OI *hlíð* f, OE *hliþ* n, OHG *līta* wkf *slope of hill*.

PIE *ḱley- lean*, cf ***hlain**: Lat *clītellae packsaddle*, dim of **clītrā* = Umbr *kletram litter*; MIr *clithar hedge*, Wel *cledr-en fence* (← **ḱli-trā*); possibly not Arm *leaṙn* (as if from **kley-trā*) *hill* W/H 1938-56 I:236. See also Gk κλίτος *slope*, κλισίον *booth, tent*; MIr *clīath* f *hurdle, clēthe roof-beam*; Lith *šlitė stook*, pl *ladder*; Latvian *slita fence of horizontal pieces of wood*. For *-þra* see Kluge 1926:49-50.

P 1959:600-02; Fraenkel 1962-65:1004, 1006.

H80. *hlifan stvV κλέπτειν *steal*, 3pl prs *-fand* M 6.19, 3sg opt prt *hlefi* E 4.28; *hliftus* mu κλέπτης *thief*, only J 10.1; according to W Schulze 1966:573, orig an abstract formation with PIE *-tu-*, as in **auhjodus*; also Kluge 1926:16; less likely, from PIE *klep-t-ṃ* acc sg, Meillet 1922 BSLP 23: [art] 96.

PIE *klep- steal*: Gk κλέπτω ← *-i̯ω steal*, aor ἔκλεψα, κλέπτης *thief*, also κλώψ *thief*, βοῦ-κλεψ *cattle-thief*, cf Lat *clepō steal*; MIr *cluain* ← **klop-ni- deception, cluainech deceitful*; OPruss *au-klipts* papl *concealed* Toporov 1975- I:149-50, Fraenkel 1962-65:829; possibly also Lith *klastà treachery* Fraenkel 1962-65:265, and Lith *slėpti* ← *skl-*, Latvian *slèpt conceal*. Probably not related to Go **huljan**, which is from PIE *ḱel-*; yet P 1959: 604 proposes PIE *ḱlep-* in spite of OPruss *-klipts*. Other older speculation in F 1939:263.

H81. *hlija m/na σκηνή *booth, tent*,

only acc pl *-jans* Mk 9.5.

PGmc *hle-wa-*: OI *hlē*, OE *hlēo(w)*, OFris *hlī*, OS *hleo* (only acc sg Hel 1124) *protection*, MHG *lie*, *liewe* stf *arbor*, NE *lee(ward)*.

According to Uhlenbeck 1900:80, 1905 BGDSL 30:291; Stokes 1901 IF 12:186, a scribal error for **hliwa* and related to ***hlain**, ***hleiþra**; Grienberger 1900:117 derives it from PGmc *hli-ga(n)*, without *-w-*. See Vries 1962: 235-36,245 for OI *hly*.

H82. hliuma mn ἀκοή *hearing* 1C 12. 17, pl *ears* Mk 7.35; possibly also **hliuþ* (only dat sg *in hliuþa* 1T 2.11 according to Uppström; Braun however reads *in hauniþa* in Cod A, *in hauiþa* in Cod B = Gk ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ *in silence* Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:416; cf **hauns**).

OI *hljōmr* stm *sound*, OHG *hliumunt* stm/f *fame* (PIE *-mn̥to-* as in Skt *śrómatam answer*; cf *sniumundo*); OI *hljōð* stn *hearing*. In form, *hliuma* corresponds to Av *sraoman hearing*.

PIE *k̂lew-* *hear*: Skt *śr̥ṇóti*, Av *surunaoiti hear*; Gk ἔ-κλυ-ον *heard*, κλῦθι *listen*, κλέ(ϝ)ω *make famous*; Lat *cluēō be called*; OIr *ro-cluiniur hear*; OSl *sluti be called*; Arm *lsem hear*, aor *lu-aj*; TochAB *klāu- report*; PIE *kléwos*: Skt *śrávas fame*; Av *sravō word*; Gk κλέ(ϝ)ος; Lat *cluor fame*; cf *glōria* (*g* from *gnōtus known*) *glory*; OIr *clū fame*; OSl *slovo word*; TochA *klyu*, B *kälywe fame*; cf Run PeN *Hlewa-gastiz* (Gallehus), Illyrian PeN *Vescleves*. PIE *klu̍tós*: Skt *śrutás*, Av *sr̥tō*, Gk κλυτός, Lat *in-clutus*, PGmc *hluda-* (in OHG PeN *Hlud-wīg*, *Hlod-hari* etc) *famous*, OIr *cloth fame*; OE, OFris, OS *hlūd*, OHG *hlūt loud*†, TochA *klyu*, B *kälywe fame*. OSl *slava* ← PIE *k̂lōwā*, Lith *šlovė̃ honor*; Skt *śrotram ear*; Av *sraoþra-* *hearing*; NI *hljōður*, OE *hlēoþor*, OHG *hliodar* stn *tone*; Skt *śrútiṣ hearing*, Arm *lur report*; TochA *klots*, B *klautso ear*.

PIE *k̂lew-* + *-s-*: Skt *śróṣati hears*, OSl *slyšati*, TochA *klyoṣ-*, B *klyauṣ-* *hear*; OHG *hlosēm listen*; Av *sraošam*; Skt *śruṣṭíṣ*, Av *srustiš hearing*, *obedience*, OSl *sluchz hearing*; OIr *clūas*, Wel *clūst* ← PIE *k̂low-s-tā ear*; OI *hlust* stf *ear*, OE *hlyst* m/f, OS *hlust* f *hearing*.

Aberrant *k* in Balt, Lith *klausýti obey*, Latvian *klàusît hear*, OPruss *klausitōn answer*; palatalization not completely carried through in peripheral areas, Porzig 1954:75-76, Fraenkel 1962-65:265-66; see also Toporov 1975- IV:49-53.

P 1959:605-07, Watkins 1985:31.

H83. *hlutrs adj*a* ἁγνός *pure*, *clean*, only acc pl m *hlutrans* 2C 7.11 (PIE *-ro-* as in ***baitrs**); **hlutrei* fn (only dat sg *-trein* 2C 1. 12; *-ei* as in ***af-gudei**), **hlutriþa* fō (only dat sg *-triþai* 2C 2.17; *-iþa* as in **aggwiþa**) εἰλικρίνεια *purity*.

OE *hlū(t)tor*, OFris *hlūtter*, OS *hlūttar*, OHG *hlūt(t)ar pure*, *(h)lūttri* stf *purity*; possibly, without PIE *-d-*, OI *hlēr* m *sea*, cf Vries 1962:237.

PIE *k̂lew-* *purify*: Lat *cluō cleanse*, *cloāca* ← **clovāca sewer*; Ir river-name *Cluad*, NE *Clyde*, Wel *clir* ← **klū-ros pure*; Lith *šluoti sweep*, *clean up*, *šlúota*, Latvian *sluôta broom*; + *-d-*: Gk κλύζω ← **kludyō wash against/off*, κλύδων *wave* Chantraine 1968-80:545, Lith *šlúodinti cause to sweep* Fraenkel 1962-65: 1010-11.

P 1959:607.

H84. *hnaiws adj*a* ταπεινός *lowly*, only dat pl *-wam* R 12.16; **hnaiwjan* wkvI ταπεινοῦν *humble* L 14.11; **ana-hnaiwjan* κλίνειν *lay* M 8.20; **ga-hnaiwjan* ταπεινοῦν *humble*; *uf-hnaiwjan* ὑποτάσσειν *subject* Ph 3. 21; **hnaiweins fi/ō* ταπείνωσις *lowliness*, only dat sg *-nai* L 1.48 (*-eins* under **ahmateins*); **uf-hnaiweins* ὑποταγή *submission* G 2.5.

OE *hnāg bowed*, *contemptible*; OI *hneigja bow*, OE *hnǣgan humiliate*, OS *gi-hnēgian*, OHG *(h)neigen* wkv *bow*; *hnegēn be bowed* W Schulze 1966:599-600. Cf **hneiwan**.

H85. *hnasqus adj (Grienberger 1900:117-18; only dat pl f *-qjaim* M 11.8, L 7. 25) μαλακός *soft*, *delicate*.

OE *hnesc(e)*, WFris *nesk delicate*; OE *hniscan*, *hnescan* wkv *weaken*, OHG *hnascōn*

wkv *nibble at*; Sw dial *naska have a sweet tooth*.

PIE *ken- rub, scrape* + *-s-*: ***hnasqus*** orig 'ground up'; Skt *ki-knasas particles of ground grain*; possibly Lith *knìsti break up, plow up*; but see Fraenkel 1962-65:279; scarcely Gk κνέωρος *nettle*; (formation unclear, Chantraine 1968-80:547, though ultimately to κνῆν *scrape*). Cf also ***dis-hniupan**.

P 1959:558-63.

H86. hneiwan stvI κλίνειν *decline*, only inf L 9.12; ***ana-hneiwan*** κύψαι *stoop down, bow*, only prpl ***-hne(i)wands*** Mk 1.7; Sk 3.25 / IIId.18-19; cf ***hnaiws**.

OI *hnīga*, OE *hnīgan*, OFris *(h)nīga*, OS, OHG *hnīgan* stv *bow*. On Go *-w-* versus *-g-* in the other dialects see Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15: 101-03; PIE *-g^{w}-* → *g* before *j*, not by Verner's law. Also Holthausen 1924 *F2* Streitberg:157, conflation with ***hleiwan**, cf ***hlaiw**.

PIE ***kney-g^{w}h-*** *bow*: Lat *cōnīveō shut the eyes, overlook, connive*, perf *conīxi*, *nictō blink* W/H 1938-56 I:261.

P 1959:608, who also proposes PIE *kney-b-*, only in Gmc: OI *hnīpa droop*, and Go ***ga-(h)nipnan***, though this is a conjecture for ***ga-nipnan**. Older suggestions in F 1939:165-66.

H87. hnuþo f*n* (in Cod A; *hnuto* in Cod B) σκόλοψ *tip of prod* only 2C 12.7; quantity of *u* uncertain, Grienberger 1900:118, but Streitberg 1920:75 posits short *u*, *-t-*.

OI ***hnūðr*** m *pole*; with PIE *-dh-*: ***hnjōða*** stv *strike*, MLG *nēdan*, OHG *pi-hneotan* wkv *fasten, rivet*, MHG *niet* stm/f *rivet*, OHG *hnotōn* wkv *shake*; OI *hnoss* stf ← ***-tt-** *ornament*, ie 'something hammered', OE *hnossian* wkv *knock*.

PIE *ken- scrape, scratch* + ***-ew-t-/-dh-***: Hsch κνύθος *small thorn*; with *-t-*, Latvian *knute* f *thin pole*; with *-d-* Gk κνύζω *scratch oneself*, Latvian *knūdu itch*. Without dental extension: Gk κνῦω *scrape*; OI *hnøggva* stv *thrust*, OHG *hniuwan* stv *press*.

P 1959:562-63.

H88. *hoha mn ἄροτρον *plow*, only acc sg *hohan* L 9.62.

OHG dim *huohili*, which Grimm 1868:40 takes as derived from ***huoho** *plow. A wooden hook-plough made from a curved branch* Hehn 1911:565, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:208-09 and others with similar statements; see also ***arjan**.

PIE ***k̂ăk-, k̂ank-*** *branch, peg*: Skt ***śākhā*** f *branch*, NPers ***šāḫ*** *branch, antlers*; Lith ***šakà*** *branch, twig*, ***šaknis***, Latvian *sakne*, OPruss *sagnis root*; Latvian *sakas pitchfork* Fraenkel 1962-65:957-58; OSl *sochá pole, plow* Vasmer 1953-58 II:703-04; Arm *çaχ twig*; Alb *thekë fringe, tip* Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36:332.

From nasalized form, Skt *śaṅkúṣ peg*; Wel *cainc* ← ***k̂ankū- branch***; OIr *cēcht* ← ***k̂n̥k-to-plow***; MIr *gēc* (with remodeled initial, Pedersen 1909-13 I:494) *branch*; OSl ***sǫčьcь*** *dry wood*, dim based on ***sǫkz branch*** Vasmer 1953-58 III: 41, cf Lith *(at-)šankẽ barb*; also OI *hār* m ← ***hanhu** *oarlock, shark* (from peg-like teeth), *hæll* m ← ***hanhilaz** *peg* Vries 1962:209-10, 276-77; cf Finn borrowings *hanho, hanhikko drinking vessel with two handles, hanka hook* Petersson 1920:72ff; but Finn *kuokka hoe* is a native word, Kylstra 1961:111-12. See also Puhvel 1965 ZVS 79:1-6, and F 1939:266-67 for older references.

P 1959:523, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 690.

H89. *holon wkvII συκοφαντεῖν *slander*, only 2pl imp ***holoþ*** L 3.14; ***af-holon*** συκοφαντῆσαι *extort*, only 1sg prt ***-loda*** L 19.8. OI *hōl* stn *praise, boasting, hæla* wkv *praise, boast*, Nor dial *høla flatter, praise*; OE *hōl* stn, *hōlian, hēlan* wkv *slander, hōlunga* adv *in vain*, OHG *huolan* wkv *deceive*.

PIE ***kēl-, kōl-, kəl-*** *bewitch, deceive*: Gk κηλέω *bewitch, beguile*, κηληθμός *rapture*; Lat *calumnia* ← ***calu̯omniā** *deception, calumny*, *caluor, calviō deceive*. Not κόλαξ m *flatterer* Chantraine 1968-80:554; nor Lat *cēlāre*, OHG *helan conceal*; cf **huljan**.

P 1959:551.

H90. hors ma πόρνος, μοιχός *fornicator, adulterer* 1C 5.11; *horinon* wkvII M 5.32, **ga-horinon* μοιχεύειν, μοιχᾶσθαι *fornicate, commit adultery*, only 3sg prt *-inoda* M 5.28, nom sg f prpl *horinondei* μοιχαλίς *adultress* R 7.3; **horinassus* mu πορνεία, μοιχεία *fornication, adultery* J 8.41 (*-in-assus* under ***blotinassus**).

OI *hōrr* stm *fornicator, hōra*, OE *hōre*, OHG *huo(r)ra* st/wkf *whore*†; OI, OE, OFris *hōr*, OS *hōr-(hūs)*, OHG *huor* stn *adultery, fornication*, OI *hōra* stf, OHG *huorōn* wkv *fornicate.*

PIE *kā- like, desire*: Skt *kā́yamānas loving*, perf *ca-k-é*, Av *kā- desire*; + *-ro-*, Lat *cārus dear*; OIr *carae* m *friend, caraim love*; Lith *karėnti be stingy*, Latvian *kārnot desire*; *kārs greedy* (not Lith *vaĩs-kariai unhatched eggs*, Latvian *vàns-kar(i)s sterile eggs* Fraenkel 1962-65:221,1196); + *-mo-*, Skt *kā́mas*, Av, OPers *kāmō desire*, Latvian *kāmêt be hungry.* Also Skt *cā́ruṣ agreeable, dear, can- take delight in something* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:372, 384.

P 1959:515.

H91. Hosbut PeN in DeN.

If Gmc, *-but* may be related to OE *bydel*, OS *budil*, OHG *butil* stm *beadle*†, *bailiff* (see ***ana-biudan**); *hos- is obscure*, not related to *ansu-*, cf **anses**, with loss of *h-*.

H92. hrains adj*i/ja* καθαρός *clean* M 8.3, κόσμιος *honorable*; *un-hrains* ἀκάθαρτος *unclean* L 9.39, ἰδιώτης *unskilled* 2C 11.6; **hrainja-hairts* adj*a* (calque of Gk καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ *pure in heart*), *-tans* Sk 6.27,28 / VId. 21-22; *hrainei* f *n cleanness*, only Sk 3.9 / IIIb. 7; **un-hrainei* f*n* ἀκαθαρσία Col 3.5, *un-hrainiþa* f*ō* ἀκαθαρσία *uncleanness* G 5.19; **hraineins* f*i/ō* L 2.22, **ga-hraineins* καθαρισμός *purification* L 5.14; **hrainjan* wkvI καθαρίζειν *purify*, only 1pl prs *-jam* 2C 7.1; *af-hrainjan* (*fra-waurhtins* Sk 1.4 / Ia.11) *wipe out, ga-hrainjan* καθαρίζειν, καθαίρειν *cleanse* M 8.2; **us-hrainjan* ἐκκαθαίρειν *clean out*, only 2pl imp *-ineiþ* 1C 5.7. See Gaupp 1920: 14ff.

OI *hreinn*, OFris *rēne*, OS *hrēni*, OHG *(h)reini pure*, NHG dial *rein fine-ground* (cf OS *hrēn-korni* n *wheat*); OI *hrein-hjartaðr*, OHG *hrein-herzi pure in heart* Graff 1834-46 IV:1160 ; OI *ū-hreinn*, OS *un-hrēni*, OHG *un-(h)reini impure*; OHG *un-(h)reinī* stf, *un-hreinida* stf *impurity*; OS *hrēnōn*, OHG *reinōn* (Otfrid), *reinen* wkv *purify.*

PIE *(s)ker- cut*, with many suffixes, here *-ĕy- cut, separate, sift*: Gk κείρω, OI *skera*, OHG *sceran* stv *cut off*; PIE *krey- + -ni-*, adj suffix as in Skt *pṛ́śniṣ spotted*; Gk εὐνις *bereaved*; Lat *lēnis gentle* Kluge 1882 BGDSL 8:525, 1926:111, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:288. Verbal forms with *n-* in prs: Gk κρῑ́νω ← **krin-yō cut, decide*, Lat *cernō* ← **crĭ-nō separate, decide*; Gk κρί-σις *decision*; Lat *cer-tus decided, certain, ex-crē-men-tum excretion.* With PIE *-dh-*: OE *hrīd(d)er*, *hrīd(d)el* n, OS *hrīdra*, OHG *rīt(e)ra* f *coarse sieve*, NE *riddle*, Kluge 1926:52; OS *hridrōn*, OHG *hrītarōn* wkv *sift*, to ***af-hrisjan** [?], E Zupitza 1896:125; Lat *crībrum* ← **krei-dhrom*; OIr *crīathar*, Wel *cruitr* ← **krei-tro- sieve*; not Ir *crích boundary* P 1959:619.

P 1959:938-47; W/H 1938-56 I:205-06; Chantraine 1968-80:584-85; Watkins 1985:59-60.

H93. *hraiwa-dubo f*n turtledove*, only gen pl *-bono* L 2.24.

In contrast with **ahaks** *tame (white) dove*, the 'wild (dark) dove', Hehn 1911:347,353. According to Schrader 1906-07 II:141-42, 'the dove of death', since it was the IE bird with this reputation; according to others, the 'dove of corpses', Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:32, Suolahti 1909:30; 'bird of corpses', Neckel 1934 ZDA 71:187-88; 'blood-dove' from color of breast and neck, Grienberger 1900:119. Formation according to Neckel, op cit, a Gmc kenning like OI *hræ-gammr* m *raven, hræva-gautr* m *sword*; also Binnig 1984:41-50. Association with death and corpses scarcely credible; folk etymological adaptation of a borrowed word

possible, though source is not accessible; or based on onomatopoeic words, as by Ebbinghaus 1976 GL 16:9-13.

hraiwa- : OI *hrā́* stn, OE *hrǣw* stn, *hrā(w)* stm/n, OFris *hrē-* (in *hrē-rāf corpse-robbery*), MDu *ree(w)*, OS *hrēu*, OHG *hrēo*, gen *hrēwes* stn *corpse*; probably from an *es*-stem, cf OHG pl *rēuuir*, Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:3 and others. Borrowed into Est as *raibe carrion* Thomsen 1870:164.

Etymology disputed. Scarcely to Skt *krávis*, Gk κρέας *flesh*; Lat *cruor*, OIr *crū*, Lith *kraūjas*, OSl *krъvь blood*, with epenthesis of *i*, as in Bugge 1899 BGDSL 24:427-28; these to OI *hrā́r*, OE *hrǣ(w)*, OS *hrā*, OHG *hrāo*, *rāwēr raw*†; see Vries 1962:263 for other, unlikely proposals. Ebbinghaus op cit sees origin in PIE *(s)ker-* onomatopoeic for non-melodic sounds: Gk κόραξ, Lat *corvus raven*, with suffixes in OE *hrōc crow, rook*†, *hræfn raven*†.

-dubo : OI *dūfa*, OE *dūfe-* in *dūfe-doppa* m *pelican*, NFris *dūf*, OS *dūba*, OHG *tūba* wkf *dove*†. Ebbinghaus op cit, following Suolahti, considers these onomatopoeic. F 1939:269-70 compares OIr, OWel *dub black*, also in names, following Petersson 1917:53-54, as in other words for dove, Skt *kapótas dove* beside *kapótas leaden grey*, Gk πέλεια *livid* beside πελιός *livid*; cf ***daufs***, and P 1959:261-67. Little basis for an undisputed etymology.

H94. *hramjan wkvI, only 2pl imp *-jiþ* J 19.6, *us-hramjan* σταυροῦν *crucify* M 26.2.

OI *hremma clutch*, OE *hremman hinder*, Du *remmen* wkv *brake, check (wheels)*; possibly OHG *rama*, MHG *rame* f *support, frame*, if with **hr-*. Heinertz 1927:108ff proposes **hrama* on basis of MLat *ad-chramire confirm* from 'fence in, frame'; cf Ehrismann 1895 BGDSL 20:57-58. Semantics difficult for Go.

Etymology doubtful; possibly based on an extension *kre-m-* of PIE *(s)ker- cut*: Lith *kárti hang up, pa-korẽ gallows*; Latvian *pakars hook for hanging*; not OI *hjarri* m *hinge* Vries 1962: 232; cf P 1959:945. Possible relation with Gk κρεμάννυμι *hang* rejected by Chantraine 1968-80:581. Doubtful also derivation from PIE *krom- frame of laths*, as in F 1939:270, P 1959: 623-24, Russ *kromá edge*, dial pl *krómy loom, za-kromítь surround with boards*, Ukrainian *pry-kromýty restrain*. See Fraenkel 1962-65: 224-25, Vries 1962:232 *hjarri*, 251 *hrammr*, 254 *hremma*.

H95. hropjan wkvI βοᾶν, κράζειν *shout* Mk 10.47; **uf-hropjan* ἀνακράζειν, ἀναβοᾶν *cry out* M 27.46; *hrops* m κραυγή *clamor*, only E 4.31.

OI *hrōpa*, *hrøpa slander*, OHG *ruofen* wkv *shout*; OE, OS *hrōpan*, OFris *hrōpa*, OHG *(h)ruofan* stv *shout, call*; OI *hrōp* stn *slander*, OE *hrōp*, MLG *rōp*, OHG *ruof* stm *shout, rumor*.

Etymology disputed; possibly from PIE *kar- praise*, as in ***hroþeigs**. -- According to Noreen 1894:206, like OI *skrapa clatter* to Lith *skrebėti rustle*, OSl *skrobotъ noise*; supported by L Bloomfield 1912 BGDSL 37:251, who suggests a rhyming word with **wopjan**. Vries 1962:260, following Trier 1952:70, proposes tentatively origin in PIE *ker- cut*, from a lexicon influenced by life in the forest. Unlikely, as are other proposals in F 1939:270.

P 1959:530-31.

H96. hrot *na* στέγη, δῶμα *roof, house* M 8.8.

OI *hrōt* stn *roof, attic*; OE *hrōst* (← **krōd-s-to-*) stm [?] *wooden framework of a roof, roost*†; OS *hrōst* stm *attic* (Heliand 2306, F Kauffmann 1907 ZDP 39:284); MHG *rāze* st/wkf (← PIE *krēdā*), *rāz* stn *honeycomb, pyre*; also OF *rāta*, MDu *rēte, rōte honeycomb*.

Etymology disputed; P 1959:617-18 assumes PIE *kred- framework, beams*. This in OSl *krada* ← PIE *krōdā*, Bezzenberger 1902 BKIS 27:170, though Berneker 1908-14:605 rejects connection with Go *hrot*, as does Heinertz 1927:432ff. Scarcely related, Lith *krẽslas chair*; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:294. Heinertz, deriving forms in *-st-*, such as OHG *rōst* m *pyre*, OLG *rōst* m *gridiron* from PIE

krŏw-d-s-, sees origin in PIE *ker-* **weave** as in **haurds** (P 1959:584-85 *kert-*). Vries 1962:211, following Trier 1952:70, relates all these forms, deriving them from PIE *(s)ker-* **cut**. -- Not to NPers *sarā(y)* **palace**, as by Lidén 1904 *F* Noreen:432; nor to first element of Gk κρησφύγετον **refuge**, whose origin is unknown, Chantraine 1968-80:582. Older, even less likely suggestions in F 1939:270-71.

H97. *hroþeigs adj*a* ***triumphant***, only acc pl ***þamma ustaiknjandin hroþeigans uns*** τῷ θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ***who leads us in triumph*** 2C 2.14.

OI *hrōðugr*, OE *hrēþig* ***triumphant***, *hrōðr*, *hrēð*, dat sg *hrōðer* in poetry, stm ***victory, glory***; *hrōðor* stm ***comfort, benefit***, OHG *hrōd-*, *(h)ruad-* (in PeN like *Hruod-liub*) ***glory-dear***; with different suffix OS *hrōm*, OHG *hruom* stm ***glory***; cf also OE *brēme* ← ****bihrōmi famous***.

PIE *kar-*, *krā-* ← *kreH-* ***praise***: Skt ***carkarti mentions with praise, kīrti- praise, glory, kārú- singer of praise, poet***; Gk κήρυξ, Dor κᾶρυξ ***herald***, but καρκαίρω ***resound*** is probably onomatopoeic, Chantraine 1968-80: 498,527. Not Lat *carmen* (← ****can-men***, cf *canō* ***sing***) ***poem*** W/H 1938-56 I:170. Lith *kařdas* ***echo***, OPruss *kirdit* ***hear*** Fraenkel 1962-65:221. Also, OI *herma* wkv ***report, tell*** Vries 1962:224,259. See also **hropjan**.

P 1959:530-31.

H98. hrugga fō ῥάβδος ***staff***, only acc sg Mk 6.8.

OE *hrung* ***pole***, MLG, MHG *runge* stf ***pole, spoke***, NE *rung (of ladder)*.

Probably from an extended form of PIE *(s)ker-* ***turn, bend***, *krengh-*, as in CrimGo **rinck**: Umbr *cringatro* ***shoulder-band***; OSl *krǫgz* ***circle***. From *krew-k-*: Lat *crux* ***cross***; MIr *crūach* ***heap***; Lith *kriáuklas* ***rib, skeleton***; also OI *hryggr*, OE *hrycg*, OF *hregg*, OS *hruggi*, OHG *hrucki* stm ***back***, cf NE *ridge*. Many other derivatives of PIE *(s)ker-*, P 1959:935-38, though none exactly parallel to *hrugga*, except possibly OSl *krǫgz* ***circle***, with different meaning; cf Berneker 1908-14:626. Relationship possible if earlier meaning in Gmc was 'round pole', as by H Schröder 1904 BGDSL 29:499; rejected by Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:279-80. Relationship of Skt *krúñcati* ***moves crookedly***, doubtful, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:280, as also of Gk κερκίς ***staff*** Chantraine 1968-80:520.

H99. hruk ***crowing***, only acc sg M 26. 75; ****hrukjan*** wkvI φωνεῖν ***crow*** J 13.38.

Derived from PIE *ker-* onomatopoeic for unmelodic sounds, with many extensions. Also from *kr-ew-g-*, Gk κραυγή ***cry***, though see Chantraine 1968-80:579-80, who calls it onomatopoeic. Possibly also OI *hraukr* m ***cormorant***, OE *(ge-)hrūxl* n ***noise*** Lidén 1903-04:33ff. From PIE *kr-ew-*: Lat *corvus* ***crow***; MIr *crū* ***raven***; from PIE *kr-ew-k-*, Lith *krauklỹs* ***crow***, *kraũkti* ***croak***; Russ, Pol *kruk* ***raven***. From PIE *krōg-*, Gk κρώζω, Lat *crōciō* ***croak***; Lith *kr(i)ōkti* ***gasp, snore***; OSl *krakati* ***croak***; OI *hrōkr*, OE *hrōc* m, OHG *(h)ruoh* m ***rook***. With PIE *-p-*: OI *hrafn*, OE *hræfn*, OHG *hrabo*, *hraban* stm ***raven***. Difficult to determine, as with other onomatopoeic words, whether from PIE or creations in the dialects; see W/H 1938-56 I:275-76 for further forms and references, and P 1959:567-71.

H100. *hugjan wkvI φρονεῖν, νομίζειν ***think*** G 5.10; ****af-hugjan*** βασκαίνειν ***bewitch***, only 3sg prt ***-gida*** G 3.1; ****faura-ga-hugjan*** προαιρεῖσθαι ***make up one's mind***, only 3sg prt ***-ida*** 2C 9.7; ****ufar-hugjan*** ὑπεραιρεῖσθαι ***be elated***, only 3sg opt prs ***-jau*** 2C 12.7; ****hugs*** m or ****hug*** n νοῦς ***mind***, only gen sg ***hugis*** E 4.17; ****ga-hugds*** fi διάνοια ***thought, mind***.

OI *hyggja*, OE *hycgan*, OFris *hugia*, OS *huggean*, MLG *hügen*, OHG *huggen* wkv *think*; OI *hugr* OE *hyge*, OFris *hei*, OS *hugi*, OHG *hugu* stm ***mind, thought***.

No etymology; proposed cognates are problematic as well. Not Lith *kaũkas* ***kobold***, on the grounds that it originated from a meaning 'departed spirit', see Fraenkel 1962-65:230; nor Skt *kúśalas* ***skilled*** (possibly from *su-kṛta-*)

Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:244-45, Skt *kuh-* = *kudh-conceal* I:249, Skt *śaṅkate waver* III:377-78; nor to Gk κυκάω *mix in* Chantraine 1968-80:597. Only remote possibility, from PIE *kew-, kews-observe, hear,* as in Skt *kaví- wise, poet;* Gk κοέω *perceive;* **hausjan**, though this root has no velar extensions. P 1959:587-88.

H101. *hugs n *country estate*[?], only gen sg *hugsis* DeA.

No etymology. Holthausen 1934b:49 abandoned his earlier modification to **hagsis*, OI *hagi*, OE *haga*, OHG *hac* stm *pasture* P 1959: 518; F 1939:273 rejected relationship with Skt *kucati contracts*, proposed by Grienberger 1900:121. Scardigli 1973:288-91 reads *haiþjos* rather than *hugsis*; cf **haiþi** *piece of land.*

H102. huhrus mu λιμός *hunger* L 4. 25; **huggrjan* wkvI πεινᾶν *to be hungry*, 3sg prs *-greiþ* J 6.35.

OI *hā* (← PGmc *hanhōn*, Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:102) *torment*; with grammatical change, OI *hungr*, OE *hungor*, OFris *hunger*, OS, OHG *hungar* stm *hunger*†; OI *hungra*, OE *hyngran*, OFris *hungera*, OS *gi-hungrean*, OHG *hungaren* wkvI *hunger*†.

PIE *kenk- burn, hurt*: possibly Skt *kāṅkṣati desires* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:194, though scarcely *kaṅkālas skeleton* I:137; Gk κάγκανος *dry* (on other proposed forms see Chantraine 1968-80:478, including κέγκει); Lith *keñkti harm, kankà torture* Fraenkel 1962-65: 240.

P 1959:565.

H103. huljan wkvI περικαλύπτειν *cover* Mk 14.65, 3sg opt prs *huljai sik* κατακαλύπτεσθαι · *veil oneself* 1C 11.6; *andhuljan* ἀποκαλύπτειν *reveal* L 10.22; **dis-huljan cover*, only 3sg prs *-jiþ* L 8.16; **ga-huljan* (κατα)καλύπτειν *cover* M 8.24; **un-and-huliþs* μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενος *unlifted*, only n sg papl *-iþ* 2C 3.14; **and-huleins* fi/ō ἀποκάλυψις *revelation* L 2.32; **hulundi** fiō σπήλαιον *cave* J 11.38; *hulistr* na κάλυμμα *veil* 2C 3.14; **us-hulon* λατομεῖν *hew out*, only 3sg prt *-oda* M 27.60; also **halja** and ***hilms.**

OI *hylja*, OE *be-hyllan*, OFris *hella*, OS *bi-hullean*, OHG *hullan* wkv *cover*; OI *hulda* f, OHG *hulla* f *cover, veil*, NE *hull*; (+ *-str-*, Kluge 1926:49-50) OE *helustr* m *hiding place*, Du, NE *holster case for pistol*; LG *holstr*, MHG *hulst* f *case*; MHG *hulfter quiver*; MLG *hulse*, OHG *hulsa* f *hull.* Based on zero grade, PGmc *hulan* (aor-prs, Meillet 1916 BSLP 20:[art]25); cf full grade in OE *helan*, OFris *hela*, OS, OHG *helan* stv *conceal.*

PIE *ḱel- conceal*: Skt *śaraṇás protecting*; Gk καλύπτω *conceal*, with zero grade like PGmc *hul-*, κέλῡφος *covering*; Lat *oc-culō* ← **ób-celō conceal, cella room, color color*; OIr *celim conceal, cuile cellar, cul protection.* Lengthened grade in Skt *śālā building, room*; Lat *cēlō conceal*; OI *hæli* n *hiding place*, OHG *hāli concealing*, MHG *hǣli* stf *concealment.* Zero grade in Lat *clam secretly.*

PIE *-tro-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:339-47, *-stro-*, esp 347: Lat *monstrum portent* beside *moneō* warn; OHG *galstar* stn *song* beside *galan sing.* Origin of *-str-* disputed; Kluge 1926:50 proposes origin in Gmc through suffix-clipping; cf OI *galdr*, OE *gealdor*, OHG *galtar* stm *charm*, in which excrescent *-s-* may have arisen, and applied in such words as Go ***awistr**, on the basis of which the *-i-* was clipped, as in *hulistr.* This origin preferable to one from a word such as Go *-wistr*, Osthoff 1877 ZVS 23:316 or a root such as PIE *sthā-*, W Schulze 1966:79.

P 1959:553-54, Watkins 1985:28.

H104. hulþs adj*a gracious* only in *hulþs sijais* ἱλάσθητι *forgive* L 18.13; *un-hulþa* mn δαιμόνιον, δαίμων, διάβολος *monster, devil* L 4.35; *un-hulþo* fn δαιμόνιον *demon* M 9.33.

OI *hollr*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *hold gracious, faithful (of subordinate)*; OHG *holdo* wkm *friend, adherent*; MHG *holde* wkf (and wkm) *female friend, servant*; OE *un-holda*, OS *unhold*, OHG *un-holdo* wkm *fiend, devil*; OHG *unholda* wkf *witch*; OE, OS, OHG *unhold inimical*; OI *hylli*, OE *hyldo*, OS, OHG *huldi* stf *grace.*

Assumed to be words of the religious sphere, Weigand/Hirt 1909 I:883, II:1118, Royen 1929 *F* Schrijnen:713ff; Scardigli 1973: 70-71,105-06, with discussion of female shamans based on Jordanes; cf **haliurunnas**.

Probably from root in *wilja-halþei* fn προσωπολημψία, πρόκλισις *partiality*, a cmpd of *wilja* and *-ei*-derivative of PGmc *halþaz inclined* : OI *hallr*, OE *heald*, OHG *hald leaning to one side, partial.*

PIE *k̂el- incline*, outside Gmc only in Lith *šalìs side*, though when extended with *-ey-* found widely, P 1959:552. This derivation receives semantic support from Lat derivatives such as *clēmens gentle, kind* and *cliēns one under protection of a patron, client* W/H 1938-56 I:231-32; cf ***hlain**. Others relate Lith *kaĩti lean on, at-kaltẽ backrest* Fraenkel 1962-65: 210-11, from PIE *(s)kel- lean on, crooked*, as in OHG *scelah crooked* P 1959:928. Güntert 1919:91 derives from PIE *k̂el- conceal* as in **huljan**, comparing OI *hel goddess of death*, MHG *holde* m *spirit*, cf **halja**. Scarcely like Trier 1951:52-61 from 'lattice work', as if hell were so fenced. Whatever the source, clearly a word widely expanded in Gmc.

H105. hulundi f*iō* σπήλαιον *cave*, only J 11.38.

Isolated form in Go; probably related to OI, OE, OF, OS, OHG *hol* stn, OHG *holi* stf *cave*, NE *hole, hollow*, and to ***us-holon** wkv *hollow out* E Zupitza 1896:185, though F 1939: 274-75 relates it to **huljan** and PIE *k̂el- hide.*

-undi problematic; F 1939:275 takes it as zero grade of prpl PIE *-e/onti-*, as in Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:305ff, suffixed to the zero grade root form of *k̂el- conceal*, as in **huljan**, with the meaning 'concealer'. In support he cites ***sunjis**, and Skt f *duhatī extracting*, and the possible analysis of Lat *-o-n-t-* from PIE *-n̥t-*. Yet he admits that the prpl suffix has *-e-* or *-o-*, generalized, as in Go *bairands*; Skt *bhárant-*, f *bharantī*; Gk φέρων, gen φέροντος, f φέρουσα ← PIE *bherontyā*; Lat *ferēns*, gen *ferentis bearing*; Lith *vežantì* f beside *vežą̃s*; OSl *vezǫšti* f of *vezy carrying*; Hitt *adant-having eaten*; TochB *aséñca leading* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:455-61. Petersson 1918 BGDSL 43: 151-52 compares OHG *weisunt* (: OE *wāsend*) f *vein* from PIE *weys- flow* P 1959:1134. *hulundi* may well be a Gmc remodeled form based on cognate of *hol.*

PIE *kawl- hollow*: Gk καυλός, Lat *caulis stem*; MIr *cuaille post*; Lith *káulas*, Latvian *kaũls*, OPruss *caulan bone*; possibly also Skt *kulyā́ brook, channel* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:242-43.

P 1959:537.

H106. -hun suffixed to form indef pronouns or adverbs in *ni* **ains-hun**, *ni was-hun, ni manna-hun* οὐδείς *no one, ni ƕan-hun* οὐδέποτε *never, ni ƕeilo-hun* οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν *not for a moment* G 2.5, *þis-hun* μάλιστα *especially* G 6.10.

With grammatical change, PGmc *-gin*: OI *hvargi which of two, hvergi whoever, hvergi wherever*, OE *hwergen* (used with *elles ... elsewhere*†), OS *hwar-gin*, OHG *io-wer-gin somewhere*, NHG *irgend any* Kluge 1913:215-16, doubted by J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32:402; see Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:171 on accent.

PIE *k^{w}e + ne* to form indefinites assumed to be source of PGmc *-gin* as in Skt *-cana*, cf *káś caná any one*, Av *-činā̆*, P 1959:641; PIE *k^{w}u + ne*, taken as source for *-hun*, P 1959:648. Both ultimately from PIE *k^{w}e/o-*, pronominal stem, P 1959:635-36, which gave rise to other indefinitizers, such as Lat *-que* in *quisque whoever*, cf Hitt *kuiski someone* Tischler 1983-I:615-16; Go **-uh**. See A Sturtevant 1949 GR 24:138-39 on use, and on absence in *ni waiht* n *nothing* M 10.26; *waiht something* was already indefinite and did not need *-hun.*

H107. hunda nom pl *na* -κοσιοι *hundred, þrija hunda 300* Mk 14.5, *fimf hunda 500* L 7.41. Also *great hundred (120)* Streitberg 1920:137; *hunda-faþs* ἑκατόναρχος, κεντυρίων *centurion, captain over 100 men*, not an old formation, Benveniste 1963 BSLP 58:[art]45 (see **bruþ-faþs**).

OE, OS *hund*, OHG *hunt* stn ***hundred***; OI *hundraš 100 or 120* Reuter 1933 ANF 49:36-67, OE, OFris *hundred*, OS *hunderod*, MHG *hundert* n ***hundred***, cmpd of *hund-* + PGmc *-raða number*; cf **raþjo**. OS, OHG *hunno* wkm, OHG *hunteri* stm ***captain***; OI *hundari*, OHG *huntari* n ***company (of 100)***.

PIE *ḱṃtóm* (← **(d)ḱṃtóm* to *dékṃ ten*, cf **taihun**) ***hundred*** Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:40, Szemerényi 1960:139-40: Skt *śatám*; Av *satəm*; Gk ἑ-κατόν (ἑ ← ἕν, Risch 1962 IF 67:133 or ← PIE *sṃ-* → ἀ-, then modified, or ← PIE *sem-* with loss of *-m-*, Loewe 1930 IF 48:179-80); Lat *centum*; OIr *cēt*, OWel *cant* ***hundred***; Lith *šimtas*, Latvian *sìmts*; TochA *känt*, B *känte* ***hundred***; OSl *sto* ***hundred*** may be normal development or like CrimGo *sada* a borrowing from Iran because of stem vowel, Vasmer 1953-58 III:15-16, with copious references; like **sada**, Finn *sata* ***hundred*** borrowed from Iran, cf Oss *säddä*, NPers *sad* ***hundred*** Stearns 1978:150. See also Skt *śatá-pati- captain* as parallel to Go *hunda-faþs*, though each are independent.

P 1959:192.

H108. *hunds ma κύων, κυνάριον *dog* M 7.28.

OI *hunds*, OE, OFris, OS *hund*, OHG *hunt* stm ***dog***, cf NE ***hound***; OI *hyndla* f ***small dog***.

Gmc forms with *-t-*, as also assumed for Arm *skund* ← **ḱwon-tā small dog* Bugge 1893 ZVS 32:54 and for Latvian *sùntena large dog* (deprecatory), Osthoff 1901:240-41, Hirt 1897 BGDSL 22:231-32; pre-Gmc *ḱwn̥-tó-*. PIE *-t-* found with names of animals, eg Skt *kárkaṭas crab*, Lat *lacerta lizard* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:420-22,605.

PIE *ḱwon-*, *ḱun-*: Skt *śvā*, gen *śúnas*; Av *spā*, gen *sūnō*, Median σπάκα ***dog*** (Herodotus I:110) = Younger Av *spaka(nąm)* gen pl, cf Skt *śvaka- wolf* (only one occurrence), Russ loan *sobáka dog* Specht 1944:32,202,221,229,369; Gk κύων, gen κυνός; OLat *canēs* f, gen pl *canum* (Jacobsohn 1914 ZVS 46:55-56), Lat *cănis* ← PIE *ḱwənés*, or influenced by *canō sing* W/H 1938-56 I:153; OIr *cū*, gen *con*; Lith *šuo*, gen *šuñs*, Latvian *suns*, OPruss *sunis*; Arm *šun*, gen *šan dog* Pedersen 1905 ZVS 38:197; on initial *š-* versus *sk-*; Hier Hitt *š/suwani(a)-*; TochAB *ku dog*. Also Macedonian Καυδαύλης [name of Lydian king] *'dog-choker'*, *kan-* as in Lat *canis* + PIE *dhaw- choke* P 1959:235, cf ***af-dauiþs**.

As element of cmpds: Skt *śva-ghnín- successful dice-player (who avoids the dog's, or unlucky, throw)* W Schulze 1966:223-24, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:403, though see also Szemerényi 1969:980; Gk κυνά-μυια, Lith *šunmusẽ troublesome fly* Chantraine 1968-80:604; see Fraenkel 1962-65:1033-35 for others.

Long linguistic and cultural discussion about the dog in Osthoff 1901:199-278, who derives word from PIE *(p)ḱón-* based on PIE *peḱu livestock*, cf **faihu**. Such an origin proposed once again by Hamp 1980 IF 85:35-42, drawing heavily on PSl *pьsъ* and reconstructing PIE *peḱwon-*; see also Buck 1949:178-79, and Vasmer 1953-58 II:346-47, which Hamp rejects. Other speculation in F 1939:276-77.

P 1959:632-33, Watkins 1985:34, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:589-93.

H109. hunsl na θυσία *sacrifice*, once, J 16.2, acc pl *hunsla* = λατρείαν *service to god*, see A Sturtevant 1930 *F* Collitz:112; **hunsla-staþs* mi θυσιαστήριον *altar* M 5.23; **hunsljan* wkvI σπένδειν *sacrifice*, only 1sg prs pass *-jada* 2T 4.6; **un-hunslags* adja ἄσπονδος *implacable*, only nom pl m *-gai* 2T 3.3 (calque of Gk, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:349).

OI *hūsl* (not borrowed from OE, Vries 1962:268), OE *hūsl* stn *Eucharist*; *hūslian* wkv ***housel***, ***administer the sacrament***; cf NE *unhouseled*, Shakespeare, Hamlet I.5:77, *hūslung* f ***administration of the sacrament***. Presumed to be a term from pre-Christian times though never used for heathen rites in OI or OE; see Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:417, F Kauffmann 1923 ZDP 49:55-56, and Höfler 1952:259, with reference to Sw *hosli*; see also

blotan, guþ, gudja.

Etymology disputed; possibly from PIE *ḱwen- hallow, -to- holy*: Av *spənta-*, Lith *šveñtas*, OSl *svętъ holy*; without suffix, Av *spanah- sacredness, span-yah-, spən-išta- holier, holiest*; pre-Gmc *kwn̥-s-lo-* not paralleled elsewhere; see Fraenkel 1962-65:1041-42; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:372, on suffix. Other proposals less likely, such as Grienberger 1900:122 to Lat *canō sing*; Bezzenberger 1902 BKIS 27:151 to Lith *šùsti stew* (etymology uncertain, Fraenkel 1962-65:1036-37); Mekler 1903 *F* Fick:263 to Gk καίνω *kill*, 'sacrifice' from 'slaughter'; to ***fra-hinþan** and thus to **handus**, Rooth 1925 BGDSL 49:114ff, 1926:108, *sacrifice of 'captured animal'*; Vries 1962:268, following Trier 1942 BGDSL 66:234 associates word with **hansa**. F 1939:277 probably correct in considering it a pre-Gmc religious word whose source cannot be determined.

P 1959:630.

H110. *hunþs ma αἰχμαλωσία *body of captives*, only acc sg *hunþ* E 4.8.

OE *hūþ*, OHG *(heri-)hunta* f *booty (of war)*; OE *hunta* ← **hund-na*[?] m *hunter*†; *huntian* wkv, NE *hunt*, OE *hentan* wkv ← **hant-jan pursue, seize*. Probably related to ***fra-hinþan** *take captive*, with uncertain etymology.

H111. *hups mi ὀσφύς *hip*.

OE *hype* m, OHG *huf*, pl *huffi* stf, MLG, MHG *huft(e)* f, *hip*†; OE *aptr-huppr* (← **humpr*) m *back part of horse's hip*, NI *huppr*, NNor dial *hupp, hump* m *hump (of cattle)*; OI *hopa*, OE *on-hupian retreat, fall back*; OE *hup-seax* n *short sword (on hip)*.

PIE *kew-*, with many labial and velar suffixes, *bend, joint, curved, arched*: + *-b-*, Gk κύβος *hollow above the hips on cattle, cubical die*; Lat *cubitus/m elbow, cubō lie, (ac-)cumbō lie down*; Lith *kaũbras hill*; + *-mb-*, Skt *kúmbatthick end of a bone* (doubtful, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:233); Gk κύμβη *vessel, boat*; Gaul *cumba hollow (of boat)*, MIr *comm vessel*, Wel *cwmm valley*; + *-p-*, Skt *kū́pas hole*; Hsch κύπη· τρώγλη *hole*; Lat *cūpa barrel*; OI *hūfr* m *belly of ship*, OE *hȳf* f *beehive*†, OS *hūva*, OHG *hūba* f *bonnet*; Lith *káupas*, OSl *kupъ heap*; possibly also OE *hēap*, OS *hōp*, OHG *houf* stm, *heap*† (← pre-Gmc *-b-*).

P 1959:588-92.

H112. huzd na θησαυρός *treasure* M 6.21; *huzdjan* wkvI θησαυρίζειν *gather* 2C 12. 14.

OI *hodd*, OE, OS *hord*, OHG *hort* stn *treasure, hoard*†; OE *hordian*, MHG *gi-hurten* wkv *collect treasure*; OSw *hydda* wkv *conceal*.

PIE *(s)kew-, (s)kew-H- cover*, with many other suffixes: Skt *skunā́ti cover*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:508; Lat *obscūrus dark* from 'covered', W/H 1938-56 II:196; ***skuggwa** *mirror*. + *-s-dho-*: Gk κύσθος *female genitals*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:603; like *huzd*, this is derived by Brugmann 1896 IF 6:103-04, Gdr 1897-1916 I:625 from PIE *kudh-to-*; cf Gk κεύθω *conceal*; OE *hȳdan* wkv *conceal*; *skauþ sheath*†; Go **skauda-raip** *shoelace*; + *-t-*: Gk σκῦτος, Lat *cutis skin*; *cunnus* ← **kut-nos cunt*; Wel *cwd scrotum*; OI *hūð*, OE *hȳd*, OHG *hūt* stn *skin*, cf NE *hide*; OFris *hotha*, OHG *hodo* wkm *testicle*. For other proposed cognates, see F 1939:278-79; much speculation.

P 1959:951-53, Watkins 1985:60.

H113. hwssopon dat sg Sk 3.16 / IIIc.7-8, with Go ending = Gk dat ὑσσώπῳ, nom ὕσσωπος *an aromatic plant*, undescribed according to Chantraine 1968-80:1162; ← Heb *'ēzōb*, H Lewy 1895:38; *ēzṓbh*, E Klein 1966-67: 762.

Ƕ

Ƕ1. ƕadre adv ποῦ *whereto?*, only J 7.35.

Based on *ƕa-* + suffix of **hidre**; cf **ƕas**; also **ƕe** for *-e*. OE *hwæder whereto?*, modified in OE *hwider, whither?*† after OE *hider*.

Ƕ2. *ƕairban stvIII περιπατεῖν *live, walk*, only prpl nom pl m *-bandans* 2Th 3.11, gen pl *-dane* 2Th 3.6; **bi-ƕairban* συνέχειν *surround*, only 3pl prs *-band* L 8.45; **ƕarbon* wkvII περιπατεῖν, παράγειν *go about* J 7.1; **ga-ƕairbs* adj*a amenable*, only dat pl *-bam* Sk 6.25 / VId.13-14; **un-ga-ƕairbs* ἀπειθής, ἀνυπότακτος *unbelieving, insubordinate* Tit 1. 6; **ƕeila-ƕairbs* πρόσ-καιρος *temporary* Mk 4. 17.

OI *hverfa*, OE *hweorfan*, OFris *hwerva*, OS *hwerƀan*, OHG *(h)werfan* stv *turn about*; OI *hvarfa*, OE *hwierfian*, OS *hwarƀōn*, OHG *(h)warbōn* wkv *walk about*. Caus OI *hverfa*, OE *hwierfan*, OS *gi-hwerƀean*, OHG *(h)werben* wkv *turn around*; OE *hwearf exchange*, OFris *hwerf*, OS *hwarf quantity*, OHG *(h)warb* stm *exchange*; OI *hvirfill circle, ring, crown of the head*, Du *wervel circle*, OHG *wirbel* stm *circle, crown of the head*. OE *ge-hweorf converted*; OI *hverfr changeable*; OHG *hwīli-werbī* f *changeability*.

PIE *k*erp- turn*: Gk καρπός *wrist (where the hand turns)*, καρπάλιμος *rapid* (questionable, Chantraine 1968-80:500-01); possibly OIr *corr pointed, corrach shifty* Pedersen 1909-13 I:121; P 1959:631 cites only MIr *carr*, Wel *par spear*; possibly Skt *śūrpam winnowing basket* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:366; scarcely Κορύβαντες *priests of Cybele*, Chantraine 1968-80:568.

P 1959:631, Seebold 1970:282-84, Watkins 1985:34.

Ƕ3. *ƕairnei *fn* κρανίον *skull*, only gen sg *-neins staþs* κρανίου τόπος, Gk translation of Γολγοθᾶ, Mk 15.22; scarcely an adj, as in Gallée 1880-82 I:37.

NI *hvern* f *the boat-shaped bones in a fish-head*; OI *hverna* f *cooking utensils*.

PIE *k*er- pan*: Skt *carúṣ vessel, pot*, though not *karkarī water-pot*, but possibly *karaṅkas skull* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:162,377; OIr *coire*, Wel *pair kettle*; possibly also Russ *čára glass*, though borrowing from Turkic *čara large bowl* also proposed for it, Vasmer 1953-58 III:303; not Gk κέρνος *utensil used in cultic ceremonies*, of obscure origin, Chantraine 1968-80:520-21. -- Shift of meaning from 'vessel' to 'skull, head' quite common, eg Lat *testa pot*, Fr *tête head*; NE *cup*, NHG *Kopf*; cf Scheftelowitz 1904 BKIS 28:143-58. PIE rhyming root *ker-* also has meaning *head, brain*, from *top*; cf **haurn**; J Schmidt 1889:363-78; 1881 ZVS 25:133; Danielsson 1888:1ff; P 1959:574-77.

P 1959:642.

Ƕ4. ƕaiteis m*ia* σῖτος *wheat*, only gen sg, with this form J 12.24.

OI *hveiti* stn, OE *hwǣte*, OFris *hwēte*, OS *hwēti*, OHG *weizzi* stm *wheat*†; also with *-ī-*, Sw dial *hwīte*, ME *whīte*; with *ĭ* NHG dial *wiste* f (Westfalian) *wheat* Holthausen 1913 IF 32:338.

The white flowering grain; cf ***ƕeits** *white*; similarly, Bret *gwiniz wheat, gwenn white* Hoops 1905:356. Lith *kvietỹs grain of wheat*, pl *kvieciaĩ wheat* borrowed from Gmc, Fraenkel 1962-65:326. Gk σῖτος *grain* unrelated, Chantraine 1968-80:1007; possibly borrowed from Minoan, Ruijgh 1970 Kadmos 9:172-73.

P 1959:628-29, Watkins 1985:33, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:657.

Ƕ5. ƕaiwa adv interrog πῶς *how?* M 6.28, *somehow* Ph 3.11.

OS *hueo*, OHG *(h)wĕo how?* (possibly also OI *hvē how?, why?*, cf Vries 1962:270); OE *hū*, OFris *hū*, OS *hu*; OF *hō*, OS *hwō*, OHG *wuo* (Tatian) *how?*†.

ƕaiwa a cmpd of PGmc *hwoi* loc of *hwo-*

plus a reflex of PIE *wē*: OLat *quoi* (Duenos), Lith *kai-põ, kaĩp, kaĩ how?, kíek how much?* Fraenkel 1962-65:199,250-51; Skt, Av, OPers *vā*, with short vowel in Gk ἠ-ῥέ, Lat *-ve or*; cf also Skt *iva like*; Lat *sive or if*; Hitt *iwar* ppn *like* Joseph 1981 ZVS 95:93-98, Joseph and Schourup 1982-83 ZVS 96:56-58, though not Puhvel 1984-:499-502, who relates Hitt *iwas* to *iya- do*; possibly OIr *nō*, OBret *nou* ← PIE *newe or.*

Many early discussions, cf F 1939:281. Mezger 1942 JEGP 41:508-09 proposes origin in repeated inst as in **swaswe** : PGmc *hwīhwē* → *hwĭhwă* → Go **hvaihva* → *hvaiwa*. Hollifield 1979 Sprache 25:55 takes *hvaiwa* from PGmc *hwaiwō*, referring like Hujer 1909 IF 24:71 to Gk ποῖος *how?, of what kind?*; further, OE *hū* from PGmc *hwō*, an inst in ablaut with Go *hve*; OS *hō* from PGmc *hwōn* acc or inst = Lat *quam as.*

P 1959:75,644-48; 296 superseded; Watkins 1985:34.

Hv6. hvan adv interrog πότε *when?* M 25.44; indef ποτέ, πόσου, πόσῳ, τί *at some time, how* M 7.14; *hvan-hun* (only with *ni*) οὐδέποτε adv *never* M 7.23.

OE *hwon*, OS *hwan when?*†; + PGmc *-ne*, OE *hwonne*, OFris *hwenne*, OHG *hwanne*; + PGmc *-da*, OFris *hwonde*, OS *hwanda*, OHG *hwanta because*; not OI *hvē why?, hvēnær when?* Vries 1962:270,271.

From PIE k^wo- as in **hvas**, with disputed ending. Dal 1932:39-40 takes it as Gmc loc with PIE *-no*; J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32:402 and others take it as inst: cf Av *ka-nā through whom*; *amu-nā*; OPers *tya-nā with that one*; still others, eg Paul 1877 BGDSL 4:385ff, as cognate with Av *kəm how*; OLat *quom*, Lat *cum*; OPruss *kan when*; cf Toporov 1975- III: 203-04. Also here possibly, OIr *chuinn when*, MWel *pan since* Pedersen 1909-13 II:205.

P 1959:645.

Hv7. hvar adv interrog ποῦ *where?* M 8. 20; see also **þis-hvar-uh** M 9.18.

OI *hvar*, OS *hwăr(a)*, OHG *(h)war-a* *where?, whereto?*; with PGmc *-ē-*: OE *hwǣr*, OFris *hwēr*, OS, OHG *hwār where?*†. See **hvas**.

PIE k^wo- + adv *-r*: Skt *kár-hi when?*; Lat *cūr* ← OLat *quōr why?*; from PIE k^wu-: Lith *kuř*, Latvian *kùr where?*, Alb *kur when?* Huld 1984:84. See also **hvarjis**.

P 1959:644-48.

Hv8. hvarjis m τίς, ποῖος J 10.32, *hvarja* f Mk 12.28, **hvarjata* n *which?*; *hvarjatoh* n Mk 9.49, *hvarjiz-uh* m ἕκαστος, πᾶς *each, every* J 6.7; for other forms see B/E 1981:103,105-06; also *ain-hvarjiz-uh* indef pron εἷς ἕκαστος *each* R 12.5.

OI *hverr who?* replaced the interrog cognate with **hvas**.

Based on **hvar** + *-jis* = *'where + he'* J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32:401; cf Lith *kuřs* rel prn ← *kuř jis*. For *-jis* cf Skt *yás*, Av *yō*, Gk ὅς *who?* Stem in Lith *kuř* ← PIE k^wu-: Skt *k(u)va*, Lat *(nē-)cu-bi*, MWel *cw(d)*, OSl *kъde*, Arm *u-r where?*; Alb *kush*; TochA *kus*, B *kuse who?*; A *kuc*, B *kuce what?*; also suffixed in Skt *kú-ha*, *kútra*, Av *kuþra*, OSl *kъ-de where?*

P 1959:646-48.

Hv9. hvas m τίς *who?* M 5.39, *hvo* f τίς *who?* M 5.46, *hva* n τί *what? why?* M 5.23; for other forms see B/E 1981:103; *hvo* only in Go, based on dem *so*. Also used as indef.

Run *h(u)waz* (Eggja, Rök, Krause 1966 I: 231); OSw *hvā(r)*, OI *hvat* n; OE *hwă*, *hwæt*; OFris *hwa*, *hwet*; OS *hwē*, *hwat*; OHG *(h)wer*, *(h)waz who? what?*† For Gmc forms see Prokosch 1939:278-79; n *hva*, OE m *hwă* lost ending in unaccented position (n *hva* scarcely from PIE k^wom, Möller 1914 AinIF 33:58 or k^wo- Möller 1920 ZVS 49:227 fn1).

Go *hvas-hun* only m and with neg, indef *anyone, no one* M 9.16; OI *hvargi*, OE *hwergen*, OS, OHG *hwergin somewhere*; cf **-hun**. Go *hvaz-uh* m πᾶς *everyone* L 2.23, *hvoh* f, *hvah* n *each, every*, *hveh* adv inst μόνον *only* Ph 1.27; compare OI *einn-hverr*; cf **uh**; also *hvaþ-þan* τί δὲ *what* 1C 4.7.

PIE k^wo-, k^wi- interrog/indef; cf **hvi-leiks**; adv k^wu-, cf **hvarjis**: Skt *kás* m, *kắ* f, *kád* n,

Av *kō*; Gk τέο (gen, Hom), τοῦ, nom τίς, τί; Lat *quis, quid; quod* n; OIr *cia who?, co-* n *how?*; OWel *pa what?*; Lith *kàs*; OSl *ks-to*; Arm *o who?*; Alb *kë whom?, se what?* Huld 1984:110-11; Hitt *kuɣat why?, kuɣapi where?, when?* Tischler 1983- I:693-94,696-98. Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:348-53,374-77; Szemerényi 1980:191-95, also for uses in the dialects. + PIE *-kʷe*: Skt *káś ca*; Av *čiš-ča*; Lat *quisque*, Umbr *pisi-pumpe* = Lat *quiscumque*; Arm *o-k'*; Hitt *kuɣiski, kuɣitki whoever, someone, each* Tischler 1983- I: 615-16; Skt *na káś cana no one*; cf OI *hvergi nowhere, by no means*; OE *hwergen*, OS, OHG *hwergin somewhere, somehow.*

See also **ƕadre, ƕaiwa, ƕan, ƕar, ƕaþ, ƕaþar, ƕe.**

P 1959:644-48,635-36; Watkins 1985:34.

Ƕ10. ƕaþ adv (*ƕad* J 13.36) ποῦ *where to?* J 8.14; *þis-ƕad-uh þa-dei (þei)* adv ὅπου ἄν *wherever* M 8.19. Also *ƕaþro* adv πόθεν *whence?* J 6.5.

PIE *kʷo-* as in **ƕas** + PIE *-te*, as in **aljaþ**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:731-32; Gk πόσε *where to?* though according to Chantraine 1968-80:921-22 *-σε* of obscure origin; see also Skt *u-tá but*; Lat *i-ta thus*; see also Hitt *kuɣatta(n) where?* Tischler 1983- I:698-700. For *-þro* see **aljaþro.** Concerning the PIE accent see Loewe 1929:66.

Ƕ11. ƕaþar interrog (*-ar* ← *-er*, cf *aftaro*) πότερος *which of two? whether?*† M 9.5; + *uh* only dat *ƕaþaramme* Sk 5.22 / Vd.6, *ain ... me* Sk 3.5 / IIa.16-17 *each of both* W Bennett 1960:59,70,96-97, B/E 1981:106.

OI *hvaðarr, hvārr*, OSw *hwār*, OE *hwæþer*; with different vowel OE *hweþer*, OS *hweðar*, OHG *hwedar which of two?*

PIE *kʷo-* as in **ƕas** + PIE *-tero-*, as in **aftaro**: Skt *katarás*, Av *katārō*; Gk πότερος; Lith *katràs which (of two)?* OSl *kotoryĭ who?* Same formation may be in Lat *uter* ← **cuteros which of two?* Umbr *podruh-pei* adv *on both sides*, Osc *púterei-pid on each side* (these possibly also ← PIE *kʷu-* as in Skt *kútra where?*) W/H 1938-56 II:845.

Ƕ12. *ƕaþjan wkvI ἀφρίζειν *foam*, only 3sg prs *-þiþ* Mk 9.18, prpl *-jands* Mk 9.20; **ƕaþo fn* ἀφρός *foam*, only dat sg *-on* L 9.39.

OE *hwaþerian* wkv; Sw dial *hwā foam*; OI *hveþnir* m *kind of fish*; MLG *wadeke*, OE *hwæg* n, Du *hui*, MLG *heie whey*†.

PIE *kʷat(h)- ferment*: Skt *kváthati seethe*; Lat *cāseus cheese* (*c-* rather than *qu-* unclear, possibly dial, W/H 1938-56 I:176-77); OSl *kvasz sour dough, kys(e)lz sour* Berneker 1908-14:678; also Latvian *kûsât seethe, kust melt.* In view of OE *hwæg*, Petersson 1908-09 IF 23:388 proposes PIE *kʷā-*, which is not supported elsewhere; rejected proposals in F 1939:283.

P 1959:627-28.

Ƕ13. ƕe adv inst τίνι, τί *(with) what?* L 7.31; indef ἄ *somehow* 2C 11.21, before comp *by how much?* M 5.47; *ƕeh* (+ **-uh**) μόνον *only?* Ph 1.27, **ei ƕeh** ἵνα *only that ...* G 6.12; **ƕelaubs* adj (only acc sg f *-da* 2C 7.11) πόσος *how much?* (+ *-laubs shape*, cf ***liudan**). See also *biƕe* adv κατὰ τί *how?* L 1.18 and *duƕe* τί, διὰ τί *why?* M 9.4.

OE *hū*; OS *hwō*, OHG *wuo how*†, see **ƕaiwa.**

PIE *kʷo-* as in *ƕas* in inst; cf **þe**, OI *þvē*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:189,365, B/E 1981:101,103, 105; Av *kā*, OPers *kā* ptc; Dor πη ptc, πω *still*, οὔπω *not yet*; Lith inst of *kàs, kuõ* as in *kuõmet when?*; Lat *quō where?, where to?* is however abl.

Ƕ14. ƕeila fō χρόνος, ὥρα *while, time, hour* M 27.45; **un-ƕeila* adj ἀδιάλειπτος *unceasing*, only nom sg f R 9.2; *ni ƕeilo-hun* adv *not for a moment*, only G 2.5; **ga-ƕeilains* fi ἄνεσις *rest* 2C 2.13; **ƕeilan* wkvIII παύεσθαι *cease*, only 1pl prt *-aidedum* Col 1.9; **ana-ƕeilan* ἀναπαύειν *set at rest*, only papl *-aiþs* 2C 7.13; **ga-ƕeilan* παύεσθαι *cease*, 3pl prs *-and* 1C 13.8, ἐπαναπαύεσθαι *rest*, 3sg prs *-aiþ* + *sik* L 10.6.

OE *hwīl*, OFris *hwīle*, OS *hwīla*, OHG *(h)wīla* stf *while*†, *time*, actually 'a rest', cf OI *hvīla* stf *place of rest, bed, hvīld* f *rest*; OE *unhwīlen continuous*; OI *hvīla*, OFris *hwīla rest*, MLG *wīlen stay*, OHG *wīlōn* wkv *remain in a*

place.

PIE *k^{w}eyē- rest comfortably*: Av *šāitiš*, OPers *šiyātiš joy*, Lat *quiēs quiet*; OSl *počiti rest*, *pokojь short rest*; Arm *han-gčim I rest*, *han-gist rest*; + PIE *-lo-*: Lat *tranquillus tranquil*, and Gmc words above. Not Skt *cirás long*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:390; nor Lith *kẽlena a short while* Fraenkel 1962-65:236,237-38.

P 1959:638.

Ƕ15. *ƕeits adj*a* λευκός *white* L 9. 29; *ga-ƕeitjan* wkvI λευκᾶναι *whiten*, only M 9.3.

OI *hvītr*, OE, OFris, OS *hwīt*, OHG *(h)wīz*; OFris *hwit(t)*, MDu, MLG *wit(t) white*†.

PIE *k̂wey- gleam, white*, + *-d-*; also *-t-*, as below; probably an extension of PIE *k̂ew- gleam*, as in Skt *śvás tomorrow*: Skt *śvetás*, Av *spaētō white*; Lith *šviẽsti gleam*, and *šiesùs bright* Fraenkel 1962-65:1043-44.

Here probably CrimGo *wichtgata* 'album' *white*; form best explained as patterning with preceding **atochta** and following *mycha*, Much 1898 AinIF 9:199, Stearns 1978:163. Underlying *wit-* + *-ga-*suffix + adj n nom/acc *-(a)ka*. Less likely proposals in F 1939:284-85 and Stearns suggest metathesis of **hw-* or unique use of *-ch-/-h-* to indicate length.

P 1959:628-29, Watkins 1985:33.

Ƕ16. ƕi-leiks adj*a* interrog ποῖος, ποταπός, πηλίκος *of what kind?* M 8.27 (also *ƕe-leika* L 1.29); rel οἷος *which* 1C 15.48.

OI *hvī-līkr*, OE *hwilc*, OS *hwi-līk*; OE *hwelc*, OFris *hwe-l(i)k*, OS *-we-līk* (only *ēo-giuue-līk* Ps), OHG *hwe-līh*, *hwēo-līh which?*†. Cmpd of interrog stem + **leik**.

PIE *k^{w}i-*: Skt *kím what?*, *cid* ptc *any*; Av *čiš who?*, *cit*, OPers *čiy what?*; Gk τίς, n τί; Lat *quis*, *quid*, Osc *pís*, *píd who?*, *what?*; OIr *cid what?*; OSl *čь-to what?*; Hitt *kuis*, *kuit who?*, *what?*; *-ĭ-* also orig in OI *hvī-*, Åkerlund 1934 *F* E Kock:414-28; Go *ƕe-*, OI *hve-* ← PIE *k^{w}e-*.

P 1959:644-48.

Ƕ17. *ƕilftrjos f pl σορός *coffin*, only in dat *-jom* L 7.14.

OI *hvalf* n, OE *hwealf* f *vault, dome*; MHG *walbe* wkm *slope of roof*; OI *hvelfa* stv, OE *be-hwielfan*, OS *bi-hwelbian* wkv, MHG *welben* stv *form an arch*, OI papl *holfinn vaulted*; OHG *gi-hwelbi* n *vault, arch.*

PIE *k^{w}elp- arch*: Gk κόλπος *bosom, hollow*, αἰθέρος κόλπος : OE *heofon hwealf the vault of the heavens.* Not Skt *kūrcás bunch*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:254, nor Lat *culcita pillow* W/H 1938-56 I:302, nor Lith *klùpti kneel* Fraenkel 1962-65:276.

Go **ƕilftrjos* probably designated orig a coffin made from a hollowed-out tree; such tightly fitting coffins have been excavated from the bogs of northern Europe. According to the excellent account of Glob 1969, 690 bog bodies have been found, some remarkably well preserved, like the Tollund man of approximately the beginning of our era. Burials in oak coffins preceded these, from before 1000 B. C., Glob 1974:17-29. Buried under mounds with clothing, weapons, and ornaments accompanying the bodies, these provide valuable information about the period of Gmc unity. Glob's book on these 'mound people' includes excellent data and illustrations. The suggestion that **ƕilftrjos* refers to these coffins is, however, difficult to verify, for σορός occurs only here in the New Testament; and the other dialects attest borrowed words like NE *coffin* and NHG *Sarg*, leaving **ƕilftrjos* without direct cognate.

P 1959:630.

Ƕ18. ƕopan stvVII, 3sg prt *ƕaihƕop*, καυχᾶσθαι *boast* 2C 10.16; *ƕoftuli fiō* καύχημα, καύχησις *glory, boasting* 1C 5.6. *-tuljō* extended from PIE *-tlo-* as in ***neþla**, Kluge 1926:52,74; see also *sakuls.*

OE *hwōpan* stv *threaten.*

No etymology. Because of *-p-* the theme must have been formed after the period of PIE. May have been a spontaneous creation, or based on PIE *kwā-*, which Petersson 1913 BGDSL 38:321 proposed as basis of Skt *kváṇati sounds*; Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:283 takes this as onomatopoeic, like Skt *káuti cries*, Gk

κωκύω *cry*, Lith *kaũkti*, MHG *hiulen howl*, ibid 1956-80 I:274. P 1959:535-36 proposes PIE *kăw-*, with suffixes; Go ***hiufan***, ascribed to this theme, indicates the difficulty with this derivation. Other proposals no more credible, including L Bloomfield 1912 BGDSL 37:251, as new formation based on Go **wopjan** *shout*, itself of dubious origin in PIE; nor Kroes 1947 Neophil 31:14-16, to Lith *kvãpas vapor*, for phonological and semantic reasons; see Fraenkel 1962-65:325-26, F 1939:286. -- A formal analysis of *ƕopan* illustrates the reason for the etymological problems, as for other Go verbs beginning with a cluster of obstruent and resonant, and for Class VI and VII strong verbs. If the initial cluster derives from PIE *kw-*, this must be the zero grade of a root *kew-*; the vowel *-ō-*, if PIE, would derive from a laryngeal suffix *-eH-*, to which a single consonant could be added, as the longest possible PIE verbal base. Such formal analysis discloses the reason for problems with other Go verbs with initial *ƕ-*, or with *hl-*, *hn-*, *hr-*, and similar clusters with other initial consonants. The *-p-* reflecting rare or non-existent PIE *b* compounds the difficulties.

Ƕ19. *ƕota *fō* ἀπειλή *threat*, only gen sg *-tos* E 6.9, Sk 2.3 / IIa.12; ***ƕotjan*** wkvI, only 3pl prt *-tidedun* Mk 10.48, ***ga-ƕotjan*** ἐπιτιμᾶν *threaten* L 9.21.

OI *hōt* n pl *threat*, *hōta*, *hœta* wkv *threaten*; probably also OI *hvata* wkv *urge on*; cf ***ga-ƕatjan***. Less likely, OI *hvāta* wkv *thrust, stick*, ONor *hvāta*, *hōta*, OSw *høta* wkv *drive in holes for posts*, OS *for-hwātan*, OHG *hwāzan curse*, though see Vries 1962:269-70 and Kroes 1947 Neophil 31:14-16.

Etymology difficult; probably not Skt *códati incite* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:400-01, nor Gk κῡδάζω *revile* Chantraine 1968-80:595. Dubious, L Bloomfield 1912 BGDSL 37:250 as a rhyme word formation. Probably not of PIE origin, in spite of P 1959:636, who proposes PIE *k^{w}ĕd-*, with only a dubiously derived Lat *tri-quetrus three-cornered* outside Gmc; approved by W/H 1938-56 II:706 in spite of difficulties.

I

I1. ibai, *iba* interrog ptc implying neg answer μή *whether, possibly* M 9.25; conj expressing neg result μή, ἵνα μή *so that not*; negated *nibai* conj μή (τι), ἐι μή *if not* M 5.20.

OI *ef*, OE *gif*, OFris *jef*, OS *ef*, OHG *ibu if*† also associated with **jabai**; OI *efa* wkv *doubt*; OI *ef*, *if* stn *doubt*, OHG *iba* stf *condition* (probably derived from ptc and not the source, as by Uhlenbeck 1900:88). OE *nefne*, OS *neƀa*, OHG *nibu if not*.

A cmpd ptc, probably based on PIE *e-*, *ey-* an anaphoric ptc and *bhĕ/ŏ-* a ptc indicating emphasis, Brugmann 1904b:115-18, comparing Lat *e-quidem* and *quidem indeed*; see also Skt *a-sáu that one*, Gk ἐκεῖ beside κεῖ *there*, Osc *e-tanto* beside Lat *tanto so great*, Russ *é-tot that one* Chantraïne 1968-80:329; cf also W/H 1938-56 I:411 for alternative proposals. -- Av *bā*, Lith *bà*, Latvian *ba indeed*; possibly OSl *bo then*; Arm *ba(y)* ptc for emphasis. -- Not from PIE *epi after, upon* Grienberger 1900:125; cf ***iftuma**; Kluge 1913:214 also wrong in deriving *-ba(i)* from an IE case in *-bh-*.

P 1959:113,281-87, esp 284.

I2. *ibdalja n κατάβασις *descent*, only dat sg *-jin* L 19.37.

OE *of-dæle* n *descent*, *of-dæl* adj *tending downwards*; prefix *of-* = Go *uf-* and *dæl* stn = Go ***dals** *valley*.

Go *ib-* either related to *if-* in ***iftuma** or, less likely, from PIE *ébhi* as in **bi**.

P 1959:323-35.

I3. *ibns adja πεδινός *level*, only dat sg m *-namma* L 6.17; *ibna* wkadj ἴσος *like* Sk 1.4 / Ia.13; *ibnassus* mu ἰσότης *equality* 2C 8.14; **ga-ibnjan* wkvI ἐδαφίζειν *make level*, only 3pl prs *-jand* L 19.44; **ibna-leiks* adja *of similar form*, only acc sg f *-a* Sk 5.26 / Vd.21, calque of Gk ὁμοιούσιος *of similar kind*; **ibna-skauns* adj *i/ia*, only in *du ... -skaunjamma leika* calque of Gk σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι *equally beautiful* Ph 3.21; cf **ga-leiks** and ***skauns**.

OI *jafn*, OE *ifn*, OFris *even*, OS *eƀan*, OHG *eban even*†; OI *jafna*, OHG *ebanōn* wkv *make alike, put in order*; OE *emnettan* wkv *make alike* (= Go **ibnatjan*); nouns OE *efnes*, OS *eƀnissi* : Go *ibnassus* are source of the *-nassus* suffix, W Schulze 1966:362,372; OI *jafn-līkr*, OE *efen-līc*, OHG *eban-līch like*.

No etymology. Pedersen 1909-13 I:92 and Thurneysen 1910 AinIF 26:26 related MBret *effen*, OCorn *eun- like*, Wel *iawn just*; P 1959: 505, following a suggestion of Thurneysen in F 1939:287, hesitantly relates MIr *emain* ← **emn- twins*; this from PIE *yem- hold together*, as in Skt *yámati control*; highly dubious. Also scarcely credible, Mezger 1965 ZVS 79:45, from **i-bh here (that of the household or the community as opposed to that far away)*; nor to Lat *aemulus emulous*, as by K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:229-30 and others; its source is disputed, W/H 1938-56 I:17. See also Trutmann 1972:5,51-54,81 on the use of the strong declension with the meaning 'level', as an external characterization -- and of the weak, with the meaning 'spiritual or intellectual equality'. Older proposals in F 1939:287-88.

I4. *ibuks adja εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω *back* J 6. 66.

Cf OI *ǫfugr backward*, OS *aƀuh*, OHG *abuh turned away*, NE *awkward*, with PGmc *a* ← PIE *o* and accent on suffix; OHG *ippihhon* wkv *turn back*.

Possibly based on PIE *epi*, *opi at, after* as in ***iftuma** + *-go-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:507-08. Similar formations in other dialects, such as Skt *ápākas from a distant place* ← PIE *apo-ṇk^{w}-o-*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:38-39; Gk πρόκα *at once*, OSl *proks remaining*, with PIE *-ko-* as in OI *ǫfugr*, Chantraine 1968-80:940. Also likely, from PIE *apo-* away, Go **af**, as in P 1959:53-55; older proposals in F 1939:228.

I5. iddja suppletive prt to **gaggan** *go, went* M 9.9, 1pl *-jedum* 2C 12.18, 3pl *-jedun*

Mk 1.45.

Except possibly for OE *ēode* **went**, without cognates in Gmc. Extensively discussed, as indicated in F 1939:288-89 and Cowgill 1960 Lg 36:483-501; forms involve both Holtzmann's law, as in ***daddjan**, and the weak prt with the many theories of their origins. After reviewing the earlier theories Cowgill assumes origin in early PGmc reduplicated perf *eóye*, pl *e-iy-ṇt* → *eō*, *ijjun*, Go **iddjun*, which was remodeled to *iddjedun*, after which *iddja* replaced **eō*; in OE however the weak prt ending *-de* was added, → *ēode*, Northumbrian *ēade*. Cowgill's tight arguments, rejecting previous proposals and supporting his own, cannot overcome the problem pointed out earlier that these forms are unique and that any proposed explanation is weakly supported, WP Lehmann 1943 Lg 19:318-19. Here the derivation by Kluge 1879:124ff from PIE augmented aor (imperfect) *é-yā-t* was questioned, since the augment is not found in Gmc, even though this is a widely held explanation; similarly, Collitz 1912:142-48, a derivation from a perf middle PIE *īyaí*, or Meillet 1929 MSLP 23,iv:257 from an unaugmented imperfect **eiy-*. -- *ēode* equally disputed; Sievers 1900:52 rejected source in PGmc *ija* + prt ending, since this would have given OE *īg-* as in *frīge-dæg* **Friday**; association with OE *wadan*, Lat *vadere* **go** by Holthausen 1903 IF 14:342 generally rejected in favor of relation with PIE *ey-* ← *ʔey-* **go**, as in Skt *éti*, Av *aeiti*, OPers *aitiy*; Gk εἶμι; Lat *eō*; OIr prt pass *ethae*; Lith *eimì*; OSl *idǫ*; Hitt *i-* **go** Tischler 1983- I:441; G Schmidt 1984 Sprachwiss 9:227-30. With laryngeal suffixes: *(e)yā-* ← *yeH-* **move (in wagons, on a horse)**: Skt *yā́ti*, Av *yaiti*; Lith *jóti*, Latvian *jât* **ride**; OSl *jadǫ* **travel**; Hitt *iia-*, Tischler 1983- I:343-45, but laryngeal suffix rejected by Puhvel 1984-:330-35; TochA *yā-* **go**; Lat *jānua* **door**; MIr *āth* **ford**; *(e)yē-* ← PIE *yeʔ-*, as in Go **jer**.

P 1959:293-97, see also Seebold 1970:174-76; Watkins 1985:16; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:724.

I6. *idreiga fō μετάνοια **repentance** L 3.3; *idreigon* wkvII Mk 1.15 μεταμέλεσθαι **regret**, μετανοεῖν **repent**; **ga-idreigon* only 3pl opt prt *-godedeina* L 10.13 μετανοεῖν **repent**.

OI *iðra* wkv **make repent**, *iðrast* **repent**; possibly also *iðrar* f pl **repentance, bowels** (cf Lat *stomachārī* **become angry** and *stomachus* **stomach**), though Grienberger 1900:127 rejects the connection, deriving OI *iðr* ← **inr*, cf 'insides'. Possibly a cmpd with first element = **iþ** but, with meaning 'return', F Kauffmann 1923 ZDP 49:54, supported by syllable division, W Schulze 1966:491; cf Skt *itaras* **other**, Lat *iterum* **again**. According to Meissner 1917 ZDA 55:61ff, second element has cognate in OI *reigjast* wkv **bridle up**, yet this itself is unclear, Vries 1962:438. -- Not to OIr *aithrech* **repentant**, *aithirge* f **repentance** Vendryès 1959-:A-56; nor borrowed from it. Best taken as a pre-Go adj based on an *r*-form of *iðē-* and PGmc *-īg* to make adj **idreigs* **repentant** Kluge 1926:101-02, on which noun and verb were based.

The concept 'repentance' is Christian, and therefore a new term was needed; its creation is obscure. Compare ***bota**.

I7. id-weit na ὄνειδος, ὀνειδισμός **reproach, disgrace** L 1.25; *id-weitjan* wkvI ὀνειδίζειν **revile** M 11.20.

OE *ed-wīt*, OF *ed-wīt*, OHG *it(i)wīz* stn/m, *ituwīzī* stf **disgrace**; *ita-wīzōn* wkv **mock at, revile**; OE *eþ-witia* wkv **blame, reprove** (with *þ*, Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:178,193ff; possible error, Brunner/Sievers 1965:161).

Cmpd of PGmc *eð-* **again**, as in OE *ed-reccan*, MLG *edreken*, OHG *it(a)ruchen* wkv **ruminate**, cf Gutmacher 1914 BGDSL 39:234-35, and *-weit* as in **fra-weit**, Seebold 1973 Sprache 19:175.

P 1959:344.

I8. iel CrimGo 'vita sive sanitas' **life or health**, *ieltsch* 'vivus sive sanus' **alive or healthy**, *iel uburt* 'sit sanum' **may it be well (with you), hail.**

According to Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:360 *iel* = Go **hail*, OE *hæl* stf, OS *hēl*, OHG *heil* stn *fortune, health*, cf **hails**; according to Loewe 1896:162 *ieltsch* = Go **hailiska*; according to Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:125 = Go **hailiþs*, cf *hailjan*; according to Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:363 *iel uburt* = Go *hail waurþai* or *hails wairþais*; according to Loewe 1896:124 = *hail waurþi*; cf OI *ves heill*, ME *wes heil be in good health*, cf NE *wassail*, Onions 1966: 993-94. Unlikely, borrowing from Hung *élés life*; cf F 1939:290. See Stearns 1978:139-40 for details on loss of *h-*.

I9. ies CrimGo 'ille' *he*.

Most likely = Go **is**, as by Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:362, Much 1898 AinIF 9:201, Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:131. Less likely, Tomaschek 1881:65 proposed origin in **jains** with loss of *-n-*; also Loewe 1896:136,138. See Stearns 1978:140 for explanation of *ie*, where [j-] is taken as on-glide.

I10. *iftuma only in *iftumin daga* τῇ ἐπαύριον *on the following day* M 27.62.

PIE *epi, opi, pi near to* + *-tmo-* as in ***aftuma**: Trutmann 1972:44-45 insists on comp meaning as opposed to Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:1-30; Skt *ápi also*; Av *aipi*, OPers *apiy near*; Gk ἔπι, ἐπί *to*; Arm *ev and*; Alb *épërm higher*; Myc *o-pi upon*, Lat *ob towards*; Lith *ap(i)- about*; Gk ὄπιθεν *after*, Hitt *appezzi(ya)- later* Chantraine 1968-80:808-09, Tischler 1983- I:41-43,46-47, Puhvel 1984-:91-94. See also ***ibdalja**.

P 1959:323-25.

I11. Igila PeN in DeN.

Förstemann 1900:947 lists names like *Igo, Ig-mar, Ig-wulf* without proposing relationship to the Gmc lexicon. Loewe 1923 BGDSL 47: 415 notes the Gk PeN Ἠγά-θραξ. Meyer-Lübke 1905:24 cites names like *Ega, Egila, Egaridus, Egica*. Wrede 1891:144 suggested identity with OI *igull*, OE *igil*, OS, OHG *igil*, Du *egel* stm *hedgehog*; this is from PIE *eĝhi- hedgehog*, a shortened form of *eĝhi-no-s pertaining to snakes, snake-eater*, a taboo term according to Specht 1939 ZVS 66:56-57: Gk ἐχῖνος; Lith *ežỹs*, Latvian *ezis*, OSl *ježь*, Arm *ozni*, Phryg ἔζις *hedgehog*; although approved by Holthausen 1934b:53, of little credence.

P 1959:292,43-45.

I12. *igqar du possessive prn *of you two*, only dat sg f *igqarai* M 9.29.

OI *ykkar*, OE *incer*, OS *inca of you two*; MHG dial Bavarian *enker* pl *your*.

Made with PIE *-e/oro-* (which is also found in comparatives) from du *ink^{w}-* (Streitberg 1896:265, Kieckers 1928:137) in Go *igqara* gen, only 1C 12.21, *ig(g)qis* dat acc Mk 1.17: OI *ykkar, yk(k)r*, OSw *ikk(er)* dat, OE *inc* dat, *incit* acc, OS, OF *ink* dat *you two*; NFris *junk*, MHG and NHG dial Bavarian *enk* pl *you*. -- Formation obscure; possibly from *i-* of **izwis**, extended by analogy with **ugkis**, Lotspeich 1931 JEGP 30:150, Petersen 1934 JEGP 33:66-67, G Schmidt 1978:225-26.

I13. iiz name of the *i*-rune in Sal; *ii* = ī, value of *z* disputed, Bugge and Olsen 1914-24: 47. Also name of rune, OI *íss*, OE *īs*, OHG *īs*; noun for *ice*, OI *íss* stm, OE, MLG, OHG *īs* stn.

PIE *ey-s- ice, cold*: Av *isu- cold, icy, aēza frost, ice*; Pamir *īš cold*; Oss *yex, ix ice*; Specht 1944:18 accounts for *-z-* ← *ich-*, a suffix beside *-s-*, in contrast with Bartholomae 1896 ZDMG 50:697; also *-n-* in Lith *ýnis*, Russ *inej- frost*, OSl *inej snow flurry* Specht 1944:339.

I is one of the baleful runes, Arntz 1944: 205-06; see also WP Lehmann 1959 MLN 74: 577-78 on *īsig* in Beowulf 33 with its connotations of death; also Krause 1966 I:4-5,146-47, though with departure from his earlier interpretation of the Nordhuglo runic inscription.

P 1959:301.

I14. ik 1st person prn ἐγώ *I* M 5.22; *ikei I, who* (cf **-ei**) 1C 15.9.

PGmc *eka* ← *ekō*: Run *eka* (Stentoften), *hait-ika* (Seeland), *hat-eka* and *ek* (Lindholm), Krause 1966 I:210,262,69; CrimGo *ich* (see *mycha* under **meki** for *ch*), OI *ek*, OE *ic*, OFris *ik*, OS *ic*, OHG *ih, ihha* Ɨ.

PIE *eĝ-ō*: Gk ἐγώ, Lat *ego*, OLith *eš*, Lith *aš*, Latvian *es*, OPruss *es*, *as*; OSl *(j)azъ*; Arm *es*, Ven *εχο I*; G Schmidt 1978:21-48 treats the 1st person prn in great detail, including irregularities, as in Hitt *uk*, *uga*, with *-u-* from acc, ibid:28-31. Also PIE *eĝh-(om)* with *ĝh-* based on laryngeal; see **dauhtar**, **mikils**: Skt *ahám*, Av *azem*, OPers *adam*; Run *-ga* in *haitega* (Kragehul), Krause 1966 I:65. TochA *ñuk* ← PIE *eĝom* with *ñ-* from gen and *u* from 2sg prn, G Schmidt 1978:28-31. Earliest form probably PIE *eĝ*, to which ptc were added, Petersen 1930 Lg 6:167-68. Brugmann 1904b:71 proposes a noun PIE *eĝ(h)om my humble self*, parallelling in this way Japanese *boku I* from *servant*. Porzig 1954:128 points to diverse forms, suggesting that each branch has its own; compare, however, the subsequent situation in the current Gmc languages, where the 1st person prn tends to be modified. Older references in F 1939:291-92, later in G Schmidt 1978:21-48.

P 1959:291.

I15. im *I am* M 6.1; *is thou art* M 5.25; *ist he, she, it is* M 5.21; among the most frequent items; *ist* is 8th, *im* 14th in frequency of Go lexical items.

OI *em*, *est*, *es*; OSw *æm*, *æst*, *is*; OE *eom*, *eart*, *is*; OS *bium*, *bis(t)*, *is(t)*; OHG *bim*, *bis(t)*, *ist* **am**†, **aret**, *ist*†. OS and OHG have forms modified by reflexes of PIE *bhew-*, as in **bauan**; on forms in general see Helten 1909 BGDSL 35:291ff and handbooks, such as Prokosch 1939:219-22. NE *am* is among the more remarkable archaisms in the language.

PIE *es-* ← *ᵊes-* *be*, with reconstructed forms in Szemerényi 1980:288-90, *ésmi*, *és(s)i*, *ésti*: Skt *ásmi*, *ási*, *ásti*; Av *ahmi*, *asti*; OPers *amiy*; Gk εἰμί, εἶς (Hom ἐσσί), ἐστί, εἶ; Lat *sum*, *es(s)*, *est*; OIr *am*, *a-t*, *is*; Lith *esmì*, *esì*, *ẽst(i)*, OPruss *asmai*, *ast*, *est*; OSl *jesmь*, *jesi*, *jestъ*; Arm *em*, *es*, *ē*; Alb *jam*, *je*, *është*; Hitt *esmi*, *essi*, *eszi*. -- PIE pl with zero grade of root: *smés(i)*, *sté(s)*, *sénti*: Skt *smás*, *sthá*, *sánti*; also PIE opt *syēm*, *syēs*, *syēt* : Skt *syām*, *syās*, *syāt*. These remodeled in Gmc as in most dialects; Go adopted a base *sij-* for opt *sijau*, *sijais*, *sijai* and extended this to the prs pl *sijum*, *sijuþ*, *sind*; cf Prokosch 1939:220-21, B/E 1981:129-30. Prt forms and prpl based on **1. wisan**.

Adaptation of various roots for a verb 'be' in IE indicates the absence of such a verb in PIE, as might be expected of an OV language. See Buck 1949:635-36 for a survey. Further, TochA *nas-am*, *našt*, *naš*, B *nes-* *I am* is based on PIE *nes-* *join* as in **ga-nisan**, P 1959:766-67.

P 1959:340-42; Thurneysen 1923 ZVS 51: 57-61 derives PIE *es-* from PIE *ĕs-* *sit* P 1959: 342-43, Watkins 1985:17.

I16. in prep with dat ἐν *in* M 5.15, with acc εἰς *in, to* M 5.25, with gen διά *because* Mk 6.6; second most frequent word in Go texts.

OI *ī*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *in* *in*†.

PIE *en* *in*, with various extensions, *(e)ni* *in, enter within, between*, *entós* *from within*: Gk ἐν, ἔνι, ἐνί; OLat *en*, Lat *in*; OIr *ini-*, *en*, *in-*; Lith *į*, *iñ*, OPruss *en*; OSl *on-*; Arm *i*; TochA *-an*, B *-ne*. Skt *ni-* as in *ní-tyas* *one's own* = **niþjis**. Skt *antár* *between*, *ántaras* *inside*, cf ***undaurni-mats**. See also **inn**.

P 1959:311-14, Watkins 1985:17.

I17. *in-feinan wkvIV σπλαγχνίζεσθαι *have pity* M 1.41.

No Gmc cognates.

No accepted etymology. Grienberger 1900: 127-28 interpreted it as a *-nan* derivative based on **fijan** *hate*, with shift of meaning from 'become inimical to oneself' to 'conquer one's feelings'; he compares Lat *miseror* *have pity* beside *miser* *miserable*. The etymology gains some credence from the association of **in-feinan* with shamanistic ritual, Scardigli 1973: 68. It was rejected by F 1939:293, who favored relationship with Lat *pius* *pious*, following K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:228 and others; yet like Grienberger, W/H 1938-56 II:311-12 reject this etymology, relating *pius* to Lat *pūrus*.

I18. *inilo fn πρόφασις *excuse*, ἀφορμή

opportunity 2C 11.12.

No Gmc cognates.

No etymology. After tentatively referring to **fairina**, and rejecting it, F 1939:293 favors Grienberger 1900:128-29, who proposed derivation as a legal term meaning 'protest' from *in*, like OHG *innōn take up* beside OHG *innan within*. Scardigli 1973:67 puts it in the shamanistic sphere. F 1939:293 also rejects derivation of Krogmann 1935-36 EngS 70:43-44 from PIE *ay- penetrate*, as in Skt *inóti press upon*.

I19. inn adv *into*, for Gk verbs with εἰς- M 9.25. *inna* adv ἔσω *within* 1C 5.12; *innana* adv ἔσωθεν *(from) within* Mk 15.16; *innaþro* adv ἔσωθεν *from within, inwardly* M 7.15; *innuma* adj ὁ ἔσω *inner* 2C 4.16.

OI, OE *inn*, OFris *in*, OS, OHG *īn into*. OI *inni*, OE *inne*, OFris, OS, OHG *inna inside*. OI, OE *inna(n)*, OS *innan*, OHG *in(n)ana within*.

PIE *en* + a disputed increment, and further suffixes. According to Torp and Falk, eds 1909:25 *en* was extended by a ptc beginning *n-*; according to Collitz 1922 MLN 37:215ff by **nd* as in Gk ἔνδον *within*; cf OLat *endo in*, with different source of *-do*, W/H 1938-56 I:694; Hitt *anda(n) in* Tischler 1983- I:33-34, Puhvel 1984-:76-77. F 1939:293 suggests emphatic doubling, as for *inna*, for which he rejects origin in *-no* suffix, deriving *-a* from PIE loc *-oy*; Kieckers 1928:170-71 accepts derivation from PIE *eni-no-* by Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:304, with *-a* ← PIE *ē* or *ō*. Cf formation of **fairra**. *inna* was extended with *-na* and *-þro* in accordance with adv paradigm; Kieckers 1928:169-71, B/E 1981:133. Like ***aftuma** beside *afta*, *aftana*, and ***iftuma**, it added the Gmc *-uma*-suffix, with comp value, Trutmann 1972:44-45, B/E 1981:95; cf OE *innemest inmost*†; OI *inri*, OE *innera*, OFris *innere*, OHG *innaro inner*†.

P 1959:311-14.

I20. *in-rauhtjan wkvI ἐμβριμᾶσθαι *be indignant* J 11.33.

Possibly OE *rēoc fierce*, only Beowulf 122.

Etymology unclear; possibly from PIE *rēw- bellow*, as in Skt *râuti bellow*, with *-ĝ-*, as in Gk ἐρυγόντα *bellowing*; Lat *rūgiō roar*; MIr *rucht roaring* P 1959:867-68. The scarce Gmc data and the semantic problems make this suggestion dubious. Even more dubious is Grienberger 1900:129-30 with proposed relation to OI *rj̄ūka*, OE *rēocan*, OHG *riuhhan* wkv *smoke, steam*, derived from PIE *rew-g- belch* P 1959:871-72. Support from the assumed relationship between Lat *fūmus smoke* and Gk θῡμός *courage* weakened by rejection of this etymology by Chantraine 1968-80:446. Scarcely credible, relation to OHG *rūh raw*; Skt *rūkṣas rough, dry*; cf P 1959:870.

I21. in-sahts fi διήγησις *account, report* L 1.1.

OE *in-siht* stf *narrative*.

Derived from **in-sakan* ὑποτίθεσθαι *present to* 1T 4.6 with PIE *-ti-*; cf **sakan**. Not to OI *saga*, OE *sagu*, OHG *saga* st/wkf *account, story*, as by Wood 1909 MLN 24:49.

I22. *in-sailjan wkvI χαλᾶν *let down*, actually 'rope on', only 3pl prt *-lidedun* Mk 2.4.

OI *seilast* refl v *stretch out one's hand, try to get hold of* Vries 1962:468; OE *sǣlan*, OFris *sēla*, MLG *sēlen*, MHG *seilen* wkv *make ropes, bind with a rope; bridle a horse*. Denom of PGmc *saila-* : OI *seil* f, OE *sāl* m/f, OS *sēl*, OHG *seil* stn; with zero grade, OI *sili*, *seli*, OFris *sil-rāp*, OHG *silo* m *harness*.

PIE *sēy- tie*: Skt *syati*, *sināti*, *sinóti tie*; Av *hitəm team* (= Skt *sitám bound, harnessed*); Lith *siẽti*, Latvian *siet tie*; possibly Hitt *ishiia-*, Luw *hishia- tie* Tischler 1983- I:384-88. Nominal derivation with *-l-*, *-m-*, *-n-*, *-t-*. Lith *seĩlas band*, Alb *gjalm string* Fraenkel 1962-65:770-71. OI *sīmi*, OE *sīme*, OFris *sīm*, OS *sīmo* m *cord*; Skt *sīmā́ parting of hair* (doubted by Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:475 on semantic grounds, though dressing of hair may involve binding); Gk ἱμάς *leather strap*, ἱμονιά *well-rope*, ἱμάω *draw up* Chantraine 1968-80:

463-64; TochB *ṣem* **axle of wagon** Windekens 1976- I:457,467. Possibly Skt *sénā*, Av *haēnā-*, OPers *hainā-* **army**; cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 502. With PIE *-t-*: OE *sāþ* n, *sāda*, OHG *seito* m, *seita* f, *seid* n **cord, noose**; Skt *sétuṣ* **bond, fetter, causeway**; Av *haētu-* **causeway**; Lat *saeta* **bristle**; Lith *siẽtas* **cord**, Latvian *saĩte* **band**; OSl *sětь* **net** Fraenkel 1962-65:783.

P 1959:891-92; Vries 1962:466-67 relates many words under *sef* **reed, something used for plaiting**; highly speculative.

I23. intrusgjan irreg st and wkv, st papl *-gans* R 11.24, wk *-giþs* R 11.17, ἐγκεντρίζειν **graft**.

Presumably a borrowing, (like OHG *impfōn* wkv **graft** ← VLat *imputāre* **impute, graft** and NE *graft* n ← ME *graff* ← OFr *grafe* ← Lat *graphium* ← Gk γραφιόν **stylus**) based on Lat **introsecāre* **cut in** Kluge 1901b: 339, Frantzen 1921 Neophil 6:42-43. See also ***ufar-trusnjan**.

I24. inu prep R 7.8, also with *-h* (cf **-uh**) *inuh* M 5.32 ἄνευ, χωρίς **without**.

Ablaut variant in OI *ōn*, *ān*, OFris *āne*, *ōni*, OS *āno*, OHG *āno*, *ānu āna* **without**.

PIE *ĕnew-*, *ĕnu* **without**: possibly Oss *änä* **without** Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:837; Gk ἄνευ **without** (though possibly also to Skt *sanu-tár* **aside** Chantraine 1968-80:86; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:427; **sundro**; here too Lat *sine* **without** W/H 1938-56 II:542-43). Not related to Skt *ánu* **after, along** (= Go **ana**) in spite of J Wackernagel 1932 *F* Danielsson:383-84, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:34, W/H 1938-56 I:677-78.

P 1959:318.

I25. *in-widan ἀρνεῖσθαι **deny**, attested only in the prs, Mk 7.9.

No Gmc cognates; scarcely to ***ga-widan** **join**, as by Grienberger 1900:131; cf semantic difference. A Sturtevant 1934 JEGP 33:89-90 does not solve the difficulty by proposing development from 'tie up' to 'deny'.

Comparing Av *vādāya* **repel** Fowkes 1949: 33-34 derives base from PIE *wedh-* **push, strike**: cf Skt *vadh-* **kill** Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:135-36; Gk ὠθέω **push**; Lith *vadegà* **a kind of axe**; TochA *wac*, B *weta* **battle**. Difficult to uphold, in view of isolation in Go and contrast with basic meaning of PIE *wedh-*, P 1959:1115. Derivation from *wedh-* **lead** much more likely, if as P 1959:1115-16 assumes *wed-* is an alternate form before nasals; cf Lith cmpds *iš-*, *už-vèsti* **mislead, deceive**, though Fraenkel 1962-65:1232-33 assumes PIE *wed-*.

I26. *inwinds adja ἄδικος **unjust** L 16.11, διεστραμμένος **perverse** L 9.41; ***in-windiþa** *fō* ἀδικία **unrighteousness** J 7.18.

OI *i-viš-gjarn* **evil**, OE *in-widd* **treacherous**; OI *iviš* **evil**, OE, OS *in-wid* **malice**, OHG *in-wit* stn **treachery** HL 41; simplex in OI *vindr* **wound, crooked**; MHG *windeht* **wound**.

Etymology disputed, either to ***bi-windan** **wind** or ***ga-widan** **bind together**, ***kuna-wida** **fetter**. *in-* could be intensifier, as in OI *i-grœnn*, MHG *in-grüene* **very green**, OE *in-frōd* **very old, experienced** Vries 1962:282, Grienberger 1900:131, or negative, Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:295 'badly wound'. According to Kuryłowicz 1968:303, denom, though disputed by Darms 1978:400.

P 1959:1122.

I27. is anaphoric prn αὐτός **he** L 4.43, acc *ina*, nom pl *eis* ← PIE *eyes*; rel *izei* ὅστις M 7.15, cf **ei**; f **si**; n *ita* **it** M 5.29; see B/E 1981:100 for other forms.

OI *es*, later *er*, Run (younger) *ias*, *iaz*, *is* rel ptc; OFris *-er(e)* encl; OS n *it*, *et it*†; OHG *er*, *ez* beside *ir*, *iz* (Isidor) **he, it**.

PIE *e-*, *ey-*, *i*-prn stems, combined in paradigm for anaphoric prn: *ey-*: Skt *ay-ám*, Av *ayəm* **this one**, Skt *iy-am* **he**, acc *im-ám*, *id-ám* **it** (on *-am* cf Tagliavini 1929 *F* Ascoli:46), *it*, Av *it* emphatic ptc; Skt *i-há*, Av *i-δa* **here**; Gk ἵν acc **this**; Lat *is* m, *ea* ← ***eyā** f, *id* n **this**; Lith *jìs* **he**; OPruss *d-in* **him**; OSl *-jь* ← ***ojь** (encl in def adj, Leskien 1904-05 IF 17:491). *e-*, gen sg *is*: OHG *es*, cf Skt *āsyá*; Go dat sg *imma*: Skt *asmaí*, Umbr *esmei* **to this**; OLat *em(-em)* acc ***ed** in *ec-ce* **behold** W/H 1938-56

I:390; Umbr *es-to* **he**; OIr *ē* **he**, *ed* **it** also in Gk ἐκεῖ **there**; Lat *e-quidem* **indeed**; OSl *(j)e-se* **behold** Brugmann 1904b:32-38.

I28. ita CrimGo **one**.

According to Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:362 = *ainata* n of **ains**; just so CrimGo **ies** = **jains**, according to Tomaschek 1881:65, Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:131, though **ies** is better taken as **is**. Scardigli 1973:260 prefers an alternate suggestion of Massmann, that **ita** is n of **is**; Stearns 1978:140-41 sees "insurmountable semantic difficulties" in this suggestion, but supports a proposal of Hamp reconstructing an East European phrase 'that' + 'one' as in OSl *jedinz* **one** Berneker 1908-14:262, in pre-CrimGo **ita-aina-*, with *-aina-* then lost. Problematic.

I29. itan stvV ἐσθίειν **eat**, inf L 15.16, 3pl prt *etun* L 17.28; **fra-itan* κατεσθίειν **devour**, 3sg prs *-itiþ* 2C 11.20, 3sg prt *fret* L 15.30, 3pl prt *fretun* L 8.5; caus **fra-atjan* ψωμίζειν **give away (to be consumed)**, only 3sg prs opt *-atjau* 1C 13.3; lengthened grade ***uzeta** mn **crib**, **af-etja** mn **glutton**.

OI *eta*, OE *etan*, OFris *e/ita*, OS *etan*, OHG *ezzan* stv **eat**; caus OI *etja*, OE *ettan*, OFris *etta*, OHG *azzen*, *ezzen* wkv **feed**, **pasture**; OHG *frezzan* stv **devour**; lengthened grade OI *ætr*, OHG *āzig* **enjoyable**, from PGmc stem *ēta-*: OI *āt*, OE *æt*, OFris *ēt*, OS *āt*, OHG *āz* stn **food** (: Lith *ėda* f **food**, OSl *ob-ědz* **meal**).

PIE *ed-* ← **ed-* **eat**: orig athematic, Skt *ád-mi* 1sg, *at-ti* 3 sg; Gk ἔδ-μεναι inf; Lat *ēs* 2sg, *ēst* 3sg, *ēstis* 2pl; Wel *esu* ← **ed-tu* inf; Hitt *ed-mi*, 3pl *ad-anzi*, ptc *adant-*, inf *adanna*; later thematic, Av *aδāiti* 3sg subj; Gk ἔδω, ἔδομαι; Lat *edō* **eat**; OIr *-essur* 1sg subj, Thurneysen 1918 ZVS 48:57ff.

PIE *ēd-*: Skt *ādyás* **palatable**; Gk ἐδ-ηδώς perf ppl **having eaten**; Lat inf *ēsse*, Vollmer 1921 Glotta 11:221ff, Bonfante 1934 Glotta 22: 289ff; *ēdimus* 1pl perf (: Skt *ādimá*, Go **etum*); Lith *ėsti*, Latvian *êst*, OPruss *īst*; OSl *jamь* ← **ěmь* **eat**. *ō*-grade: Gk ἐδ-ωδ-ή **food**, ἐδ-ωδ-ός **greedy**; Lith *úodas*, Latvian *uôds* **mosquito** from 'eater', W Schulze 1966:627-28, Fraenkel 1962-65:124-25.

P 1959:287-89, Watkins 1985:16, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:698.

I30. iþ conj δέ, καί **but, if** M 5.19, sixth most frequent word in Go texts.

PGmc *iþ-*, *iδ-*, as in ***idreiga** and **idweit**: OI *iδ-*, as in *iδ-gnōgr* **over-abundant**; OE, OS *ed-*, OHG *it(a)-*, *ith-*, prefix indicating repetition, addition.

PIE *eti* **in addition, and**: Skt *áti*, Av *aiti*, OPers *atiy* **beyond, very**; Gk ἔτι **still**; Lat *et* **and**; Gaul *eti* **also, t-ic and also**; OPruss *et-*, *at-*; Phryg ετι- **again** Fick 1905 BKIS 29:236. Not OSl *ot-* **away**, which is from PIE *ati*, *ato-*, as in **aþþan**.

P 1959:344.

I31. Iudaiwisko adv ἰουδαικῶς *in a* **Jewish manner**, only G 2.14; *iudaiwiskon* wkvII ἰουδαΐζειν **live like a Jew**, only G 2.14, made with Go *-(w)isks* as in **Judaiwisks* **Jewish** Tit 1.14 and ***haiþiwisks** **wild**. Derived from *Iudaius* 'Ἰουδαῖος **Jew** J 18.35 on the pattern of Gk ἰουδαικῶς. On variation between *i* and *j*, B/E 1981:44:45.

I32. *iumjo fn ὄχλος **crowd**, only nom pl *-jons* M 8.1.

Unclear etymology. K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:230-31 hesitantly posits PIE *e(u)p(e)no-* → PGmc *iufnjōn* → *iumjōn-*, comparing OSw *ympnin* **abundant**, OHG *uppig* **plentiful** ← PIE *upnó-* + *-iko-*; cf **ufar** and OI *yfrinn* **much**. Other proposals highly unlikely. Bezzenberger 1896 BKIS 21:316 to OI *ymja* **cry**, *aumr* **miserable**, both of dubious etymology and unrelated, Vries 1962:678,19, and not cognate with Lith *ùmaras* **storm**, *ūmùs* **sudden** Fraenkel 1962-65:6-7; Grienberger 1900:134 to OHG *wiumo* **gush forth**, NHG *wimmeln* **wriggle**; Mossé to *hiuhma* with loss of initial *h-*, scribal error omitting *-h-* and different suffix as well as gender.

I33. iup adv ἄνω, ἀνα- **upward** J 11.41; *iupa* adv ἄνω **above** G 4.26; *iupana* adv **from before, from above**, only G 4.9; *iupaþro* adv

ἄνωθεν *from above* J 19.11; cf B/E 1981:133 for forms, as also for **inn, ut**.

No direct cognates in Gmc, but see below.

Probably from a variant of PIE *upo, up, eup, (e)up-s- from below, above*: *eub-* also in OIr *uabar vanity* Marstrander 1924:31, *ōs, ūas* ← PIE *owp-so, ewp-so-*, Wel *uch*, Corn *ugh above*. *-b* in Lat *sub below* ← *-p* as in *ab* : Gk ἀπό *from* W/H 1938-56 II:612. Also Skt *úpa to*, Gk ὑπό, Go **uf** *below*. Lengthened vowel in OHG *ūf(e), ūfan on, onto*; doubled cons in OI *upp up, upward*; cf **uf**. PIE *upo* related to *upér above*; cf **ufar**. Hamp 1954 MLN 69:39-41 rejects derivation from PIE *upo*, though offers no solution; yet semantic and syntactic evidence points to that source, with a post-IE phonological modification.

P 1959:1106-07.

I34. iusila ƒō ἄνεσις *ease*, only 2C 8.13.

Isolated; possibly from PIE *ew(e)s-*, as in **iusiza**, with PIE *-elo-*, Kluge 1926:82.

I35. iusiza suppletive comp to **goþs** *better*, only *ni und waiht iusiza ist skalka* οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου *is no better than a slave* G 4.1.

Made with comp *-iza* as in ***batiza** from PIE *ew(e)s-*, possibly also PGmc *Wisi-* in PeN's, OHG *Wisu-rīh, Wisi-mār*, Kögel 1887 LGRP 8:108, Schönfeld 1911:267-68 (but not in *Wesi-*, **Wisi-gothae** *'west' Goths*; not the *'noble' Goths*, according to Streitberg 1894 IF 4:300-01, but see approval by Krause 1968:10; earlier, a tribal name, *Visi, Vesi*, see also Hachmann 1970:117-25).

PIE *wĕsu- good*: Skt *vásuṣ*, Av *vaŋhuš good*; lengthened grade in Gaul *vēsu-*, PeN *Bello-vēsus, Sigo-vēsus*; Ir *fíu*, Wel *gwiw worthy*; MIr *febas excellence*; possibly also Gk ἐύς *good*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:388 on the problems. Pal *ɣasu- good*, Luw *ɣasuwell* Tischler 1983- I:89-90; TochA *wṣe*, B *yaṣi night* from 'the good period'; cf Skt *vasvī night* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:173-74.

P 1959:1174-75.

I36. izwis dat pl of **jus** ὑμῖν *to you* M 5.18, fifth most frequent word in Go texts; *izwara* gen pl ὑμῶν *your* M 5.16. *izwar* poss adj ὑμέτερος *your* M 5.16.

OI *yŏr, yð(v)ar*, OSw *iþer, iþar*; (*ð þ* dissimilated from *z*), OE *ēow, ēower*, OFris *jū* (dat), OS *eu, iu, euwar, iuwar*, OHG *iu, iuuih, iuwēr* (*zw* assimilated to *-ww-* in WGmc, Hirt 1931-34 II:73) *to you†, your†*. OI *yð(v)arr*, OSw *iþar*; OE *ēower*, OFris *iūwe*, OS *euwa, iuwa*, OHG *iuwēr your* (cf ***igqar** on ending).

Based on PIE *wĕs-, wŏs-*, extensions of *yu- you* in oblique cases; Skt *vás*, Av *vō*; Lesb ὔμμε ← **us-sm-*; Lat *vōs*; OPruss *wans*; OSl *vy you*. With *s-* in PGmc *s-wes-*, also OIr *sī, sissi*, Wel *chwi you* + preposed PIE *e-* as in Skt *a-dyá today*; Gk ἐκεῖ *there*; Lat *e-quidem indeed* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:385, H Jensen 1930 IF 48:118, Kieckers 1928:137: *izwis* formed on pattern of *unsis*. Unlikely, a relationship with Gk σφώ *you*, which itself has no explanation, Chantraine 1968-80:1079.

P 1959:513-14.

J

J1. ja ptc ναί *yes* M 5.37; *jai* ναί *yes, indeed* M 9.28; *jau* interrog ptc implying neg answer μή J 7.48, cmpd of *ja* + **-u**.

OI *jā*, OE *gēa*, OFris *jē*, OS, OHG *jā yes*, *jē(h)* interj = *jai, yea*†.

PIE *e-, ey-, i*-prn stem: Lat *iam already* (acc sg f PIE *iyām*); cf **Ju** (loc sg); not Wel *ie yes* ← MWel *i-ef this is it*; *jai* is loc sg of f Brugmann 1908 BGWL 60:52,54-55, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:328. Not Gk ἦ *truly*.

P 1959:281-86, esp 285.

J2. jabai conj εἰ *if* M 5.23; see also **ibai**.

OE *gief*, OFris *jef*, *jof if*†.

Possibly from PIE *ei-, i-* prn stem + ptc *bhĕ/ŏ*. Cf Lith *jéi if* from PIE, loc; Latvian *ja* from PIE *yŏd* acc n, cf Skt *yád if*. Assuming the PIE rel *yo-* was based on *i*, Brugmann 1904a:669 questions it as source of *jabai*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:347-48, preferring relation with **ja**. See also Delbrück 1893-1900 III:319-33.

P 1959:113,283.

J3. jah (occasionally *ja*) conj καί, δέ *and, also* L 5.1, by far the most frequent Go word; *jah ... jah both ... and* M 10.28; *jaþþe ... jaþþe* conj εἴτε ... εἴτε *whether ... or*, from *jah* + **þe**.

Run *ja(h)* (Kragehul), OS, OHG *ja and*; OE *ge*, OS *gia, gi(e), ja-k* (*-k* = Gk *-γε*), OHG *joh and* Carr 1933 JEGP 32:488f.

Cmpd of *ja* + *-h* (*-uh*); cf formation of Lat *quoque also*.

J4. jainar adv ἐκεῖ *there* M 5.23, based on stem *jaina-* from **jains** with *-r* as in **hvar**. Other adv affixes in *jaind* adv ἐκεῖ only J 11.8 and *jaindre* adv ἐκεῖ only L 17.37 *thither*; *jainþro* adv ἐκεῖθεν *thence* M 5.26; see B/E 1981:133.

OE *geond thither, opposite*, MLG *junt opposite*.

Also *jaind-wairþs* adja *there(-ward)*, only J 18.3, Streitberg 1910 IF 27:151-58; + *-wairþs* as in ***ana-wairþs**. Cf with a different initial element OI *ǫnd-verðr*, OE *ond-weard face-to-face*, OS *and-ward*, OHG *ant-wert present*.

J5. jains prn; only st declension (*ai* probably *ĕ*, as by Loewe 1927 BGDSL 51:253-70, esp 259ff; according to Streitberg 1920:120 and Hirt 1931-34 II:79 a diphthong; B/E 1981: 29 ambivalent about PGmc value) ἐκεῖνος *that one* M 27.8.

OI *inn, enn the* (def art; but see Vries 1962:286,228); OE *geon* (only Cura pastoralis: 443,25); OFris *jen*, MLG *jene*, MDu *gene*, OHG *jenēr*, OHG (Upper) *enēr that one*; MHG *geinir* (only Rother 2989). Not MHG *ein*, Swiss *einer that one*, according to Loewe 1927 op cit (in spite of Hoffmann-Krayer 1897 ZVS 34:144ff), which according to Braune 1887 BGDSL 12: 393ff and Tobler 1891 BGDSL 15:380ff means 'a certain'. -- Possibly three Gmc stems: *jaina-, jena-, ena-* (with umlaut *e*, Sievers 1894 BGDSL 18:407-08), with unclear interrelationships.

PIE *(e)no- that one*: Skt *anéna, anáyā* instr sg *through this*; Av *ana* instr; Gk ἔνη *third (yonder) day*; Lith *añs*; OSl *onъ that one*; Lat *enim*, Umbr *enom* conj *then*. Possibly Arm *so-in the same, -n* art; Hitt *eni the latter* Tischler 1983- I:106-07, with references. If *jains* is diphthongal, it may be based on PIE *yo-*, Go *jai-* ← PIE *yoy-* loc. According to Brugmann 1904b:91ff,133, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2: 335-39 and Kieckers 1928:145 *jains* is related to **ains** and Arm *ain that one*, with preposed *j-* as in Lith *jìs, jõ he*, see **is**; OHG *enēr that one* = Gk ἔνη *day after tomorrow*. Semantic basis dubious, in spite of Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:7. After reviewing previous suggestions, Cercignani 1984 JIES 12:322-27 ascribes the stem vowels to alternation of PGmc *ja-, jai-*.

P 1959:319-21.

J6. jer na ἔτος *year* L 4.19, = a single year; several years are designated with

wintrus, as also Skt *śarád-*, Av *sard-* **autumn, year**, *in hapta sarəδ* **seven years** Meillet 1927 MSLP 23,ii:146-47.

OI *ār*, OE *gēar*, OFris *jēr*, OS *gēr* (Mon), *jār* (Cott), OHG *jār* stn **year**†.

PIE *yē/ōro* **year, spring**, extension of *eygo*, but cf Chantraine 1968-80:1304; Av *yārə*; Gk ὥρος **year**, ὥρα **time, season**, esp **spring** Chantraine 1968-80:1303-04; OSl *jarъ*, *jara* **spring**, Russ *jarь* **summer grain** (cf Gk ὀπώρα **end of summer**). See also Lat *hōrnus* **of the year** ← **hō-yōr-inus*, based on instr **hō yōrō* = OHG *hiuru* = **hiu jāru*, NHG **heurer of this year** (Bavarian) W/H 1938-56 I:658-59; Skt *pari-yāríṇī* **cow producing a calf after one year** J Wackernagel 1914 ZVS 46:270. Further, Lith *jẽras*, Latvian *jẽrs* **lamb** from 'yearling', Fraenkel 1962-65:121. With a different laryngeal suffix to PIE *ey-*: Skt *yấ-nas* **course**; Lat *jānua* **door**; MIr *iā-th* ← **yā-tu* **ford**, cf **iddja**. On derivations from 'go' to mean 'year' see also Lat *annus* ← PIE *at-nos*, ***aþn** **year** beside Skt *átati* **goes**. On the two terms see Porzig 1954:115 and Scardigli 1973:23-24.

P 1959:293-97, esp 296-97.

J7. *jiuka fō only nom pl *jiukos*, θυμοί **anger** 2C 12.20, ἐριθεῖαι **quarrels** G 5.20; **waurda-jiuka* λογομαχία **dispute about words**, only acc pl *-kos* 1T 6.4; **jiukan* πυκτεύειν **be a boxer** 1C 9.26, ὑπερνικᾶν **conquer**; **ga-jiukan* νικᾶν, καταβραβεύειν **overcome, gain the prize** R 12.21.

OE *gēocor* **full of hardship, gēocre sternly**; MHG *jouchen* **chase, drive** Wood 1904-05 MP 2:471.

PIE *yewĝ-* **arouse, be stirred up**: Av *yaozaiti* **is aroused**; OPers *yaud-* **move restlessly**; TochAB *yuk-* **conquer**. Cf PIE *yewdh-* **move vigorously, battle**: Skt *yodhati* **battles**; Gk ὑσ-μίνη **combat** ← **yudh-smomin-* (Chantraine 1968-80:1162)= Skt *yudhmá-* **warrior**; Lith *judẽti* **move**. Both suffixed stems are based on a root PIE *yew-*, from which also *yewĝ-* **yoke** may be derived, as in ***Juk**, Grienberger 1900:136; cf Skt *abhi-yuj-* **attack**, *abhiyujvan-* **opponent**; see also Persson 1912:326, 950.

P 1959:512.

J8. jiuleis m, only in *fruma jiuleis* = *naubaimbair* in Cal **Yule month**; *fruma jiuleis* = **November, the month before the Yule month** just as *fruma sabbato* Mk 15.42 = **Friday, the day before the Sabbath**.

OI *ȳlir* m **mid-November to mid-December**, OE *gēola*, *giuli*, *gȳlem* (in Bede) **Yule† month**, OE *se ærra gēola* = **December**, *se æfterra gēola* **January**; *ja*-extension of form in Go **jaihl* = OI *jōl* n pl **heathen festival lasting twelve days**, cf NE **the twelve days of Christmas**, OI *jōl-manaðr* m **Yule month**, OSw *jūl* n pl **Feast of Yule**, OE *ge(o)h(h)ol*, *gēol* n **Christmas**. Cf Finn *juhla* **festival**; in spite of Karsten 1908 IF 22:298, 1915:55-56 not from Go but possibly from PNGmc *jiuh(u)la*, Kylstra 1961:73-74. Finn *joulu*, Est *jõulu* ← PNGmc *joulō*, Jacobsohn 1924 *F2* Streitberg: 172.

No etymology, but numerous conjectures. If from PIE, its etymon is *yek^{w}-lo-*. Scarcely from PIE *k^{w}ek^{w}lo-* **turn of year** by dissimilation of *k^{w}-*, Fay 1918 JEGP 17:424-25, or with influence from **Jer** **year** Feist 1923 ZVS 51:143-44, and thus from PIE *k^{w}el-* **turn**: Skt *cárati*, Gk πέλομαι **move**; also Skt *cakrás* **wheel**, Gk κύκλος **circle**; OE *hwēol* stn; OI *hvel*, *hvēl* stn **wheel**. Proponents of this etymology find support in Gk περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Odyssey 1. 16 'as the seasons/years revolved', but the phonological explanation is scarcely credible. Comparison with Gk ἐψία **game, amusement**, as if from PIE *yek^{w}-tyā*, W/H 1938-56 I:716, groundless since the etymology of ἐψία is unknown, Chantraine 1968-80:394. Nor to Lat *iocus* **game**, as by Bugge 1888 ANF 4:135; like Osc *iúklei* **offering**, this is from PIE *yek-* as in OHG *jëhan* **speak** W/H 1938-56 I:716; yet proposed again by Rooth 1926:43 and Krogmann 1933 ZVS 60:114. Other suggestions, as in F 1939:301-03 and Vries 1962:292 even less credible; not in P 1959.

J9. jota mn = Gk ἰῶτα *jot, the smallest letter*, only M 5.18.

J10. ju adv ἤδη, δή *already, now* M 5. 28; *ju ni* οὐκέτι *no more*; *juþan* adv ἤδη *already* J 6.17, cf **þan**.

OE *gū, gīo, gēo*, OS, OHG *ju, giu* *already*.

PIE *i-* with loc *-ow-*, cf **is**: Lith *jaũ*, Latvian *jàu*; OSl *ju(-že), u(-že)* *already*. Less likely, from PIE *yew- young*, as in ***juggs**, Kretschmer 1892 ZVS 31:466.

P 1959:285.

J11. *juggs adja νέος L 5.39, νεώτερος 1T 5.1 *young*, comp *juhiza* νεώτερος *(the) younger*, only L 15.12,13; *jugga-lauþs* mi νεανίσκος *youth* Mk 14.51, *-laudi-* as in **helauþs*.

PGmc *jungáz*, OI *ungr*, OE *geong*, OFris, OS, OHG *jung* *young*†, with accented final as in PGmc *alδaz old*, Gk ἡδύς *sweet*; PGmc comp *júnhizan* → *jũhizan*, OI *œri*, with accented root as in PGmc *álþizan- older*, cf **alþeis**, Gk n ἥδιον *sweeter*. On accent variation see Kluge 1913:241-42, Güntert 1910 IF 27:39; Osthoff 1910b:74,77; Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:311 fn1; Loewe 1929:44-45. OI superl *œrstr*, Noreen 1923:300; later, OI *yngri*, OE *geongra*, OFris *jungera*, OS *jungaro*, OHG *jungiro* *younger*† remodeled on basis of the positive.

PIE *yeHw-*, as in Av *avi-yāo* *grown*, Gk αἰζηός *vigorous* O Hoffmann 1889 BKIS 15:62, J Wackernagel and Debrunner 1896-1954 I:91, WP Lehmann 1952:48; also Skt gen *yūn-ás*, Lat comp *iūn-ior*; *yew-* in Skt *yávīyas-* *younger*, *yáviṣṭha- youngest*; OIr *ōa*, Wel *ieu* *younger*, OIr *oam*, MWel *ieuaf* *youngest* Vendryès 1959-:O-3. With *-en-*, PIE *yuwen-*: Skt *yúvā*, Av *yavan-*, MPers *yuvān*; Lat *iuvenis* *young*; + *-(n)o-* after PIE *senos*, cf **sineigs** *old*, Lith *jáunos*, Latvian *jaûns*, OSl *juns* *young* Fraenkel 1962-65:190-91. PIE *yuwn̥-kó- youthful*: Skt *yuvaśás* *youthful*; Lat *iuvencus* *youth*; Gaul PeN *Iouincillus*; OIr *ōac*, Wel *ieuanc*, MBret *youanc* *young* Vendryès 1959-:O-3. According to Benveniste 1935a:157, 1937 BSLP 38:[art]103-04, PIE *yew- ← xeyw-, xyw*, as in *aiw* *always*. Basic meaning *strong, vigorous* becoming *young*. See also K Hoffmann 1955 MSzS 6:39-40; Polomé 1952 RBPH 30:468; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:23-24; Kuryłowicz 1968:21,53.

P 1959:510-11, Watkins 1985:79.

J12. *juk na ζεῦγος *pair*, only acc *-ka* L 14.19; *ga-juk* na ζεῦγος *pair*, only acc sg L 2. 24; **ga-juka* mn ἑτεροζυγοῦντες only nom pl *-kans* *associate* 2C 6.14, probably also fn voc *-ko* *yokefellow* Ph 4.3; *ga-juko* fn παροιμία, παραβολή *parable* L 8.9; ***jukuzi** *fiō* *yoke*.

OI *ok*, OE *geoc*, OS *juk-*, in *juk-ruoda*, OHG *joh* stn *yoke*†; OE *geoht* = Skt *yuktám* *yoke* Holthausen 1930 IF 48:266; OI *eykr* ← **jaukiz* m *draft-animal*, *eykt* ← **jaukiþō* f *yoking, the period between two yokings or harnessings, three hours*.

PIE *yugom* ← *ɣyugom* *yoke*: Skt *yugám*, Gk ζυγόν (on ζ cf WP Lehmann 1952:74-79; Beekes 1969:97, to which see Tischler 1983- I: 448-49 for "compelling argument"), Lat *iugum*, possibly OIr *cu-ing* ← **com-i̯ungos*, Lith *jùngas* (with *-n-* from verb; cf Skt *á-yuṅgas* *unpaired*), OSl *igo* ← **jugo, jьgo*, Arm *lowc* (with *l-* ← *lowcanem* *unharness*, though see also Schmitt 1981:63,77), Hitt *i̯uga- yoke* (possibly borrowed from Indic, Tischler 1983- I: 448-52; not related, Puhvel 1984-:499); possibly TochAB *yokäm* *door* (borrowed from Indic[?]); not TochA *yuk*, B *yakwe* *horse*, see **aiwatundi*; P 1959:301.

PIE *yew- ← ɣyew- yoke, tie to*: Skt *yáuti* *ties to, harnesses*; not Lith *jáuti* *mix* in spite of Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:28-29, cf Fraenkel 1962-65:191,199; + *-g-*: Skt *yunákti, yuñjati*, Av *yaoj-, yuj-*; Gk ζεύγνῡμι; Lat *iungō*; Lith *jùngti* *harness, join*; with *o*-grade, OHG *untarjauhta* 'subjugavi' *I have subjugated*, Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 I:290,58; cf Skt *yojayati* *fit together*, W Schulze 1966:863-64.

P 1959:508-11, Watkins 1985:79.

J13. *jukuzi *fiō*, dat sg *-zjai* 1T 6.1,

acc sg *-zja* G 5.1, ζυγός *yoke*.

OE *gycer* ← PGmc *jukizi yoke*; Go *-u-* in suffix unexplained, unless from PIE *-wes-*, *-us-* as in **berusjos**, with meaning *what has joined* Noreen 1894 IF 4:325, Streitberg 1903 IF 14: 494.

F 1939:304 favors origin in *-es*-stem, as in Av *yoāχš-tiš dexterity*, Gk ζεῦξις *harnessing*, with *-yā*-suffix and zero grade; see also Gk ζεῦγος *team*; Lat *iūgera acre* from *extent one team plows per day*; OSl *igo yoke* Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:20, Hirt 1931-34 II:64.

P 1959:509.

J14. junda *fō*, or **junds* m νεότης *youth*, only dat sg *-dai* L 18.21, Mk 10.20, 1T 4.12.

Cf OE *geogoþ*, OFris *jogethe*, OS *jugud*, OHG *jugund* stf *youth* ← PIE *yuHwn̥tí* as in Skt *yuvatí- young woman*; *-g-* ← *-Hw-*, WP Lehmann 1952:48; by analogy with OE *duguþ*, OHG *tugunt*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:439, Brugmann 1904a:349.

PIE *yuwn̥tā* also in Lat *iuventa youth* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:418, W/H 1938-56 I:735-36; not remodeled after *senecta old age*, if attested only in first century BC. Also with *-tu-*, Lat *iuventus*, OIr *oītiu youth* Vendryès 1959-:O-18.

P 1959:510-11.

J15. jus 2pl prn ὑμεῖς *you* M 5.48, *juz-ei*, + rel **-ei**, L 16.15; *-s* taken over from noun inflection. For oblique forms see **izwis**.

Other Gmc forms remodeled after 1 pl, as in **weis**; OI *ēr*, OE *gē*, OF *gi*, OS *gī*, OHG *ir*, NE *ye you*.

PIE *yu-* with *-s*: Av *yūš*, *yūžem*; Lith *jūs*, OPruss *ioūs you*. Without *-s*: Skt *yuvám* du, *yu-yam* pl *you* remodeled after *vayám we*; Gk ὔμμες Aeol, ὑμεῖς ← **yu-sme(ye)s* with nom ending as in Lith *jūs*; Lith *jū-du you*. As in IE pronouns generally, those for 'you' show much remodeling, which has been widely discussed; Chantraine 1968-80:1155-56, following Schwyzer 1939-50 I:600, does not admit *y-* for Gk; Szemerényi 1980:201 suggests PIE *y-* as prn prefix to *us* ← *wes we*. Copious references in Schwyzer, Szemerényi, and F 1939:305.

P 1959:513-14.

K

K1. *kaisar ma καῖσαρ *emperor* L 2. 1.

OE *cāsere* (remodeled after agent nouns), OFris *keiser*, OS *kēsur*, OHG *keisur* stm *emperor*; OI *keisari* stm taken from MLG.

Borrowing from Lat *Caesar*; possibly the oldest in Gmc, with [k] and [ay] diphthong of Classical period, Kossinna 1896:27ff, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:4, W Schulze 1966:511. But Luft 1897-98 ZVS 35:295-96 takes WGmc forms as later borrowings. Mikkola 1924 MSNH 7:274 assumes archaic Lat pronunciation; F 1939:305 suggests possible influence from Gk καῖσαρ. Meillet 1924 BSLP 24:[rev]110 and Stender-Petersen 1927:350ff assume independent Go borrowing from Gk. Corazza 1969:35-38 accepts borrowing from Lat, probably the preferable explanation. OSl *cěsarь*, cf NE *tsar*, was borrowed from Go, Berneker 1908-14:126-27, Vasmer 1953-58 III:283.

K2. *kalbo fn *young cow, calf*, only gen sg *-bons* Sk 3.15 / IIIc.2.

OHG *chalba* fn *female calf*; OI *kalfr* m, OE *cealf*, OF *calf*, OHG *chalb* stn, *calf*†; derivative, OI *kalfi* m *calf (of leg)*. With *e*-grade, OE *ceolbor-(lomb)* f, OHG *kilbur* n, *kilburra* f *female lamb*; these, like OE *cælf* (with *i*-umlaut), pl *calfur*, OHG dat sg *chalbire*, pl *chelbir* indicate a PIE *es*-stem, Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:1-40, source of German *er*-plurals.

PIE *golbh-ā/os, gelbhes-*, extensions of *gel-* form a *ball, ball*; Gaul *galba very fat man*. Also Lat *globus globe, heap* (cf OI *klǫpp stepping-stone*), *glēba clump of earth* (cf OI *klāpr* m *box*, used as a nickname), OHG *klāftra* f *fathom*; Lith *glėbti surround, embrace* Fraenkel 1962-65:156; J Schmidt 1889:150 fn1, E Zupitza 1896:77-78. Also with *-bho-*, Gk ἔλαφος *deer*; cf Wel *elain hind*, Lith *élnis deer*, Arm *eln hind*, Du *eland elk* (borrowed from South African use as NE *eland*).

Older derivation from PIE *g^{w}el(e)bho-* less likely; Skt *gárbhas*, Av *garəwō womb, fetus*; *u*-stem in Av *gərəbuš young of animal*; Hsch δολφός· ἡ μήτρα *mother*, Hom ἀ-δελφεός, Att ἀ-δελφός *brother*, ἀ-δελφή *sister* ← PIE *sm̥-g^{w}elbho*, Skt *ságarbhas, sá-garbhyas of the same womb* P 1959:473.

P 1959:357-60.

K3. *kalds adja ψυχρός *cold* M 10.42.

OI *kaldr*, OE *ceald*, OFris, OS *kald*, OHG *kalt cold*†, *-to*-derivative with stem vowel of OI *kala*, OE *calan freeze*; also OI *kelda* (← **kaltjōn-*, cf Finn *kaltio source*) *spring, brook*; from zero grade PGmc *kulda-*, OI *kuldi* m, MLG *külde*, NHG dial *kulde cold*; also OI *kul* n *gust of wind*; with lengthened grade OE *cōl*, OHG *chuoli cool*†; OE *kōlna become cool*; with stem vowel *-e-*, OE *cieldu* f, *ciele* m *cold, chill*†.

PIE *gel- cold*: Lat *gelū, gelus, gelum cold, frost, ice, gelāre freeze, gelidus icy cold*. Probably not Hsch γελανδρόν· ψυχρόν *cold*, W/H 1938-56 I:867-68, erroneously transmitted, but see also P 1959:365. Nor OSl *golotь ice*, which is related to OSl *golъ naked* ← PIE *gal- bare*: OE *calu bare*, NE *callow*, OHG *kalo bare*. Lith *gélmenis severe cold* is based on *gélti hurt* Fraenkel 1962-65:145-46.

P 1959:365-66, Watkins 1985:19.

K4. *kalkjo or *-ki* f πόρνη *whore*, only dat pl *-jom* L 15.30; *kalkinassus* mu πορνεία *fornication, adultery* G 5.19, suffix as in **blotinassus*.

Origin obscure; possibly a borrowing based on Lat *calx*, gen *-cis lime* Heinertz 1932 IF 50: 117; slaves for sale had their feet covered with lime or chalk. -- Terms for 'whore' may be taken from 'slave, captive in war'; cf OE *cefes*, OS *kevis*, OHG *chebesa* stf *concubine*; OI *kefsir* m *slave*, also of obscure origin, Vries 1962:304. Cf also Gk παλλακή *concubine*, borrowed into Lat as *paelex concubine*, of uncertain origin, Chantraine 1968-80:853-54, W/H

1938-56 II:233-34. For other synonyms in IE languages see Buck 1949:1367-69; references also in F 1939:307.

K5. kannjan wkvI E 1.9, *ga-kannjan* 2C 12.11, *us-kannjan* R 9.22 γνωρίζειν *make known*; see Lloyd 1979:166,173-74,265 on aspectual force.

OI *kenna*, OE *cennan make known, instruct*; OFris *kenna*, OS *ant-kennian*, OHG *ar-chennan recognize, bi-chennan* wkv *confess*. Caus from PIE *ĝen- know*; cf **kunnan**. NE *ken know* may be based on a Scandinavian source.

K6. kapillon wkvII κείρασθαι *cut one's hair*, only 1C 11.6, according to Grienberger 1900:138 *be shorn*, in passive sense. Elsewhere **skaban** and **bi-skaban* ξυρᾶσθαι *cut one's hair, be shaved* Meer 1929 Neophil 14:287.

Go new formation based on Lat *capillus hair* (like ***kaupon** *trade* to *caupo huckster*) in reference to the short coiffure of the Romans, Corazza 1969:9,29. Less likely, Luft 1897 ZDA 41:241 fn1 from Gk *καπιλλᾶν = Lat **capillāre*. See W/H 1938-56 I:158-59.

K7. kara *fō care* M 27.4; **karon* wkvII only 2sg opt prs *ni karos* μή σοι μελέτω *don't be concerned* 1C 7.21; **ga-karon* only 3sg prs *-roþ* ἐπιμελεῖσθαι *care for* 1T 3.5; *un-karja* adjn *without attention, careless* 1T 4.14.

OI *kǫr* f *sickbed* (poetic *pain*), OE *cearu*, OS *kara* f *care*†, *sorrow, mourning*, OHG *chara* stf *mourning*; OE *cearian*, OS *karōn*, OHG *charōn* wkv *mourn*; OI *kārna be in despair* A Sturtevant 1934 JEGP 33:91; OE *cearig worried*, OS *mōd-karag*, OHG *charag sad*, NHG *karg stingy*; OE *cearm*, *cyrm* m *noise*, cf NE *charm* (archaic).

PIE *ĝăr- shout, call*: Oss *zarun sing*, *zar song* E Zupitza 1896:78; Arm *cicaṙn swallow*, *cicaṙnuk* (← **goi̯-gar-no*, Petersson 1916 ZVS 47:287) *nightingale*; Gk γῆρυς *voice*; OIr *gāir*, *gairm* (cf OE *cearm*) *shout*, *fo-gur sound*, Wel *gawr shouting*, OIr *for-con-gur command*. Extended with *r* in Hsch γαρριώμεθα· λοιδορούμεθα *rail at*; Lat *garriō prattle* Chantraine 1968-80: 211,220; Nor *karra* dial *cackle* Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:104.

Cf the similar root PIE *g^{w}er- sound*, as in Skt *gṛṇā́ti call, praise*, Lith *gìrti praise*, Gaul *bardus* (Latinized) *bard*†, OHG *queran sob*; also *kerran* wkv *cry*, though see below. Skt *járate roars, calls* is of uncertain origin, and may be based on *gṛṇā́ti*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:421, though P 1959:383-85 also posits PIE *ger-* as basis for OHG *kerran cry*, OE *cranoc*, OHG *kranoh crane*†; see also P 1959:478.

P 1959:352.

K8. karkara *fō* φυλακή, δεσμωτήριον *prison* M 5.25.

OE *cearcern* n, OFris *kerkener*; with different ending OS, OHG *karkāri* stm *prison*.

Borrowed from VLat *carcara* n pl beside Lat *carcer* m *prison*; of unknown source, W/H 1938-56 I:166. Maintenance of *-a* indicates later borrowing than *lukarn*, **mes*, M Jellinek 1926: 182,185, as is indicated also by differing endings and genders in the Gmc dialects. Corazza 1969:56-57 admits possibility of borrowing from Gk κάρκαρον, itself a borrowing from Lat.

K9. kas *na* κεράμιον, σκεῦος, βάτος *vessel* M 11.16; *kasja* mn κεραμεύς *potter* R 9. 21.

OI *ker* n *vessel, trough*; OE *ceren* 'vas, in quo lac agitatur' *vessel in which milk is churned*, OS *bī-kar* n, Du *bij-ker beehive*; MLG *kar vessel, basket*, OHG *char* stn, *cherir* pl *vessel, dish, trough*.

Possibly a cross-cultural term, Güntert 1930:12 fn11; cf Assyrian *kāsu dish*, Ar *ka's*, Aram *kās*, Heb *kōs beaker*; Caucasian *kaš vessel*. Lat *vās* n, *vāsum*, *vāsus* (OLat) *vessel* also of unknown origin, W/H 1938-56 II:736. IE etymologies to be rejected, as to Lat *gerō carry, lead* Osthoff 1893 BKIS 19:321; cf W/H 1938-56 I:595-96.

K10. *katils m[?], or **katilus*, Kluge 1913:29, χαλκίον *kettle*, only gen pl *-le* M 7.4.

OI *ketill* (also GN, Mossé 1933 RevCelt 50:248-53), OE *cytel*, OS *ketil*, OHG *chezzil* stm, NE *kettle*, of Scandinavian origin. Also

OE *cyte*, OHG *kezzī(n)* n *kettle*.

Borrowing from Lat *catillus* (Luft 1897 ZDA 41:242, E Schröder 1898 AinZDA 24:24, Wilmanns 1911:148, Schwentner 1920 BGDSL 44:498, M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:129, Frings 1932:58,191-92) *small dish* (cf Gaul *catilus* acc pl, for Lat *catinos*, Thurneysen 1927 ZCP 16: 295 fn2) or from *catīnus dish*, modified in accent and suffix (Pogatscher 1888:§260, Stender-Petersen 1927:399-400; cf *asilus*, M Jellinek 1926:179,180,184, Corazza 1969:18-19). Lat *catīnus* was probably the source of OE *cyte*, OHG *kezzī(n)*, W/H 1938-56 I:182. See Brüch 1926 *F* Kretschmer:6ff on the borrowings. Much earlier than the Roman period kettles were imported from the south to northern Europe, Sprockhoff 1930:89ff,100ff. OSl *kotьlъ* was borrowed from Gmc, Berneker 1908-14: 591, and from there Lith *kãtilas*, Latvian *katls*, OPruss *catils*, though Fraenkel 1962-65:228 proposes possible direct borrowing from Go; Toporov 1975- III:267-68.

K11. kaupatjan wkvI κολαφίζειν *strike, buffet* inf Mk 14.65, 3pl prt *-pastedun* M 26.67, 3sg opt prt *-pastedi* 2C 12.7, papl *-patidai* 1C 4.11; only Go weak verb with different stems in prt and papl, WP Lehmann 1943 Lg 19:319.

Isolated and obscure in etymology; suffix also in ***lauhatjan***, for which no prt is attested. Numerous conjectures.

L Meyer 1869:5 assumed origin in Lat *colaphus*, VLat *colapus*, *colopus* ← Gk κόλαφος *blow*, κολαφίζειν *strike*, also the source of Fr *coup blow*; supported by Sehrt 1932 Lg 8:138-42 and Adolf 1934 Neophil 19: 100-01. Grienberger 1900:139 associates with ***kaupon***, cf OE *cēap cattle, strike someone as if cattle*; Franck 1895 AinZDA 21:300 also associates with ***kaupon***, like Grimm 1878:400 fn1, with meaning *strike* from *shake hands at conclusion of purchase*, comparing NHG *patschen pat, strike*; also Cleasby/Vigfusson 1874:333. Bugge 1895 IF 5:274 derived from Arm *kop'em buffet* with remodeling after ***kaupon***. F 1939:309 suggested origin in a pre-IE *kūpa*, surviving in Lat *cūpa vat* (W/H 1938-56 I:310-11), parallel to Lat *cuppa beaker*, from which were borrowed OHG *chopf beaker*, NHG *Kopf head*, OE *cuppe cup*†. Unfortunately the absence of cognates leaves such conjectures without support.

K12. *kaupon wkvII πραγματεύεσθαι *trade, do business*, only 2pl imp *-poþ* L 19.13.

OI *kaupa*, OE *cēapian*, OFris *kāpia*, OS *kōpōn*, OHG *koufon* wkv; OE *cīepan*, OS *kōpian*, OHG *koufen* wkv *buy, sell, do business*, cf NE *chapman, cheap*.

PGmc *kaup-ōn* ~ *-jan* based on Lat *caupō* (OHG *koufo* m *merchant*) *huckster, pedlar* and Lat *caupōnāri haggle*; it belongs to the oldest layer of borrowings from Lat, M Jellinek 1926:185, Corazza 1969:8-9. Benveniste 1973:110-112, charging Feist with vagueness, is himself vague about its adaptation, though suggesting that the neologism supplied a term for trading in materials to supplement Go **2. saljan** whose basic force involved selling of slaves and captives. Compare OE *mangian* (possibly source of OI *manga*), OS *mangōn* wkv *trade*, based on Lat *mangonāre negotiate*; OI *mangari*, from OE *mangere* or MLG *manger* m *merchant*, OHG *mangāri* m *trader*, NE *monger* beside Lat *mangō slave dealer*. OSl *kupiti buy*, *kupьcь merchant* borrowed from Go, Stender-Petersen 1927:374ff.

K13. kaurban κορβᾶν *gift to God*, only Mk 7.11, *kaurban þatei ist maiþms* κορβᾶν ὅ ἐστιν δῶρον *korban, which is a gift*; from Aram *qorbān*, Heb *qorbān gift-offering* E Klein 1966-67:351.

K14. kaurbanaun acc κορβονᾶν *temple treasure*, only M 27.6 in Cod A; emended to ***kaurbaunan*** by F Kauffmann 1898 ZDP 30:181; from Aram *qorbānā gift, sacrificial gift*.

K15. kaurn na σῖτος *grain, wheat* L 3. 17; *kaurno* nu κόκκος *(single) grain (of wheat)* J 12.24; *kaurn* is collective like Pol *groch*, Cz

hrâch **pea** W Schulze 1966:81.

CrimGo *kor* 'triticum' ***grain***, probably a printing error for **korn*; cf *baar*, Stearns 1978: 143. Run *-kurne* dat (Tjurkö), OI *korn*, OE *corn*, OFris, OS *korn*, OHG *korn* stn ***grain, corn***†; *ja*-derivative in OI *hamal-kyrni*, OS *hrēn-korni*, OHG *fol-curni* stn (Tatian) ***grain***; OE *cyrnel* m/n; OI *kjarni*, OHG *cherno* wkm ***kernel***†, ***grain***.

PIE *ĝr-H-no-m*: Lat *grānum*, OIr *grān* ***grain***; Lith *žirnis* ***pea***; OPruss *syrne* ***kernel of fruit***; OSl *zrъno*, Serb *zrno* ***grain*** Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:694,943,946. Gk *γίγαρτον* ***seed of grape*** probably borrowed from a substratum rather than a reduplicated derivation, Chantraine 1968-80:220-21. NE *grain* borrowed from OFr *grain*.

Probably unrelated to Skt *jīrṇás* ***old***, *jarati* ***grows old, decays***; Gk *γέρων* ***old man***, *γῆρας* ***old age***, OSl *sъ-zorь* ***ripe***, *zьrěti* ***ripen*** F 1939:309-10, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:420,443, though Vries 1962:301 disagrees and also relates OI *karl* ***(old) man***, OE *ceorl*, NE *churl*, OHG *karl* m ***man***; similarly Fraenkel 1962-65: 1314 and P 1959:390-91.

K16. *kaurus adju βαρύς ***weighty, oppressive***, only nom pl f *-rjos* 2C 10.10; **kaurjan* wkvI βαρεῖν ***be a burden, oppress*** 2C 12.14; **ana-kaurjan* ἐπιβαρεῖν ***cause pain***, only 1sg opt prt 2C 2.5; **un-kaureins* ſi/ō ἀβαρῆ ***difficulty*** (yet Go = ***not a difficulty***; Gk misconstrued, Friedrichsen 1939:157) only dat pl *-nom* 2C 11.9; **kaurei* ſn βάρος ***weight***, only acc sg *-rein* 2C 4.17; **kauriþa* ſō βάρος ***burden***, only acc pl *-þons* G 6.2.

No Gmc cognates and no acceptable PIE etymology. Although F 1939:310 proposed PIE *gərú-* as opposed to PIE *gʷerú-* in the forms below, his reconstruction is everywhere disregarded, eg Kuryłowicz 1968:288; *gʷərú-* in Skt *gurú-*; possibly Av *gouru-zaoþra* ***viscous libation*** Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:340; Gk βαρύς ***heavy***; Lat *grăvis* ***heavy***; scarcely OIr *bair* ***heavy*** Vendryès 1959-:B-8; MWel *bryw* ***strong, strength***; not Lith *gùrti* ***fall apart*** Fraenkel 1962-65:179, correcting his previous proposal. Also Lat *brūtus* ***heavy***, from Osc-Umbr, W/H 1938-56 I:117-18. Possibly the labial element was lost in Gmc, though the lack of cognates outside Go makes such assumptions speculative.

P 1959:476-77, though F 1939:386 rejects the inclusion of **qairrus**.

K17. *kawtsjo DeN = Lat *cautiō* (*þairh kawtsjon* = Lat *per cautione*) ***bond, warranty***.

K18. *keinan irreg stvI βλαστάνειν ***sprout***, only 3sg prs *-niþ* Mk 4.27; **us-keinan* (ἐκ)φύειν ***grow from***, 3pl prs *-nand* Mk 13.28, wk prt *-noda* L 8.8; **miþ-us-keinan* συμφύεσθαι ***grow with***, only nom pl m prpl *-nandans* L 8.7; without prs *-n-*, nom sg n papl *us-kijanata* φυέν ***grown up*** L 8.6.

Sw *kina*, OE *cīnan*, OS *kīnan*, OHG *chīnan* stv ***sprout***; nouns without *-n-*, OS *kīmo*, OHG *chīmo* wkm ***sprout***; OE *cīþ*, OS *kith* m ***shoot***; OHG *frumi-kīdi* stn ***firstling***; OE *cinu* f ***cleft***.

P 1959:355 posits PIE *ĝēy-*, *ĝī-* ***sprout, split, bloom***, largely with Gmc reflexes; with *-l-*, Arm *ceł*, *cił*, *ciuł* ***stalk***, *ən-ciuł* ***sprout*** Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:402; with *-d-*, Lith *žydėti* ***bloom***, accepted by Fraenkel 1962-65:1305; as F 1939:310 indicates, these are highly dubious. Association with Skt *jínóti* ***quicken***, rejected by Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:435. The Gmc root, if at all from PIE must have been remodeled, as its varied forms indicate. It may have been made from PIE *skĕy-* ***cut, separate***, with loss of *s-*; cf OE *cinu* ***cleft*** and extended forms of *skĕid* such as Skt *chidrá-* ***split***, Av *sidara* ***opening, cleft***; 'sprouts cleaving the husk of the grain' may have been the orig application of the Gmc forms; Wel *cwys* ← PIE *kēyd-tā-* ***furrow*** may also derive from *skēy-d-* without *s-*, P 1959:919-22. Seebold 1970:290-91.

K19. kelikn na πύργος ***tower*** L 14.28, ἀνάγαιον ***upper room for dining in houses of the Mediterranean area*** Mk 14.15.

Borrowed from Gaul *celicnon* ***tower***; Dot-

tin 1918:160 gives inscription. For source of borrowing see Much 1893 BGDSL 17:33-34, Schütte 1902 AinZDA 28:14 (borrowed in Cappadocia from Galatians), also Schütte 1929-33 I:123; dubious, Weisgerber 1931:165-66, Polomé 1985 *F* Knobloch:315, 1986 *F* Gimbutas. On Go *-e-*, cf Luft 1897 ZDA 41:240 (Gaul *ē* is only hypothesized). According to P 1959:544, *celicnon* is from PIE *kel- extend upward, high* as possibly in ***hallus**.

K20. kilemschkop CrimGo 'ebibe calicem' *drink the whole glass!, bottoms up!*.

Like many such phrases, obscure in origin; many attempts at explanation have been proposed, Stearns 1978:141-42, none satisfactory. As F 1939:311 stated, the first part *kilemsch-* does not look Gmc; the second, *-kop-* = OI *koppr*, OE *copp*, OHG *chopf* stm (← MLat *cuppa*) *beaker, cup*, cf **kaupatjan**. Suggestions on the first part are little better than desperate. Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:363 derived it from **kinim-* = Go **ganim take* + *-schkop* = OS *skap vat*, OHG *skaf vessel*. Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:130 analyzed the sequence as **kilēm-s-kop* = Go **kilaima weis kup let us gulp down the cup*, in which is found the unattested verb **kilan*, supposedly cognate with Skt *gilati swallow*, which however is a variant of *girâti* with PIE *-r-* as in Lith *gérti drink*. Siebs 1922 BGDSL 46:170ff proposes Go **ga-limpai* or **ga-limpiþ þus may the cup bring you luck*. On problems with these and others see Stearns 1978:141-42.

K21. *kilþei *fn* γαστήρ *womb*, only dat sg *-þein* L 1.31; *in-kilþo fn* ἔγκυος *pregnant* L 1.24.

OE *cild*, pl *cildru* stn *child*†; other possible Gmc cognates dubious, such as OI *kollr round tip, head*, also used as PeN, Vries 1962:325, with references.

From PIE *gel- rounded; form a ball-shape*, with many extensions; also with *-t-* possibly Skt *jaṭháram belly, womb*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:414, who cites rejection by Kuiper 1955:148. Also from PIE *gel-* + *-bh-* Go ***kalbo**. Lidén 1906 IF 19:335 rejected relation to OSw *kulder* m, Sw *kull*, ODan *köll*, Dan *kuld child of the same marriage*, linking these to Lith *guõlis bed*, which also raises problems, Fraenkel 1962-65:175-76.

K22. kindins *ma* ἡγεμών *governor* M 27.11.

Like Go **þiudans** *king* to *þiuda people* and OI *drōttinn chief* to OI *drōtt* (← PGmc *druhti-*, as in OE *dryht*, MHG *truht* stf) *company, kindins* ← PGmc *kendi-nas* relates to PIE *ĝen-ti-* as in Lat *gens*, gen *gent-is tribe*, OI *kind* stf *race, child*; formed with PIE *-ti-* on the PIE root *ĝen-* with normal grade + PIE *-(e/o)-no-*, Saussure 1949:310; cf PIE *ĝen-tō*: OS, MDu, OHG *kind* stn. From zero grade of *ĝen-* + *-ʔ-*: Skt *jātíṣ birth, family*; Lat *nātiō* ← **gnā-ti-ō race, nation*; OE *ge-cynd* f *nature, characteristic, descendant*. For the designations of 'chieftains' see Meillet 1932 *F* Glotz:587ff, Benveniste 1973:75,90,246,257, Lindow 1976: 39.

PIE *ĝen-ʔ-* as in **kuni**; on PGmc *-(i)na-* ← PIE *-(e)no* as in Lat *dominus lord* beside *domus house*, *tribūnus tribune* beside *tribus tribe* see Kluge 1926:11, Meid 1967:109-10.

P 1959:373-75.

K23. *kinnus *fn* σιαγών *cheek*, only acc sg *-nu* M 5.39, L 6.29.

OI *kinn* f *cheek*; OE *cinn*, OFris *kinn*, OS *kinni* f, OHG *chinne* stn *jaw, chin*†; Gmc *-nn-* ← PIE *-nw-* in the oblique cases accented on final.

PIE *ĝen-u-*: Skt *hánuṣ*, with secondary *ĝh-* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:574-75, Av *zanu- jaw*; Gk γένυς *chin*; Lat *genuīnus* (*dens*) *molar (tooth)*; OIr *gi(u)n*, gen *geno mouth*, Wel *gen chin, cheek*; TochA *śanwe-ṃ* f du *jaw*. Lat *gena cheek* is secondary, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1: 179, W/H 1938-56 I:589-90; on Gk γένειον *chin*, γενειάς *beard*, γενής *axe-blade* see Chantraine 1968-80:215-26. Further extensions in PIE *ā* : *ə* + *-dh-* in Gk γνάθος, γναθμός; Lith *žándas jaw*, Latvian *zuôds chin, sharp edge* Fraenkel 1962-65:1289-90; Arm *cnau-t cheek, jaw*. On the

various formations see Petersson 1921a:171ff, Meillet 1921:170-71; Porzig 1954:126; also Szemerényi 1960:156 on the rarity of f *u*-stems in Go. Wood 1905-06 IF 18:32, 1907 MLN 22: 235 suggested identity with PIE *ĝenu- knee*, Go ***kniu**, as 'angle'; opposed by F 1939:312; approved by W/H 1938-56 I:589-90, Buck 1949: 221.

P 1959:381-82.

K24. *kintus mn κοδράντης *penny*, only acc sg *-tu* M 5.26.

Presumably a loanword from Lat, though the source is unclear. According to E Schröder 1918 ZVS 48:149, a Roman coin at the time of Ulfila, called ***centus**, a shortened form of *centenionalis*, cf *centum 100*, like NE or Du *cent* ← Fr *centime*, or MLG *scherf*, NHG *Scherff* (Luther), cf Lat *scrip-ulus scruple*. But Mikkola 1924 MSNH 7:273 sees the origin in Lat ***centus**, a shortened form of *centussis 100 asses*; Stender-Petersen 1927:378 fn3 considers this value too high. Derivation from Lat *quintus* (for *quinarius half a dēnārius*) founders on absence of such a Roman coin, though see Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:296-97 as earlier Schade 1872-82 I:489-90. OSl *cęta penny, money* is derived from Go ***kinta**, Stender-Petersen 1927:378ff. Corazza 1969:63-64.

K25. *kiusan stvII *test*, only 3sg opt prs *-sai* G 6.4, prpl *-sands* 2C 8.8; *ga-kiusan* δοκιμάζειν *test*, inf R 12.2, 3pl opt prs pass *-saindau* 1T 3.10, nom sg papl *-sans* R 14.18; *us-kiusan* ἀποδοκιμάζειν *reject*, as in 3pl prt *us-kusun* L 20.17, also δοκιμάζω *test* 1T 5.21; ***un-ga-kusans** neg papl ἀδόκιμος *objectionable*, only nom pl m *-sanai* as in 2C 13.5; *kausjan* wkvI γεύεσθαι *experience* L 14.19; *ga-kausjan* δοκιμάζειν *test*, only 1pl prt *-sidedum* 2C 8.22; ***kustus** mu δοκιμή *test* 2C 2.9; ***gakusts** fi δοκιμή *test* 2C 9.13.

OI *kjōsa*, OE *cēosan*, OFris *kiāsa*, OS, OHG *kiosan* stv *choose*†, *test*; OE *un-ge-coren* neg papl *vile*; with zero grade, OS, OHG *korōn* wkv, OHG *gi-corōn test, taste*; OI *kor*; OE *ge-kor* stn *decision* (PIE *ĝusóm*); OE *cyre* m, OHG *kurī* f *selection* (PIE *ĝusí-*), cf derivative LF, LG *koren taste*, Du *keuren test*; OI *kostr* m *selection*, OE *cost*, OS *cust* m *object of choice, excellence*; OHG *cost* m *estimate, selection*; derivation OI *kosta try*, OS *kostōn attempt*, OHG *kostōn* wkv *test*. (← PIE *-tā- abstract* Specht 1927:34).

PIE *ĝews- taste, enjoy*, in Celt and Gmc, *select, test*; Skt *juṣáte enjoy*, also *jóṣati*; *jóṣas satisfaction*; Av *zaoš- be pleased*; Skt *joṣṭár- loving*, OPers *dauštar- friend*; Gk γεύομαι *taste*, γεύω *give a taste of*; Lat *dē-gūnō* ← PIE *ĝus-nō*, Lat *gus-tō taste*; OIr *togu select, dorōigu selected, asa-gūssi* ← ***gūstit wishes** Pedersen 1909-13 II:549-50; Alb *desha I loved*, aor of *do*. Nouns, with PIE *-ti-*, Skt *júṣṭiṣ favor*; with *-tu-* Lat *gustus tasting*, PCelt *gustu- choice* in PeN's OIr *Oengus, Fergus*; *guss excellence*. Porzig 1954:122-23 proposes that the meaning 'test, select', found only in Celt and Gmc may result from influence of Celt on Gmc before the consonant shift.

P 1959:399-400, Watkins 1985:20.

K26. klismo *fn* κύμβαλον *cymbal*, only in the phrase *klismo klismjandei* κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον *clanging cymbal* 1C 13.1; ***klismjan** wkvI *clang* 1C 13.1, attested only here. Onomatopoeic like OI *klingja*, OHG *klingen resound*; Skt *kiṅkiṇī small bell*.

Wood 1905-06 IF 18:48 wrong in proposing relationship to NHG *klirren*, attested first in 17th century.

K27. knauen CrimGo adj in *knauen tag* 'bonus dies' *Good day!*; Go ***knawana** : OI *knār excellent* Tomaschek 1881:62; Much 1898 AinIF 9:198 related Lat *(g)nāvus active, busy*, OIr *gnōe excellent*, MBret *gnou evident*, Wel *go-gnaw active*; see W/H 1938-56 II:150 supplement, who compare formation in Lat *flāvus* : OHG *blāo*; F 1939:313 compared Lat *rāvus grey*, OI *grār*, OE *grǣg*, OHG *grāo, grāwer grey*. Hamp 1976 IF 81:39 approves relationship with Celt, positing PIE *ĝneH-*.

From PIE *ĝen- recognize*, as in **kunnan**, P

1959:376-78; see also Stearns 1978:142, who like Hamp rejects relationship with Lat *nāvus busy*, but accepts relationship to Celt words cited.

K28. *kniu nwa γόνυ *knee* Mk 15.19.

OI *knē*, OE *cnēo*, OFris *kniu*, *knī*, *knē*, OS *kneo*, *knio*, OHG *chniu* stn *knee*†.

PIE *ĝenu-*, *ĝnew- knee, angle*; zero grade of root in Gmc, and full grade of suffix; transferred to vocalic declension in Gmc, Petersson 1921a:7 *o*-grade in Skt *jā́nu*, Av pl *žanva*, MPers *zānūk*, NPers *zānū*, Gk γόνυ, Arm *cunr*, TochA *kanweṃ*, B *kenīne* du *knee*. *e*-grade in Lat *genū*, Hitt *genu knee* (also *sexual organ, kinship* in Hitt). Zero grade in Skt *prajñúṣ*, Av *fra-šnuš with bent knee*; Gk γνύπετος *sinking to one's knees* (cf Skt *jñu-bā́dh- bending the knees*), γνύξ, πρό-χνυ *on one's knees* Chantraine 1968-80:232-33.

Loth 1923 RevCelt 40:143-52 related the root of 'knee' to PIE *ĝen- beget*, as have others, among them Meillet 1927 BSLP 27:[art]54-55, proposing that one recognized the legitimacy of a child by placing it on his knees; Lat *genuīnus genuine* was cited as evidence. Chantraine 1968-80:233, however, warns of possible folk etymology. Meillet 1921: 169ff also proposed relationship with ***kinnus**. Cf P 1959:381-82,373-75.

Güntert 1928 WuS 11:126-27 on the other hand proposes relationship with PIE *ĝen- recognize, know*, (cf P 1959:376-78) through the semantic development 'corner' from 'symbol' from 'perceive'; even more speculative. On semantic relationship of 'knee' and 'relationship' see Fraenkel 1955 ZVS 72:178.

P 1959:380-81; Tischler 1983- I:552-56.

K29. *knoþs f γένος *race*, only dat sg *knodai* Ph 3.5.

OHG *chnōt*, *chnuot* stf *race*, probably ← PIE *ĝnōtís*; OE *cnōsl*, OS *cnōsal*, OHG *chnuosal* stn *race* ← PIE *ĝnō-t-slom*, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:291 (possibly also ← PIE *ĝnā-*).

PIE *ĝen-*, *ĝnē-*, *ĝnō- beget*: Skt *jñātiṣ relative*; Gk γνωτός (= Skt *jñātás born*) *related by blood, brother*, γνήσιος *legitimate*, κασίγνητος *brother*; Lat *(g)nātus born*, *nātiō nation*; Gaul *-gnātos*, in PeN like *Cintu-gnātos*; Latvian *znuõts son-in-law, brother-in-law*. But see Fraenkel 1962-65:1301, who relates Latvian *znuõts* to OSl *zjatь son-in-law, bridegroom*, admitting possible derivation from PIE *ĝen-*, *ĝnē-*, *ĝnō- know*; see also W Schulze 1966:849. Cf **kuni** and **kunnan**.

P 1959:373-75.

K30. *knussjan wkvI γονυπετεῖν *fall on one's knees*, only prpl *-jands* Mk 10.17, and with *kniwam* Mk 1.40; on the meaning see Kögel 1880 BGDSL 7:178, *assume a position of petition on one's knees*.

Derivation of **kniu*, though method of formation disputed. According to Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:181 fn1,445, from *tu*-stem based on **knutjan* wkvI, **knussus kneeling*. According to J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:52 *-ss-* is a derivational or cmpd element added to *knu-*, zero grade of **kniu*. Grienberger 1900:141 also proposes a noun **knussus* to **knutjan* wkvI *kneel*, comparing NHG dial *knotzen* (Bavarian), *knutzen* (Upper Silesian dial) *squat*; Torp and Falk, eds 1909:49 agree.

Kögel 1880 BGDSL 7:178, however, relates **knussjan* to OI *knoṣa*, OE *cnossian*, OHG *cnussan* wkv *press*, which is from PIE *gen- press together*, a root found only with a number of suffixes, P 1959:370-73, here PIE *gn-ew-s-*. From PIE *gnet-*, OE *cnedan*, OHG *chnetan* wkv *knead*†; also OI *knoδa* wkv and OSw *knodha* stv *knead*, the primary derivation according to Wissmann 1932:63. Far less likely, unless influenced by **kniu*; yet approved by Streitberg 1908-09 IF 23:117-18, Güntert 1916: 79, Meringer 1928 WuS 11:120. Fierlinger 1885 ZVS 27:440 fn2 derived **knussjan* from PIE *ĝnu-sthā-* or *-sthi- be on one's knees*.

P 1959:380-81.

K31. Kreks ma Ἕλλην *Greek*, pl *Krekos* 1C 1.22.

OE pl *Crēcas*, *Crēce*, OFris *Crēc-(land)*, OHG *Crēhi*, *Kriahi*, *Kriecha Greeks*†. Dif-

ficult phonologically because of initial *k-*, *-e-* and inflection.

A pre-Wulfila borrowing from Lat *Grēcī*, with *k-* substituted for *g-* as in ***marikreitus** ← Lat *margarīta*, B/E 1981:22,52,84. Adopted initially in pl form, though oddly not as ***Krekeis***, like ***Saureis***, M Jellinek 1926:183. Substitution of long close *-e-* for open Lat *-æ-* also unclear; Steinhauser 1929-30 Teuthon 6: 102-03, also for *k-* ← *g-*, proposed borrowing through Illyrian, following Thumb 1905-06 ZDW 7:264. Route of transmission difficult to determine, as in ***alew**, which however has *-e-* for Lat *-ei-*; not through Etr according to Jacobsohn 1929 ZDA 66:223ff, in view of Etr *creice* ← Lat *Graecus*, W Schulze 1904:81,552. Much discussion on the problems in the handbooks and elsewhere, with little evidence on which to base conclusions. Kossinna 1896:37-38 proposes assimilation in Go of initial *g-* to *k-*; opposed by others; E Schwarz 1951:19-21 prefers Steinhauser's explanation, and in contrast with M Jellinek 1926:183 suggests that the Goths may have heard the Lat nom sg as *-os*. Schwarz also ascribes *-ē-* to Etr influence, with no attention to Schulze 1904. See M Jellinek 1926:35-36,180,183-85, Corazza 1969:41-43, and F 1939:346-47 for further comment and older references.

K32. *kriustan stvII τρίζειν *gnash one's teeth*, only 3sg prs *-tiþ* Mk 9.18; *krusts* m βρυγμός *gnashing*, only nom sg M 8.12, W Schulze 1966:547.

OSw *krȳsta gnash*; possibly also Dan *kryste press, embrace*, and without *-t-* OSw *krusa*, MLG *krossen crush*.

Etymology difficult; P 1959:405-06 derives from PIE *grews- gnash, strike with a crash*, citing also Lith *grukšėti*, Serb *grúhati crash*. F 1939:315 suggested possible relationship to Lith *gráužti gnaw, bite off*; this from PIE *g^{w}rēwĝh- gnash, gnaw*: Gk βρύχω *gnash*, though Chantraine 1968-80:198-99 is doubtful, preferring an onomatopoeic explanation; OIr *brōn sorrow*, Wel *brwyn burning pain* Vendryès 1959-:B-96, with references; OSl *grysti gnaw* P 1959:485-86; Fraenkel 1962-65:164-65 admits possible relationship. Not to Lith *griūti collapse*, cf Fraenkel 1962-65:171; nor to Gk γρύζω *grunt*.

K33. *kubitus mu κλισία *company of people at a meal*, only acc pl *-tuns* L 9.14.

From Lat *cubitus reclining (at a meal)*.

K34. *kukjan wkvI φιλεῖν *kiss* Mk 14.44; *bi-kukjan* καταφιλεῖν *cover with kisses*, only inf L 7.45.

EFris *kükken*, Du dial *kukken* derived from Du *kuk*, dim *kuksken kiss*, LG *kücken* wkv *kiss*. Onomatopoeic, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:670, like OI *koss*, OE *coss*, OS *cus*, OHG *kus* stm *kiss*; OI *kyssa*, OE *cyssan*, OS *cussian*, OHG *kussen* wkv, *kiss*†. P 1959:626 nonetheless proposes PIE *ku(s)- kiss*: Gk κυνέω *kiss* Chantraine 1968-80:599-600; also Hitt *kuwaszi kiss*, on the basis of which the youthful Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art]139 proposed orig relationship, citing Skt *śvaśiti blow, snort*, which Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:401 also considers onomatopoeic, as he does the *kus-* forms, I:393-94,395; Pokorny is scarcely credible in attributing ***kukjan** to PIE *ku-* with lack of Gmc consonant shift in onomatopoeic words.

If onomatopoeic, ***kukjan*** and PGmc *kussa-* cannot be accounted for by searching for cognates, such as Lat *bāsium kiss*, itself uncertain in origin, W/H 1938-56 I:97-98, or OIr *būs*, as by E Zupitza 1896:81 (cf Vendryès 1959-:B-118-19), or Skt *cū́ṣati suck*, as by Prellwitz 1905:251 (cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:398, itself onomatopoeic). Feist 1894 *F* Hildebrand: 25-26 suggested reduplicated prs of PIE *ĝew-* in ***kiusan**; also unconvincing, as is Grienberger 1900:142-43 to OE *cēowan*, OHG *chiuwan chew*. Scarcely a Celt word, related to OIr *bēl lip* Vendryès 1959-:B-29.

P 1959:626.

K35. kumei = Gk κοῦμει ← Aram *kūmī* imp *stand up!*, only Mk 5.41.

K36. *kuna-wida fō ἄλυσις *fetter*,

only dat pl *-dom* E 6.20.

OHG gl *khuna-withi, chun-widi* 'catenae' *fetters* (though not iron, Helm 1909 BGDSL 35: 314); also *cuonio-widi* (in the first Merseburg charm) 'deadly fetters' according to Meissner 1921:132ff, where *cuonio-* is explained as **cunio-*, gen pl to OHG *kuni* in *kuni-rīchi*, cf **kuni**; from Go **kuns* cons stem, WGmc **kuniz king* (fetters applied by the priest as head of the clan). OE *cyne-wiþþe* f *ja diadem*, differs in meaning. Simplex OI *viðr, viðja*, OE *wiþþe*, OFris *withthe*, OHG *wit, withi, widi* stf *band, fetter*, cf NE *withe*; OHG *witta* stf *hairband*; the two sets can scarcely be distinguished as *band* and *binding*, as by Grienberger 1895 ZDP 27:445.

kuna- is obscure; Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:677 associate it with PIE *ĝnu*, as in **kniu**; also Meringer 1904 IF 16:178. Grienberger 1900:143 relates it to Lith *kūnas body*, itself uncertain, Fraenkel 1962-65:310. P 1959:397 assumes a special formation in Gmc from PIE *ĝēw- bend*, as in OI *kaun swelling*, Du *coon* f *jaw*, ie *curved bond*. None of these proposals is preferable to Meissner's.

-wida probably ← PIE *wey- turn, bend* as in **-waddjus**; extended with *-t-* in Skt *vetasá-cane*, Av *vaēiti-*; Gk ἰτέα *withe*; Lat *vitta binding*; OIr *fēith sinew*; Lith *vytìs willow-shoot*; OSl *vitъ something wound*; OI *viðir* m, OE *wiþig*, MLG *wīde*, OHG *wīda* wkf *willow tree*; cf Porzig 1954:125, P Friedrich 1970:55-56; Vries 1962:658-60; proposed relationship with ***ga-widan** less likely in view of cognates in other dialects.

K37. kuni n *ja* γένος, γενεά, φυλή *race, generation* M 11.16.

OI *kyn*, OE *cynn*, OFris *kenn, kinn*, OS *kunni*, OHG *chunni* stn *race, generation*, cf NE *kin*, ← PIE *ĝn-yom*.

PIE *ĝen- beget*: Skt *jánati, janáyati* (: OE *cennan beget*) *beget, bear, jánas* n *race*; Av *zīzənti* (reduplicated) *they bear, zanaitē they are born*; Gk γίγνομαι *become, arise*, aor ἐγένετο *he arose*, γένος n *race*; OLat *genunt they beget*, Lat *gignō beget, genus* n *race*; OIr *gainethar is born, gein* n *birth* (cf Skt *jánas* m *creature, race*; Av *zana- people*; Gk *-γονος* in ἔκ-γονος *descendant of*; Lat *indi-gena native*), Wel *geni be born*, PeN *(Bled-)gint* (Wolf-son) (← PIE *ĝentom* like OS, OHG *kind* stn; from PIE *ĝenti-*: Lat *gens, gentis*, cf **kindins**); Lith *žéntas*, OSl *zętь son-in-law*; Arm *cnanim beget, cin birth*. Weak grade of PIE *ĝen-* in OE *cyne-(rīce)*, OHG *chuni-(rīche) kingdom*; OI *konungr*, OE *cyning*, OS *cuning*, OHG *chuning* stm *king*† (cf Skt *jātás*; Av *zāta*; Lat *nātus* ← *ĝn̥ʔ-to- born*); **kindins**. Cf ***airþa-kunds, alja-kuns, *in-kunja, *knoþs, niu-klahs**. On the differentiation in the various dialects between forms of the PIE bases *ĝenʔ- beget* and *ĝenγ- know* see **kunnan**.

P 1959:373-75, Watkins 1985:19, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:749-50.

K38. kunnan prt-prsIII *kann*, pl *kunnum*, prt *kunþa*, prpl *kunnands* γινώσκειν *know* J 13.38; *kann* formed beside pl *kunnum* on pattern *dugann* : *dugunnum* (geminated *n* from following laryngeal, PIE *-nγ-*, Seebold 1970:290); *fra-kunnan* καταφρονεῖν, ἐξουθενεῖν *despise* Sk 1.21 / Id.1-2; *ga-kunnan (sik)* ὑποτάσσεσθαι *subject oneself* 1C 15.28; *uf-kunnan* (mixed inflection) γινώσκειν *recognize, experience* 1Th 3.5. Also *-kunnan* wkvIII γινώσκειν *recognize*, prt *-kunnaida* in *ana-kunnan* ἀναγινώσκειν *read* Sk 5.21 / Vd.3, **at-kunnan* παρέχεσθαι *learn to know* L 8.17, *uf-kunnan* γινώσκειν *recognize* 1Th 3.5, *un-kunnands* prpl ἀγνοῶν *not knowing* R 10.3.

OI *kunna*, prs *kann*, OE *cunnan*, prs *cann*, OFris *kunna*, prs *kan*, OS, OHG *kunnan* prs *kan know, be able to*.

PIE *ĝen-, ĝenγ-, ĝneγ-* → *ĝnō- know*: Skt *jānāti recognize, know*; Av *zānāiti know, āzaintiš information*; OIr *ad-gninim recognize* Thurneysen 1923 ZVS 51:58; Lith *žinóti know, pažìnti recognize, pa-žintìs acquaintance*, Latvian *zināt know*, OPruss *ersinnat recognize* Fraenkel 1962-65:1310-11; Arm *caneay knew, an-can unknown*. From *ĝnō-*, cf ***knoþs**: Skt

jñātás, Gk γνωτός, Lat *(g)nōtus*, OIr *gnāth*, Lith *pa-žintas known*; Skt *jñāyante they know*; Gk γιγνώσκω; Lat *(g)nōscō*; OSl *znati*; Alb *njoh know* Huld 1984:101-02; TochAB *knā- know, recognize*; OE *cnāwan*, OHG *chnāan know*, *pi-chnāt* f *recognition*, *ein-chnuadil noted*, *cnuodelen indicate recognition* (: Skt *jñātram capability of recognizing* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:341). Not Hitt *hanna- decide* Tischler 1983- I:146-48.

For the differentiation of the two PIE roots *ĝen-* see Franz Schröder 1918 BGDSL 43: 495-96 and Meillet 1921:172ff. On the development of meaning in Gmc see Kahl 1890 ZDP 22:1ff, Deggau 1907, Weissgräber 1929; also Jasanoff 1978:68,73,77, Lloyd 1979:222,288, 290.

P 1959:376-78, Watkins 1985:23-24.

K39. kunþi n*ja* γνῶσις *knowledge* L 1. 77; **uf-kunþi* ἐπίγνωσις *full knowledge* E 1.17; **un-kunþi* ἀγνωσία *lack of knowledge*, only acc sg 1C 15.34.

Ptc formation of **kunnan** extended with PIE *-yo-* as in **arbi**; with *-in-* in OHG *(ana-)chundī* f *knowledge*, with *-ti-* in Av *ā-zaintiš*, Gk γνῶσις, Lat *nōtiō knowledge*; Lith *pa-žintìs acquaintance*.

P 1959:377.

K40. kunþs adj*a* γνωτός, γινωσκόμενος *known* J 18.15; **fra-kunþs* ἐξουθενημένος *despised* 2C 10.10; *swi-kunþs* φανερός, ἔκδηλος *manifest* R 10.20; ***un-swi-kunþs** *unknown*, only nom sg f *-þozei* Sk 6.1 / VIa.1-2; *un-kunþs* ἀγνοούμενος *unknown* G 1.22; *us-kunþs (ist)* γινώσκεται *known, transparent* L 6.44; **uf-kunþi* n*ia* calque of ἐπίγνωσις *recognition* E 4.13; cf ***ga-kunþs**; *ga-swi-kunþjan* wkvI φανερὸν ποιῆσαι, ἀνα-φαίνεσθαι *make known* L 19.11.

OI *kunnr*, *kūþr*, OE *cūþ*, OS *kūð*, OHG *chund known*; OI *ū-kūðr*, OE *un-cūþ unknown*, cf NE *uncouth*; OE *cȳðan*, OFris *kētha*, OS *cūðean*, OLG *kundan*, OHG *kunden* wkv, derived from PGmc *kunþ- make known*.

PIE *ĝn̥-tó-*: Skt *jñātás*, Gk γνωτός etc *known*; cf **kunnan**.

P 1959:377.

L

L1. laaz name of the *l*-rune in Sal, corresponding to OI *lǫgr* m, OE *lagu* m/f *lake*†; also OS *lagu-strōm* stm *waves of the sea*. From **lagaz*, an *a*-decl noun, like **daaz** = **dags**; see Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:150-51, Arntz 1944: 221-26.

PIE *laku- water in a pit, lake, sea*: Gk λάκκος ← *-kw- pit, tank, pond* Chantraine 1968-80:615, Lat *lacus basin, lake*, MIr *loch pool, lake*; OSl *loky pond*. Fick 1874 ZVS 22: 553 unlikely in relating OSl *lǫka bend, as in a river*; cf Berneker 1908-14:739,730.

P 1959:653.

L2. *lagga-modei fn calque of Gk μακροθυμία *patience*, only dat sg *-ein* R 9.22, 1C 6.6, with *-ei* as in ***af-gudei** from adj **lagga-moþs*; see ***moþs**.

OHG *lanc-mōti*, *lanc-muotī* f *patience* to *lanc-mōt* adj, *langmuotīg*, OE *long-mōd* adj *patient*.

L3. *laggs adj *long*; in expressions for time, such as *laggai hveilai* ἐπὶ χρόνον *for a while* L 18.4; *swa lagga swe* ἐφ' ὅσον *(for) as long* R 11.13; *laggei* fn μῆκος *length*, only E 3. 18, derived with *-ei* as in ***af-gudei**.

PGmc in EN *Lango-bardi*; OI *langr*, OE *long*, OFris *long*, *lang*, OS, OHG *lang long*†; also OHG *antalengan* wkv *answer* from 'extend', Sievers 1888 *F* Böhtlingk:110ff; OE *lengu*, OFris *len(d)ze*, MLG *lenge*, OHG *lengī* wkf *length*.

Close cognate in Lat *longus long*; possibly also in Celt GN such as λογγο-σταλητων gen pl in a coin inscription of the Volci, unless borrowed, Holder 1896-1907 II:285; OIr *loing long* is a borrowing from Lat *longus*, W/H 1938-56 I:820-21. Unrelated, Gk λόγχη *lance* Chantraine 1968-80:645.

On the basis of MPers *drang*, NPers *dirang long* derived from PIE *del- long*, with *-e/on-gh*-extension; PIE *dl-* here simplified in WIE dialects, W/H 1938-56 I:820-21. See also Lith *ìlgas*, Latvian *ĩlgs*, OPruss adv *ilga long*, with loss of *d-*, Toporov 1975- III:40-41; from PIE *dl̥ʔgh-*, as is also Skt *dīrgha-*, Av *darəga-*, OPers *darga-*; Gk δολιχός, OSl *dlъgъ long*. Cf also Hitt *daluki- long*, *dalugasti- length*, with problematic *-u-*; Specht 1944:126-28 proposes suffixes *-ey-/-ew-/-en-* to account for the vowels after reflexes of PIE *-l-*. But laryngeal suffixes *-eʔ/ɣ-* are more likely, as in WP Lehmann 1952:53-55, which however needs updating. The Ital and Gmc forms have *-egh*-suffixes, with infixed nasal: *dl-e-n-gh-*; infix not present in **tulgus** *firm* from 'long steady'.

P 1959:196-97, Watkins 1985:11, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:782,860.

L4. *laian stvVII, only 3pl prt *lailoun* ἐλοιδόρησαν *despised* J 9.28.

Stem vowel unclear, B/E 1981:31,116,117; 1sg prs **laia*, Bezzenberger 1903 *F* Fick:206, Feist 1907 BGDSL 32:569, Wrede in Stamm/ Heyne 1920:xii; **loja*, Streitberg 1920:76; ***laua**, Bremer 1886 BGDSL 11:56. Related to OI *lō* f *golden plover*, NI *lómr* m *loon*.

PIE *lā-* and *lē-*, with *-yo-* prs: Skt *rā́yati*, Oss *ræyun bark* (Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:55 also permits derivation from PIE *rē-*, as do P 1959: 859 (versus 650) and Fraenkel 1962-65:387,732-33); Hsch λαίειν, λαήμεναι· φθέγγεσθαι *utter a sound*; Lat *lātrāre bark*, *lā-mentum lament*; MIr *liim accuse*; Lith *lóti*, Latvian *lât*, OSl *lajati bark*; Arm *lam cry*; Alb *leh bark*. Not Gk ὑ-λάω *bark*, which is imitative, cf Chantraine 1968-80:1154.

P 1959:650-51.

L5. *laiba fō κατάλειμμα, περίσσευμα *remainder, remnant* Mk 8.8; cf ***bi-laibjan**.

OI *leifar* f pl, OE *lāf*, OFris *lēva*, OS *lēƀa*, OHG *leiba* stf *remainder, leavings*†.

PIE *leyp- adhere, smear with fat*: Skt *limpáti smear, adhere to*; TochAB *lip- remain*, *lyipär remainder*. Cf ***bi-leiban** *remain*, ***bi-laibjan** *leave*. See also **liban**. P 1959:670-71

ascribes Gmc meaning 'remain' to influence of PGmc *lih-* ← PIE *leyk^{w}- leave*; but the Toch cognates also share the meaning, which may have developed from 'adhere to'.

L6. laigaion = Gk λεγεών, Lat *legiō legion* Mk 5.9.

L7. *laikan stvVII σκιρτῆσαι *jump, hop*, 2pl imp *laikid* L 6.23, 3sg prt *lailaik* L 1. 41,44; *bi-laikan* ἐμπαίζειν *mock*, inf L 14.29, 3sg prs pass *-kada* G 6.7; **laiks mi* χορός *dance*, only acc pl *-kins* L 15.25.

OI *leika*, prt *lēk play, swing*, OE *lācan* prt *leolc, lēc leap, fly, sing*, MLG *lēken leap*, MHG *leichen* wkv *jump up, bend, mock at*; OI *leikr play, mockery*, OE *lāc play, battle, booty, offering*, OFris, OS *lēk play, dance*, OHG *leih* stm *play, melody, song*, cf NE *lay*; OI *-leikr, -leiki* as suffix as in *gōð-leikr, gōð-leiki* stm *goodness*.

PIE *leyg- hop, tremble*, with prt vowel in Gmc prs, Brugmann 1913 IF 32:193: Skt *réjati cause to tremble, réjate tremble*; NPers *ā-lēẖtan jump, kick (of a horse)*; Kurd *be-lezium dance, līzim play*; Gk λιγαίνω *shout, sing, dance (of the chorus)*, ἐλελίζω *whirl round* (Chantraine 1968-80:335 is doubtful, however, and 639-40 rejects relationship with λιγαίνω); OIr *loīg calf*, though not by Pedersen 1909-13 II:22-23; Lith *láigyti run about wildly (of colts, calves, etc)* Fraenkel 1962-65:330-31. OSl *likz dance, likovati to dance* are borrowed from Gmc. Berneker 1908-14:719. PIE *leyg-* may be based on a root *ley-* with various suffixes; cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:72 and Fraenkel 1962-65: 330-31 with the various Balt forms cited there.

P 1959:667-68.

L8. laiktjo f = Lat *lēctiō reading, lesson*; appears 44 times in margin of Cod B. Note also OS *leccia*, OHG *lectia, lekza* st/wkf *reading of a section from the Bible*. Compare ***kawtsjo**. Corazza 1969:69.

L9. lais prt-prsI οἶδα *I know*, only 1sg Ph 4.12.

New formation in Go based on **wait**, Meillet 1909 IF 26:200ff, since there is no primary verb in other IE dialects. Less likely, Marstrander 1929 NTS 2:99-106 takes it as prt of PGmc *liznōn*, which has no parallels in other IE dialects. Distinctive intellectual meaning only in Gmc, as in **laisjan, *lists, *lubja-leis**.

PIE *leys- track, furrow*, with only nouns and denom verbs in other Gmc dialects: OS *wagan-lēsa*, OHG *wagan-leisa* wkf *wagon track*, MHG *leis, leise* st/wkn *track*, NHG *Geleise track*; OHG *fore-leiso* adj *preceding*, wkm *leader*, derivative *leisanōn* wkv *imitate*; see also ***lubja-leis**; zero grade, MDu *lese*, OHG *lesa* f *fold*.

Lat *līra furrow, dē-lirūs insane* from *mentally off the track*, with intellectual reference as in Go; Lith *lýsė, lýstė* 'garden-bed' (cf ***laists** with parallel form), OPruss *lyso*; OSl *lěcha garden-bed*, Russ *lecha bed, furrow* Fraenkel 1962-65:376, W/H 1938-56 I:812-13; doubtfully, Lat *līmes boundary (between fields)* W/H 1938-56 I:803-04.

P 1959:671; Seebold 1970:322-23; W Schulze 1966:540-43; Watkins 1985:36.

L10. laisjan wkvI M 11.1, *ga-laisjan* 1T 2.12, **us-laisjan* διδάσκειν, κατηχεῖν *teach, instruct* E 4.21; *un-us-laisiþs* papl μὴ μεμαθηκώς *untaught* J 7.15; *laiseins* f*i/ō* διδαχή, διδασκαλία *teaching* J 7.16, derived with *-eins*; *laisareis mi*a διδάσκαλος *teacher* M 9.11; **witoda-laisareis* νομοδιδάσκαλος *scribe* L 5.17; *laiseigs* adja διδακτικός *apt at teaching*, only 1T 3.2, 2T 2.24, cf Kluge 1926:103.

Caus based on **lais**, as also in OE *lǣran* (source of borrowed OI *læra*), OFris *lēra*, OS *lērian*, OHG *lēren* wkv *teach*; zero grade with *-na-* in OE *leornian*, OFris *lerna*, OS *līnōn* (Wood 1902-03 IF 13:121, Weyhe 1905 BGDSL 30:55ff), OHG *lirnēn, lernēn* wkv *learn*† Marstrander 1929 NTS 2:102-03. Also OS *ēwīn-lērari* stm *teacher of the law*, OHG *lērāri* stm *teacher*; Schubert 1968:14 following Wissmann 1938:63-64 rejects derivation from Go **laisō teaching*, in favor of derivation from *laisjan*; OHG *lēra* wkf *teaching* is a back for-

mation. This in contrast to F 1939:320, who assumes PGmc *laizō*: OE *lār*, OFris *lāre*, OS, OHG *lēra* wkf *teaching*. Also with *-ja-* OS *lēreo* stm *teacher*; MLG *lērich*, OHG *lērīg*, *lirīg* adj *teachable*. Such derivatives illustrate further new formations in Gmc dialects.

L11. *laists *mi* ἴχνος *track, trace* Sk 2.24 / IIb.14; *ga-laista mn follower* (in *galaista wisan* στοιχεῖν, παρακολουθεῖν *follow* G 6.16, *ga-laista wairþan* καταδιῶξαι *follow after* Mk 1.36); *laistjan* wkvI (derivative of **laists*) ἀκολουθεῖν, διώκειν *follow* J 13.36; **afar-laistjan* ἀκολουθεῖν *follow* L 7.9; **ga-laistjan* διώκειν *follow* R 12.13; **un-bi-laistiþs* only R 11.33, **un-fair-laistiþs*, only E 3.8 papl ἀνεξιχνίαστος *inscrutable*.

Formed with PIE *-ti-* from base of **lais**; also OI *leistr stocking-foot, sock*, OE *lāst, lāst sole, track of foot*, MLG *lēst(e) last*, OHG *leist* stm *trace, (shoemaker's) last*†; OE *ge-lāst duty*, OS *gi-lēsti* n *deed, gi-lēstian* wkv *complete*; OE *lǣstan follow, carry out, last*†, *(ie 'continue')*, OFris *lāsta, lēsta fulfill*, OS *lēstian pursue, carry out*, OHG *leisten* wkv *follow, carry out, perform*.

L12. lamb *na* πρόβατον, ἄρην *lamb, sheep* L 15.6.

OI, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *lamb* stn *lamb*†. An *-es*-stem in PGmc, as reflected in OE (Northumbrian) nom sg *lemb* ← **lambiz*, dat sg *lamber*, pl *lombor, lombro*, OHG pl *lembir*; also Finn *lammas*, gen *lampa(h)an*, Vepsian *lambas sheep* (borrowings, Thomsen 1870:148; cf Gutn *lamb sheep*), Paul 1877 BGDSL 4: 415ff, Weyhe 1906 BGDSL 31:82; but Osthoff 1901:310 pointing to OHG (Bavarian) pl *lampo*, cf Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 I:154,1, consider *-es*-inflection secondary.

Possibly based on PIE *el- brown*, used in names of animals and trees: OHG *elo brown, yellow*; TochA *yäl gazelle* W Schulze 1966:254 fn2; + *-en-* in Gk ἐλλός ← **el-no- fawn*, Wel *elain doe*, Lith *élnis*, OSl *jelenъ*, Arm *eln deer*; also + *-bho-* in Gk ἔλαφος ← PIE *eln-bh-* (as in Skt *vṛṣa-bhá-* beside *vṛṣan- bull*, Lat *columba dove*, etc), Bugge 1888 BGDSL 13:315-16, 1896 BGDSL 21:423, E Sturtevant 1911 ClassP 6: 197. Loss of initial vowel also in Wel *lon elk* Strachan 1894 BKIS 20:8 fn5. Extensions with *-k̂-* in Skt *ṛṣyas antelope*; PGmc (-Lat) *alcēs* f pl *elk*, Caesar BG 6:27, OI *elgr*, OHG *elho* m; Russ *losь elk*†.

In view of the proposed treatment of the root and the poor semantic basis ('sheep' from 'brown animal'), other proposals have been made, such as Mikkola 1896 BKIS 21:219-20 to Latvian *luõps cattle*; Alb *lopë cow*, which however are derived from PIE *lāp- cow* P 1959: 654; Petersson 1921b:22-23 assumed secondary nasalization in Gmc. Even more dubious proposals listed in F 1939:321.

P 1959:302-04; see Buck 1949:156-60 on the various words for 'sheep' in the IE dialects; because of changes in habitat and climate, there may have been no continuity in sheep raising, with resulting new terms like OI *sauðr* and NE *sheep* itself.

L13. land *na* ἀγρός, πατρίς *land, region* L 14.18; *Iudaia-land* 'Ιουδαία *Judea* Mk 1.15.

Run *ląt gotna* (Eggja) *land of warriors* rather than 'of horses', Krause 1966 I:228-31; OI, OE *land*, OFris *lond*, OS *land*, OHG *lant* stn *land*†; Sw dial *linda* ← PIE *lendhyā fallow land*.

Cognates only in Celt, Balt, and Slav, yet P 1959:675 posits PIE *lendh- open land, heath*: OIr *land open place, ith-laind* dat *storage place for grain*, Wel *llann*, Corn *lan piece of land*, Bret *lann heath* (Fr *lande plain, heath*, borrowed from Celt); OPruss *lindan* acc sg *valley*; OSl *ljadina weeds, shrubs*, Russ *ljadá overgrown field* Vasmer 1953-58 II:81. -- Possibly also OI *lundr* m *grove* Much 1898 ZDA 42:170, also Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:240-41 who compares Lat *nemus grove* : Gk νομός *meadow*. But Lidén 1891 BGDSL 15:521-22 relates OI *lundr* to Gk λάσιος *overgrown*; not accepted by Chantraine 1968-80:621-22. Vries 1962:345, however, accepts as probable the relationship, starting from notion 'hedged piece

of land'. Scarcely with E Lewy 1907 BGDSL 32:138 fn2 to be related to PIE *lendh- kidney*, as in OI *lend loin*, OHG *lentī* f *kidney*. Scardigli 1973:47, pointing to Catalan *llanda plain* and Basque *landa field*, suggests pre-IE origin.

Finn *lannas*, gen *lantaan seashore* borrowed from Gmc, Thomsen 1870:148.

P 1959:675.

L14. lasiws adj*a* ἀσθενής *weak*, only 2C 10.10; superl **lasiwosts* ἀσθενέστεροι *the weakest*, only nom pl *-tai* 1C 12.22. Only *-iws* sequence, M Jellinek 1892 ZDA 36:277, A Sturtevant 1925 JEGP 24:195-96, B/E 1981:43.

Also with *-w-*: MHG *er-leswen* wkv *become weak*; zero grade of root in OE *lyso*, gen *lyswes* ← **lusiwa- bad, evil*; Grienberger 1900:145 assumes PIE *-īwos* as in Lat *captīvus captive*; Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:298 posits PIE *lósik^{w}o-*. Extended forms of PGmc *lasa-*, as in OI *lasinn weak, limp, las-meyrr decrepit*, NE *lazy*; probably not OHG *ir-leskan* wkv *extinguish*; MHG *lasche* wkm *rag* W/H 1938-56 II:618.

PIE *ləs- limp*, extended form of *lēy-* as in **letan*: Lat *sublestus weak*; OSl *lošь thin*; TochA *lyäṣk- groin*. Further, dubious suggestions in F 1939:322.

P 1959:680.

L15. *lats adj*a* ὀκνηρός *lazy, indolent* L 19.22; *latei* f*n* (only in *mis ni latei* ἐμοὶ οὐκ ὀκνηρόν *it is not irksome for me* Ph.3.1) *-ei-*derivative of **lats*; **latjan* wkvI χρονίζειν *delay*, only 3sg opt prt *-tidedi* L 1.21; in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:486, Sievers proposes *lataidedi*, comparing OHG *thaz her lazzēta* (Tatian 2.10) 'quod tardaret ipse' *that he delayed*; **ana-latjan* 1Th 2.18, **ga-latjan* ἐγκόπτειν *hinder*, only 3sg prt *-tida* G 5.7, which gives evidence against Sievers.

OI *latr*, OE *læt sluggish*, OFris *let evil*, OS *lat*, OHG *laz sluggish*; OI *lǫskr* ← **lat-skwa-*, Noreen 1923:235,295; OI *leti*, OHG *lezzī* wkf *laziness*; OI *letja*, OE *lettan*, OFris *letta*, OS *lettian*, OHG *lezzen* wkv *hinder* (frozen in NE *without let or hindrance*).

PIE *lēy- slacken*, as in **letan*; + *-d-*: zero grade also in Lat *lassus* ← **lat-tos* ← PIE *ləd-to- limp*; normal grade in Lat *lēnis* ← **lēd-ni-gentle*; Lith *lėnas gentle, lazy*, OSl *lěnь* ← **lēd-no- lazy* Fraenkel 1962-65:355, W/H 1938-56 I:782-83; also Lith *lėtas slow*, Latvian *lẽts easy, cheap*.

P 1959:666.

L16. laþon wkvII καλεῖν *invite* M 9. 13; **at-laþon* only nom pl papl *-þodai* E 4.4, *ga-laþon* συγκαλεῖν, συναγαγεῖν *call together, invite* Sk 1.25 / Id.17-18; *laþons* f*i* κλῆσις *invitation, call* R 11.29; *laþa-leiko* adv ἥδιστα *gladly* (only 2C 12.15A; gloss in margin, **ga-baurjaba**) with adv form as in **alja-leiko**.

OI *laðа*, OE *ladian*, OFris *lathia, ladia*, OS *laðian, laðōian*, OHG *ladōn, ladēn* wkv *invite, call*.

Derived from PGmc *laþō* f: Run *laþu invitation, summons* Krause 1966 I:253-57, OI *lǫð*, OE *laþu* f *invitation*. According to Meringer 1904 IF 16:114ff identical with MHG *lade* st/wkm *board* (invitations were sent on an invitational tablet); approved by Neckel 1904-05 IF 17:175-76.

Etymologically difficult. P 1959:665 posits PIE *lē[y]- want*, with reflexes primarily in Gk, such as λῆν *want*, λῆμα n *will*; but Chantraine 1968-80:653, following Boisacq 1916:577 posits PIE *wlē-*, an extension of PIE *wel-* as in **wiljan**. Prellwitz 1905:268 adds OIr *air-le zeal, regulation* becoming *advice*, but Vendryès 1959-:A-46-47 fails to include this proposal, deriving it instead from PIE *el-, lā- move* P 1959:306-07. Other suggestions in F 1939:323 even less likely.

L17. *laufs m*a leaf*, only nom pl m *-ubos* φύλλα Mk 13.28, *lauf* n*a*, only acc sg n used collectively φύλλα *foliage* Mk 11.13; W Schulze 1966:690 compares Lat *vāllus* : *vāllum palisade, stake* on exchange of gender; see B/E 1981:51,57 on *-f*.

OE *lēaf*, OHG *loub* stm (sg; Georgslied 21); otherwise OI *louf*, OE *lēaf*, OFris *lāf*, OS *lōf*, OHG *loub* stn *foliage, leaf*. Also OI *lopt* n

loft†, cf ***luftus**; OHG *louft* m **bark, bast,** MLG *löve*, OHG *louba* f **roof (of bark)**; OI *laupr*, OE *lēap* m **basket, pail woven of bast,** MLG *lōp* m **wooden vessel, small vat.**

PIE *lew- cut off, separate* as in Skt *lunā́ti cut off*, λύω *loose* P 1959:681-82, with *-s-* in ***fra-liusan**; also **lun.** Here with labial suffixes: *-bh-*: Lat *liber beech, bast*; OIr *luib weeds*; Lith *lubà ceiling board*, Latvian *luba*, OPruss *lubbo board*; Lith *lúoba bark of linden or birch tree*; Latvian *luôbît peel*; Russ *lub bast.* With *-b-* in OI *laupr*, OE *lēap basket*, and possibly also in Balt, with lengthening of **-ou-* in Lith *lúoba* parallel to that in *grę̃bti rake*, cf Winter 1978: 431-46, although PIE *lew-* also has laryngeal extensions, as in Skt *lunā́ti* which might have caused the lengthening.

PIE *lew-* + *-p-* in Gk λῦπη *pain*, Lith *lùpti peel*, though Skt *lumpā́ti break* belongs rather with *rup-*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:108-09; **laufs* may also have this origin. The source of the labial is unclear in OI *lopt*, OHG *louft*, as also in OIr *lomm*, Wel *llym bare, naked*, MIr *lommrain peel, luchtar boat made of skins.* See also ***luftus**.

P 1959:690-91; Fraenkel 1962-65:388,391-92, who gives a different etymon for Lith *lāpas leaf* 339-40; cf ***lofa**.

L18. *laugnjan wkvI ἀρνεῖσθαι *deny* L 8.45; *ga-laugnjan* λαθεῖν *be hidden* Mk 7.24, refl, only 3sg prt *-gnida sik* περιέκρυβην ἑαυτήν *she hid herself* L 1.24.

OI *leyna conceal*, OE *līegnan, lȳgnan deny*, OFris *leina keep secret*, OS *lōgnian*, OHG *louganen* wkv *deny*. Based on PGmc *laugn-* as in OI *laun* f *secrecy*, Go **ana-laugns hidden, ana-laugniba in secret*, OE *un-līgne* adj *incontrovertible.* See **2. *liugan** *tell a lie, *liugn lie.*

L19. *lauhatjan wkvI ἀστράπτειν *flash like lightning*, only nom f sg *-tjandei* as *lightning flashes* L 17.24.

OHG *lohazan, lōzen* wkv *gleam*, with grammatical change *lougezen* wkv *flare up.* Also with *-g-* and suffix accent OE *līegetu* f, *lēget* m, NFris *lāid, lōid* ← OFris **lēide* ← PGmc *laugiðō lightning*; OI *leygr*, OE *līeg* m *flame, fire* (= Skt *rocíṣ-* n, Lat *lūx light*); zero grade in OI *logi* m *flame*, *log* n *light*, OFris *loga* m *flame*, OS *logna* f *blaze*; with accent on root, OHG *loha-fuir* n *impetigo*, MHG *lohe* wkm *flame.*

Verbal suffix *-atjan*; see ***ahmateins** and B/E 1981:121. Parallel suffixes, not inherited from PIE, in Gk λευκάζω ← *λαυκαδ-ιω *am white* to Gk λευκάς, -κάδος *brightness*, λιθάζω *stone* to λιθάς, gen -άδος = λίθος *a stone*; Lat *custōdiō watcher* to *custōs*, gen *-tōdis watchman.*

Based on PIE *lewk-* as in **liuhaþ.**

L20. *lauhmuni *fiō* (*-moni* L 17.24) ἀστραπή *lightning* L 10.18 (*-áu-* to be assumed on the basis of ME *levene*).

With *e*-grade and *o*-grade of PIE *-men-*, PIE *lewk-món-*: OI *ljómi*, OE *lēoma*, OS *liomo* m *ray, gleam* Osthoff 1881:142, 1882 BGDSL 8:277; ME *levene*, NE archaic *levin* ← PGmc **lauhuƀni lightning* Pogatscher 1902 BzA 13: 234-35.

On the Go suffix *-munja-* see the suffix of Lat *calumnia calumny* Kluge 1926:79-80, Go **fraist-ubni*, ***glitmunjan** etc. A replacement of the PIE word for 'lightning', made from the stem in OI *mjǫllnir* [name of Thor's hammer], Porzig 1954:195-96; derived from PIE *lewk- shine* as in **liuhaþ**, like Lat *lūmen* ← PIE *lewk-s-men*, J Schmidt 1895:102, W/H 1938-56 I:832-33, or ← PIE *lowk-*, Magnien 1933 BSLP 34:[art]36. PIE *-mo-* in Skt *rukmás golden adornment.*

L21. laun *na* μισθός, ὀψώνιον, χάρις *reward, credit* M.6.1; *sigis-laun* βραβεῖον *prize* 1C 9.24; *a*-stem also in ***launa-wargs**; *ja*-derivative in **anda-launi** *return, reward*; see Benveniste 1973:134-36 on meaning 'benefit gained by capture, booty'.

OI *laun* n pl, OE *lēan*, OFris *lān*, OS, OHG *lōn* stn *reward, recompense.*

Derived with *-no-* from PIE *lāw- capture as booty, enjoy*: Gk ἀπο-λαύω *enjoy*, Dor

λᾱία, Ion λητη, Att λητς, λεία *booty* (same meaning in Skt *lótram*, cited in dictionaries), Gk ἀ-λήιος *poor*, λᾱρός (← **laϱeros*, W Schulze 1892:25 and Pokorny 1917-20 IF 38: 193) *dainty*; Lat *lu-crum* (← **lu-tlom*, Gdr 1897-1916 I:440) *gain, benefit*; OIr *lōg, lūag reward, prize, fo-lad material*, Wel *golud* (← **upo-lauto-*) *riches, llawen joyful*; OSl *lovz booty, loviti capture in hunting*. P 1959:655, in contrast with Thurneysen 1921 ZCP 13:105, also includes OIr *lour enough*, Wel *llawer much*.

L22. *launa-wargs adj*a* ἀχάριστος *unthankful*, only nom pl m *-gos* 2T 3.2.

Cmpd of *launa-*, cf **laun** and **-wargs* (see **wargiþa** and ***ga-wargeins**): OI *vargr wolf, outlaw*, OE *wearg*, OS *warag*, OHG *warg* stm *criminal*; borrowed from Gmc, MLat *vargus* 'expulsus' (Lex Ribuaria 85,2) *vagabond, exile, vargida* f (Capitulare 797) *misdeed* Baesecke 1935 BGDSL 59:62,67. A Gmc legal term for 'one expelled from the tribe because of a serious crime' (Gmc kennings: OI *skōgar-maðr*, OE *weald-genga*, OHG *walt-man*), Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 I:51, II:134. Borrowed into Finn as *varas*, gen *varkaan thief* Thomsen 1870:182.

Etymology of **-wargs* disputed. Probably from PIE *wer- turn, bend*, with *-ĝh- press, strangle*: Lith *veržti tie up, press*, Latvian *vêrzt turn*, OSl *po-vrěsti bind*; also Skt *vr̥jánam enclosure, settlement*, OPers *vardanam city*, Gk εἴργειν *enclose*; OI *virgill*, OS *wurgil cord*; OE *wyrgan*, OHG *wurgen* wkv *throttle, strangle* Fraenkel 1962-65:1230-31. This etymology preferable to relationship with Lith *vařgas need*, Latvian *vàrgs miserable*, OSl *vragz enemy* Fraenkel 1962-65:1198-99, though Vries 1962:645-46 sees a possible semantic tie.

P 1959:1154-55.

L23. laus adj*a* *free from, empty* 1C 9. 21; also in *akrana-laus without fruit* Mk 4.19; **andi-laus* ἀπέραντος *endless*, only gen pl *-saize* 1T 1.4 (Cod A has *anda-*); **guda-laus* calque of ἄθεος *godless*, only nom pl m E 2.12; *witoda-laus* calque of ἄνομος *lawless* 1C 9.21; **us-lauseins* f*i/ō* λύτρωσις *salvation* L 1.68.

OI *lauss*, OE *lēas*, OFris *lās*, OS, OHG *lōs free, empty of, -less*; zero grade in MLG, Du *los* ← PGmc *lusa- free*. Based on PIE *lews-* as in ***fra-liusan**. Also OI *enda-lauss*, OE *ende-lēas*, OS *endi-lōs*, MHG *ende-lōs endless*†; NI *guð-lauss*, NHG *gott-los godless*†; OI *ōr-lausn* f, OHG *urlōsi* stf *salvation*, OE *ā-lȳsan*, OS *ā-lōsian*, OHG *ir-lōsen* wkv *release, free*.

L24. *lausa-waurds adj*a* ματαιολόγοι *empty talkers*, only nom pl m *-dai* Tit 1.10; **lausa-waurdei* f*n* ματαιολογία *empty talk*, only dat sg *-dein* 1T 1.6; **lausa-waurdi* n*ia* κενοφωνία *empty speaking*, only acc pl *-dja* 2T 2.16.

Cmpd of **laus** and **waurd**.

OI *laus-orðr loose or unreliable of speech, laus-yrði* n *loose talk*, OS *lōs-waurd* n *slander*.

L25. *laus-handja wk adj κενός *with empty hands*, only acc sg m *-djan* Mk 12. 3; *-ja*-cmpd of **laus** and **handus**.

Cf OE *īdel-hende with empty hands*, OFris *hend*, MLG *be-hende handy*†, OHG *gihenti helpful*.

L26. lausjan wkvI ῥύεσθαι *free, rescue* 1C 7.27, πράσσειν *collect (money)* L 3. 13; *ga-lausjan* ῥύεσθαι *rescue* Sk 1.10 / Ib.10; **us-lausjan* κενοῦν *empty* Ph 2.7, ῥύεσθαι *save* 2Th 3.2; **us-lauseins* f*i/ō* λύτρωσις *salvation* L 1.68.

OI *leysa*, OE *lȳsan*, OFris *lēsa*, OS *lōsian*, OHG *lōsen* wkv *release*. Cf **laus**.

L27. *laus-qiþrs adj*a* νῆστις *with empty stomach*, only acc pl m *-þrans* Mk 8.3, cmpd of *laus* and **qiþrs*, cf ***qiþus**; **laus-qiþrei* f*n fasting*, only *in -rein*, error for *-reim* ἐν νηστείαις 2C 6.5, and 2C 11.27, where *-m* is lost through manuscript damage, cf Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:300.

L28. *leihts adj*a* ἐλαφρός *light, slight*, only nom sg n *leiht* 2C 4.17, adv gen *leihtis* 2C 1.17.

OI *lēttr*, OE *lēoht*, OFris *lichte*, OS *līht-* (in *līht-līkora lighter* Heliand 2055, conjecture for *lihdlicora* Mon, *lithlicora* Cott), OHG *līhti*,

līht ***light***†. PGmc *līht(j)a-* ← PGmc *liŋhta-*, *leŋhta-* ← pre-Gmc *leŋgh-* ~ *leŋg^{w}h-* + *t(i̯)o-*.

PIE *leg^{w}h-* ~ *legh-* ***light; move rapidly***; *leŋg^{w}h-* ~ *leŋgh-*, possibly two roots that fell together, Meillet 1902-05:164ff; or nasal may be from prs stem; Kuiper 1937:143 posits three roots, besides *leg^{w}h-* ***be light***. TochB *laṅkts* ***light***; *-t-* lacking elsewhere, as in Lith *leñgvas*, *lengvùs* ***light*** (with *-e-*grade and *-u-*; cf Av *rənǰō* ***faster***). With zero grade and *-u-*, PIE *lŋg^{w}hú-* (Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:176-79, as in **hardus**, ****kaurus***, ***qairrus***, ***tulgus***, etc; B/E 1981:91): Skt *laghúṣ* younger form of *raghúṣ* ***rapid***, Av ****raγu-***, f ****raγvī-*** → ***rəvī rapid***; Gk ἐλαχύς ***small, little***. With PIE *-r-*: Gk ἐ-λαφρός ***light, fast***; OE *lungre* adv, OS, OHG *lungar* ***rapid*** (see Chantraine 1968-80:333-34 on problems). With PIE *-yo-*: Arm *lanjk'* ***breast*** from 'lung', Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:165. With PIE *-n-*: OI *lungo* n pl, OE *lungen*, OFris *lungen(e)*, OS *lunga*, *lungannia*, OHG *lunga*, *lungun* (Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 III:433, and pl *lunganna* II:3) f *lung*† from 'the light organ'; cf NE ***lights***.

Without nasal in stem: Lat *levis* ***-g^{w}h-light***; OIr comp *laigiu* ***lighter, poorer***, MWel *llei* ***less***, superl OIr *lugimen*, *lugam*, MWel *lleiaf* ***lightest***; OSl *lъgъkъ*; Alb *lehtë* ***light***.

PIE *leŋgh-*: Skt *láṅghati* ***leaps***, *ráṁhate* ***hastens*** Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:29-30,86, Av *rənǰaiti* ***speeds***; OIr *lingim* ***leap***, prt *leblaing*, OHG *gi-lingan* stv ***proceed***. See also OIr *lēimm* ← *lŋg-smen-*, Wel *llam* ***leap***.

P 1959:660-61; Watkins 1985:35; extensive discussion in Osthoff 1910a:1-69, with many references; Fraenkel 1962-65:355-56.

L29. leihvan stvVII δανείζειν ***lend***, with ***sis*** δανείσασθαι ***borrow*** Mk 5.42; 3sg prs ***-hid*** L 6.34, 3sg opt prs ***-haid*** L 6.35; no prt or papl forms.

OI *ljā*, OE *on-lēon*, OFris *liā*, OS *far-līhan*, OHG *līhan*, papl *-liwan*, *-lihan* stv ***lend***; OI *leiga* f ***rent, wages***, *lān* ***loan***†, ***fief***, OE *lǣn*, OFris *lēn*, MDu *leen*, MLG *lēn*, OHG *lēhan* ← PGmc *laihna-* n ***fief***; also with PIE *-no-*: Skt *rékṇas*, Av *raēx-nah-* ***inheritance***; cf Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:254ff and Benveniste 1973: 150-57 on development of meaning from 'leave' to 'lend' etc.

PIE *leyk^{w}-* ***be absent, leave, remain*** Benveniste 1973:151, in Skt *riṇákti* ***leave, give up***, *riktás*, *rekúṣ* ***empty, free***; Av *irinaẋti* ***releases***; Gk λείπω, λιμπάνω ***leave***, λοιπός ***remaining***; Lat *linquō* ***leave***, *re-liquus* ***remaining***; Lith *likti* ***remain***, *lìktas* ***remaining***, Latvian *likt* ***leave***, *lìeks* ***superfluous***, OPruss *polīnka* ***remain***; Lith *ãt-laikas*, OSl *otъ-lěkъ* ***remainder*** (= Skt *ati-rékas* ***superfluity***); Arm *lk'anem* ***leave***, aor *elik'*. Possibly also OIr *lēicid* ***leaves, releases*** ← ****link^{w}-*** with vocalism of aor and fut ****leik^{w}-s-***, Strachan 1894 BKIS 20:31, P 1959:669, though opposed by Thurneysen 1896 AinIF 6:195, etc.

Here also Go *-lif* in ****ainlif*** etc, according to Senn 1935-36 SBal 5:81ff though Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:258-59 derived it from PIE *leip-*, as in **beleiban**, whence also TochA *lip-* ***remain***.

P 1959:669-70; Fraenkel 1962-65:372-73, 375-76; Watkins 1985:36.

L30. leik na σῶμα ***body***, σάρξ ***flesh***, πτῶμα ***body, corpse*** M 5.29; ****ga-leika*** mn σύσσωμος ***of the same body***, only acc pl E 3.6; *man-leika* mn εἰκών ***image, likeness*** Mk 12.16; *leikeins* adja σωματικός, σαρκικός ***bodily*** R 7. 14.

OI *līk*, OE *lic*, OFris *lik*, OS *līk*, OHG *līh* stn, NE dial ***lich body, flesh, corpse***; OI *līk-amr*, *līk-ami*, OE *līc-homa*, *līc-uma*, OHG *līh-amo*, *līh-hin-amo* stm ***corpse***; cf **af-hamon**; OI *mann-līkan* n ***figure of a man***, OE *manlīca*, OHG *mana-līhha* stf ***statue, form***.

Etymology disputed; see **ga-leiks**. Assuming an original meaning 'form, figure', Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:279, 1906 TNTL 25:285 associates Lith *lýgus* ***like***, cf Fraenkel 1962-65: 370-71; P 1959:667 posits PIE *lig-* ***figure; like***, with only Gmc and Balt reflexes. Berneker 1908-14:719-20 relates OSl *lice* ***face, cheek***, OPruss *laygnan* ← ****laygnan***, Ir *lecco* ← PIE *lecnóm* ***cheek*** (Stokes 1893 IF 2:172, though see

Thurneysen 1918 ZVS 48:67), but rejects connection with *leik* which Uhlenbeck had considered possible. Further relationship with Skt *liṅgam sign, phallus*, with uncertain origin itself, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:101, dubious.

L31. *leikan wkvIII ἀρέσκειν *please*, 3sg prs *-kaiþ* J 8.29; *ga-leikan* ἀρέσαι, εὐδοκεῖν *please*, 3sg prt *-kaida* 1C 1.21; **faura-ga-leikan* προτίθεσθαι *set forth*, only 3sg prt *-kaida* E 1.9; also **ga-leikon** *compare*; **leikains fi* εὐδοκία *approval*, πρόθεσις *purpose* 2T 1.9; also *-leikei* in **anþar-leikei** *difference*, *-leiki* in **ga-leiki likeness*; *-leikjan*, *-leiknan* under **silda-leik** *astonishment*. Based on stem *leika-*, as in **ga-leiks**.

OI *līka*, OE *līcian*, OFris *līkia*, OS *līkōn*, OHG *līhhēn like*†, *find pleasure in, please*.

L32. lein *na* σινδών *linen* Mk 15.46.

OI, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *līn* stn *linen*†.

Probably, like OIr *lín flax*, borrowed from Lat *līnum linen*, which was taken over from a pre-IE language; with long *-ī-* as opposed to the short vowel of Gk λίνον *linen*, Myc *ri-no* as well as OSl **lьnъ flax* (only adj *lьněnъ*), Lith *linaĩ flax, linen*. Others, such as Hehn 1911: 164-90, esp 189, credit the word to a PIE root, on the basis of the great antiquity of linen; they derive the words from PIE *ley- cling, conform to* (P 1959:662-63), as in **af-linnan**, seeing support in Hom λῖτα acc, λιτί dat *cloth of fine linen*. Opposed by Fraenkel 1962-65:373. As Chantraine 1968-80:641-42 points out, further data on early cultivation of flax may provide solutions. In view of the early use of linen in the Mediterranean area, the word as well as the plant was probably taken over by IE speakers, not brought with them.

P 1959:691; W/H 1938-56 I:810-11, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:659.

L33. leitils adj*a* μικρός *little* L 19.3, comp *minniza*, super *minnista*; see **mins**; also CrimGo **lista**.

OI *lītill*, MDu *lītel little*; with *-k-*, OFris *lītik*, *littich little*; without suffix, OI *litt* adv n *little, bad*.

No etymology. With *-u-* in most WGmc dialects, OE *lȳtel*, OS *luttil*, OHG *liuzil*, *luzzil*, and with *-k-*, OS *luttik*, OHG *luzīc*, NE *little* based on PGmc *lŭti-*, as in OE *lȳt minute*, OS *lūt*, LG *lütt little*. Some have taken *-l-* to be the second consonant of the root, possibly PIE **el-*, and *-y/w-* as suffixes, eg Specht 1944:125, but his conjectures carry little conviction. K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:231-32 takes *lit-* from PIE *lēyd-* as in **letan**, *lut-* from stem in **liuts**; Krogmann 1935 IF 53:44ff pursues the proposal, assuming as root PIE *el- bend*, with *-ey-* in *ley- duck* P 1959:307-09, and *lewd- duck* P 1959:684, as in OI *ljótr ugly*, OSl *ludъ foolish* as well as OE *lȳtel* etc. Highly dubious, as are other proposals in F 1939:328-29.

On the symbolism of *-i-* in the *leitils* set, see Hoffmann-Krayer 1924 *F* Behaghel:46-47, Jespersen 1922:407.

L34. leiþu σίκερα *strong drink*, only this acc sg, which may be n or m in *-us*, L 1.15.

OI *līð* n *beer*, OE *liþ*, OFris *līth intoxicating drink*, OS *līd* n, OHG *līd* stn *wine, drink*.

Various conjectures, none acceptable. Parallel in OIr *líth festival*, Wel *llid excitement, festival*, Bret *lid festive practice*; also in Gaul PN *Lito-genus*, Zimmer 1888 ZDA 32:284, Pedersen 1909-13 I:132-33; shift of meaning as in OI *ǫl* n *beer*, then 'revelry', Cahen 1921:14-15. Thurneysen 1900 *F* Stokes: 20ff, however, relates these to PIE *plē- fill* as in Gk πλῆθος *abundance (of the good)*; cf **fulls**. W Schulze 1966:258-59 compared Gk ἄλεισον *vessel for wine, beaker*, assuming origin in **αλειτρ-ον*; but Chantraine 1968-80:56 takes it as a pre-Gk borrowing.

Not to PIE *lĕy- flow*, as in Lat *lītus shore*, Wel *lli flood, sea*, Lith *lietùs, lytùs*, Latvian *liêtus rain*; Lith *lieti*, Latvian *liêt*, OSl *lьjati pour*; Lith *lýti rain*, even though Fraenkel 1962-65:368 and P 1959:663-64 put these words together, including ἄλεισον *goblet*; Fraenkel also includes Gk λείβω, Lat *lībāre pour a libation* as do Frisk 1960-72 II:96-97 and

Chantraine 1968-80:626-27. Benveniste 1973: 476-80 discusses at some length the background of λείβω.

L35. lekeis (*leikeis*) *mia* ἰατρός *physician* L 5.31; **lekinon* wkvII θεραπεύειν L 10.9, *ga-leikinon* θεραπεύειν *heal* L 8.43; **lekinassus* *mu* θεραπεία *healing*, only gen sg *-ssaus* L 9.11.

OE *lǣce*, OFris *lēza*, *lētza*, MLG *lāk*, OS *lāki*, OHG *lāchi* stm *doctor* (according to F 1939:329, *conjurer*, with reference to MHG *lāche(ne)* wkf *boundary sign* ← 'important [ominous] sign'); OI *læknari*, *læknir*, MHG *lāchenære* stm *doctor*; OHG *lāchin* n *healing*; MHG *lāchenīe* f *conjuring* with *-na-* as in **lekinon*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:263. OI *lækna*, OE *lācnian*, OS *lāknōn*, OHG *lāchinōn* wkv; OSw *lækia* wkv *heal*.

OIr *liaig doctor*, gen *lego* ← **lī-ago*; according to Stokes 1897-98 ZVS 35:595 from **lēpagi- conjurer*, PIE *lep- prattle* P 1959:677-78, possibly in Skt *lápati chatter* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:88-89. P 1959:658 derives Gmc forms from PIE *leĝ- collect*, also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:827, as in Gk λέγω *collect, say*; Lat *legō collect, read*, with no attempt to account for lengthened grade of root with *-ja*-suffix, which according to Kluge 1926:5-6 indicated 'belonging to' and was obsolescent except in OI. Much more likely a borrowing from Celt *lēgi-*, as by Arbois de Jubainville 1889-94 II:366-67, corresponding in this way to other words like **andbahts**, ***eisarn**, **freis**, **reiks**; WP Lehmann 1968 ZMF 35:18.

L36. *letan stvVII ἐᾶν, ἀφιέναι *let*, 3sg prt *lailot* Mk 5.19, 3pl prt *lailotun* Mk 11. 6; *af-letan* L 5.21, *fra-letan* ἐᾶν, ἀφιέναι *release, forgive* M 27.15; *us-letan* ἐκκλείσαι *exclude*, only inf G 4.17; *and-letnan* wkvIV ἀναλῦσαι *separate* = *die*, only inf Ph 1.23, euphemistic use of ἀναλύω, as in Sokrates, Epistolae 27.5; IG XIV 1794; *af-let* *na* L 1.77, **fralet** *na* ἄφεσις *forgiveness*; *fra-lets* m ἀπελεύθερος *freedman* 1C 7.22. See also ***lats**.

OI *lāta*, OE *lǣtan*, OFris *lēta*, OS *lātan*, OHG *lāzan* stv *leave, let*†. Other Gmc prt forms: OSw *lōt*, OE *leort*, WP Lehmann 1954 Lg 30:203-10, not from reduplicated forms, rather, reflexes of laryngeal; OI *lēt*, OSw *læt*, OE, OS *lēt*, OHG *liaz*; remodeled prt in OI *leit*, pl *litom*, OSw *lit*, pl *litu*, OHG *fur-leiz*, Noreen 1923:340, Schatz 1927:292-95.

PIE *lē[y]- leave* ← *le²y- + *-d-* in Gmc and Balt, as in Lith *léidžiu*; *-ēy- → PGmc *-ē/ǣ-* in prs, *-ē²- in prt, as in OI *lāt-* : *lēt*, WP Lehmann 1952:70-71, with reference also to Brugmann 1896 IF 6:89-100, M Jellinek 1891 BGDSL 15: 297-301.

P 1959:666, Watkins 1985:35.

L37. *lew na[?] ἀφορμή *opportunity, cause*, only acc sg as in R 7.8,11 and dat *lewa* G 5.13; **lewjan* wkvI J 6.57, **fra-lewjan* *betray* 2T 3.4; *ga-lewjan* παραδιδόναι *give over, betray* J 6.71.

OE *lǣwan* wkv *betray*, *lǣwa*, Angl *lēga* m *betrayer*; OHG *gi-lāwen*, *fir-lāen* wkv *betray*.

PIE *lēw- slacken*: Lith *liáuti(s) cease*, Ukranian *livyty slacken* Fraenkel 1962-65:362-63.

P 1959:682-83.

L38. liban wkvIII ζῆν *live*, 3sg prs *libaiþ* M 9.18; **miþ-liban* συζῆν *live with*, only 1pl prs *-bam* 2T 2.11; *libains* *fi* ζωή, βίος *life* J 6.63.

OI *lifna*, OE *libban*, *lifian*, OFris *libba*, *liv(i)a*, OS *lebōn*, *libbian*, OHG *lebēn* wkv *live*†; OI, OE, OFris, OS *līf* stn, OHG *līp* stm *life*†, (later also) *body*; OE *bī-lifen* f, OHG *bi-libi* stm *nourishment*.

Etymology disputed. According to Torp and Falk, eds 1909:368, the PGmc verbal stems *libai-*, *libō-*, *libja-* are zero grade presents based on PGmc *līb-* as in ***bi-leiban**, ← PIE *leyp- adhere, remain*, with zero grade also in OSl *prilьpěti adhere*. Objecting to the semantic differences, Collitz 1912:80-84 proposed PIE *leybh-*, as also in Lat *cae-lebs celibate* from *living alone*; the first element PIE **kaywelo-* has a parallel in Skt *kévalas alone* P 1959:519. Although Collitz admitted the tenuousness of evidence, his etymology is accepted by W/H

1938-56 I:130 and P 1959:670.

L39. *ligan stvV κεῖσθαι, κατακεῖσθαι *lie*, 3sg prs *ligid* M 8.6, 3sg prt *lag* Mk 1.30, prt pl and papl not attested; **at-ligan* in *-giþ mis* παράκειταί μοι *lies within my power* R 7.18; **uf-ligan* ἐκλείπειν, ἐλύεσθαι *fail, be faint* L 16.9. -- *lagjan* wkvI τιθέναι *lay* M 10.34; *af-lagjan* ἀποθεῖναι *lay aside* Col 3.8; **ana-lagjan* ἐπιθεῖναι *lay on* L 4.40; **at-lagjan* παραθεῖναι, ἐπιθεῖναι *lay before, lay upon* Mk 8.23; *faur-lagjan* παρατιθέναι *place before* L 9.16; **ga-lagjan* τιθέναι *lay, be laid* J 15.6; **ufar-lagjan* only *ufar-lagida was* ἐπέκειτο *lay upon* J 11. 38; *us-lagjan* ἐπιβαλεῖν, ἐπιτιθέναι *lay on* L 20. 19.

OHG *ligan*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:190,192; elsewhere *-ja*-prs: OI *liggja*, OE *licgan*, OFris *lidz(i)a*, OS *liggian*, OHG *liggen* wkv *lie*†; OI *leggja*, OE *lecgan*, OFris *ledza*, OS *leggian*, OHG *leggen* wkv *lay*† Collitz 1912:77-78, caus as is OSl *ložiti lay*.

PIE *legh- lie down*, orig athematic and punctual, as in Gk λέκτο aor *he lay down*, but later thematic in all IE dialects; Meillet 1906-08 MSLP 14:339, 1908-09 MSLP 15:351, 1916 BSLP 20:[art]22, 1922 BSLP 23:[art]71, 1929 MSLP 23,iv:256-57. Hsch λέχεται· κοιμᾶται *lie down* (parallel with **ligan*), λέχος, λέκτρου *bed* (= OHG *lehtar* m/n *womb, afterbirth* Lidén 1934 ZVS 61:28), λόχος *ambush* (likewise OHG *lāga* f), ἄ-λοχος ← PIE *sm̥-loghos*, cf OSl *su-logz one sharing a bed, spouse*; Lat *lectus bed, lectīca litter* Zimmermann 1912 IF 30:218; OIr *lige* ← **leghi̯om bed, grave*, MIr *laigim lie down*, OIr *fo-lach hiding place*; Lith *(pa)lẽgti lie down, pa-lėgjs being bedridden* (Fraenkel 1962-65:328,350-51,530), Latvian *lagača bed*; OSl *ležti lie down, ležati lie, ložе bed*; TochA *lake*, B *leke bed*, B *lyśalyñe lying down* to TochA *läk- lie*.

P 1959:658-59, Watkins 1985:35.

L40. *ligrs ma κλίνη *bed*, κοίτη *couch* M 9.6; **ga-ligri* nia κοίτη 'concubitus' *sexual intercourse* R 9.10.

Based on ***ligan**. OE, OFris *leger*, OS, OHG *legar* stn *lying, couch, grave*; cf OI *legr seduction, legsteðr grave (yard)*. According to Meillet 1924 BSLP 24:[rev]110 the *-ra*-suffix as opposed to *-la-* in ***sitls** is a result of dissimilation, but see also OI *setr seat* and Kluge 1926:49. On PIE *-ro-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:347-48,353-55, as in Skt *udrás water animal*, Av *udra- otter*, Gk ὕδρος, ὕδρα *water-snake, hydra*, Lith *ûdra*, Latvian *ûdr(i)s*, OSl *vydra*, OI *otr*, OE *oter*, OHG *ottar* stm *otter*†. Verbal abstracts with PIE *-o/ā-*: OFris *lēge*, OHG *lāga* f *situation, ambush*; Gk λόχος *place for lying, ambush*, TochA *lake*, B *leke bed*; with *-es-*, Gk λέχος *bed, bier*; Chantraine 1968-80:634-35, P 1959:659.

L41. lima = Gk λιμά *why*, only Mk 15. 34; also Gk λαμά = Aram-Heb *lamā', lām(m)ā' why*.

L42. *lisan stvVI συλλέγειν *collect* (only prs attested of simplex) M 6.26; **ga-lisan* συναγάγειν *assemble, collect*, 3pl prt *ga-lesun* J 6.13, nom pl m papl *ga-lisanans* Neh 5.16.

OI *lesa*, OE *lesan collect*, OFris *lesa*, OS *lesan*, OHG *lesen* stc *pick out, read*.

PIE *les- collect, pick out*; Lith *lèsti*, Latvian *lest pick up (corn with the beak)*; Hitt *lis(s)ai- collect, pick up*; possibly also OIr *lestar*, a borrowing from Wel *llestr vessel*, OCorn *lester*, Bret *lastr ship*.

P 1959:680; Porzig 1954:191; Fraenkel 1962-65:359.

L43. lista CrimGo 'parum' *too little*.

Various etymological proposals. Stearns 1978:144 prefers derivation from PGmc *lēst* as in OE *lǣst*, OFris *lēst smallest, least*†, as by Holthausen 1898 AinZDA 24:34 and E Schwarz 1951:36; PGmc *-ē-* also in **mine, schlipen**; *-a* may be nom/acc n. PIE *ley- slender* + *-s-* as in Gk λοῖσθος *last*, Lith *liesas*, Latvian *liess slender, emaciated*; OE *lǣs*, OS *lēs less*†, compar OE *lǣssa*, OFris *lessa* superl *above*; cf also OHG *līso* adv, NHG *leise quietly* P 1959:662. This preferable to Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30: 128-29 ← nom pl n of Go superl **leitista-* of **leita-* in *leitils*, or Loewe 1902-03 IF 13:11 ←

nom/acc sg n **leit-s-ata* → **lei(t)-sta*; as Stearns points out, *-ata* is not found in strong superl inflection, B/E 1981:94. Scarcely from Oss *listag* ***narrow***, as by Tomaschek 1881:64 and Loewe 1896:136, or to OSl *lišiti* ***rob*** Bezzenberger 1879 BKIS 3:81.

L44. *lists f μεθοδεία ***cunning***, only acc pl *-tins* E 6.11; **listeigs* adj*a* ***crafty***, only dat sg f E 4.14.

OI, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *list* stf ***skill, cleverness, cunning***; OI *listugr* ***clever, cunning***, MLG *listich*, OHG *listīg* ***cunning***.

From PIE *leys-* as in **lais** with PIE *-ti*; Gmc formations only in the sphere of the intellect, as also in **laisjan**.

OSl *lьstь* ***deception***, *lьstiti* ***deceive*** are borrowed from Gmc, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:334, Berneker 1908-14:755, with pejorative connotation, Stender-Petersen 1927:335ff.

L45. *lita f ὑπόκρισις ***insincerity***, only dat sg G 2.13; **miþ-litjan* wkvI συνυποκρίνεσθαι ***join in acting insincerely***, only 3pl prt *-tidedun* G 2.13.

OHG *liz* f ***pretext***; MHG *liz*, gen *litzes* stm and *litze* wkm ***whim***; OHG *lizzōn* wkv ***simulate***.

No etymology. Grienberger 1900:149 tentatively suggests relationship with Lith *lįsti*, Latvian *lìst* ***creep, sneak into***, which itself is unclear; for attempted explanations see Fraenkel 1962-65:377. Scarcely to **leitils**.

L46. *liteins f ἔντευξις ***intercession***, only acc pl *-nins* 1T 2.1.

Of obscure origin. Gabelentz and Loebe 1848:1382 and L Meyer 1869:231 assume borrowing from Gk λιτή ***prayer, entreaty***; but Wissmann 1932:93-94 pointed out that λιτή occurs only in Homer and early Gk, being replaced by λιτανεία; this word M Jellinek 1926:191 fn2 stated could be borrowed only in the sense of 'hypocrisy'. Although Wissmann questions this view, he leaves the problem open. The parallelism is so close that origin in λιτή seems likely; we do not know the extent of Wulfila's command of Gk, which may have included some Classical material, nor the lexicon of his Cappadocian dialect. Accepted by Uhlenbeck 1900:102 though not by F 1939:332.

L47. liþus mu μέλος ***member*** 1C 12.14; *us-liþa* m παραλυτικός ***paralytic*** M 8.6.

OI *liðr*, OE *liþ*, *leoþu-*, OFris *lith*, *lid*, OS *līð* m, OHG *lith*, *lid* stm/f/n ***member*** (PGmc *-es*-stem, Lidén 1896 BKIS 21:106); also OI *limr* m ***member***, *lim* n ***twig***, OE *lim* n ***member, twig, limb***†. From PGmc *li-* ***be movable, bend*** K Johansson 1889 BGDSL 14:301ff, Wood 1906-07 MP 4:495. On the other hand Trier 1951:12 relates these words to OI *līm* ***lime*** = ***glue*** and his views on the coppice communities, as reported by Vries 1962:354-55,357; fanciful.

PIE *ley-* ***move, bend*** as in ****af-linnan*** and ****af-leiþan***: + *-t-* and *-u*-stem in Lat *lituus* ***crooked staff borne by an augur*** K Johansson 1906 IF 19:120 fn1; *-m*-suffix in Lith *liemuõ* ***tree trunk, rump, body***. Also TochAB *lit-* ***depart, fall down***.

P 1959:309.

L48. *liudan stvII μηκύνεσθαι ***grow***, only 3sg prs *-diþ*; *ludja* f *jō* πρόσωπον ***face***, only acc sg M 6.17.

OE *lēodan*, OS *liodan*, OHG *ar-leotan* stv ***grow***; OI *loðinn* papl ***grown, hairy, rough*** K Johansson 1890 ZVS 30:346-47; OS *lud* m/f ***figure***[?], only Hel 154; OHG *ant-lutti*, *ana-lutti* stn ***face***.

Here also OI *ljóðr*, *lýðr* m, OE *lēod* f, OFris *liod*, OS *liud* m, OHG *liut* stm/f/n ***people, folk***, pl ***human beings***; OE *lēod* m ***prince, man***, OHG *liut* m ***human being***; MLat-Burg *leudis* ***freeman***, Go *leodes* ***people*** (Leges Visigothorum); also Go **laudi* f *ia* ***figure***, only as marginal gloss in Cod A: *du laudjai gafrisahtnai* μορφωθῇ ***he is formed*** G 4.19, *-lauþs* ***stature*** as in ****hve-lauþs***; with zero grade, OI *loða* wkv ***hang to***, OHG *sumar-lota*, MHG *sumerlat(t)e* f ***sprout of one year***.

PIE *lewdh-* ***grow up***: Skt *ródhati*, Av *raoδaiti* ***grow***, *raoδa-* ***figure, growth***, NPers *rōi* ***face***; Gk ἐλεύθερος ***free***; Lat *liber* ***free*** (see W/H

1938-56 II:791-92 on phonological problems), *līberī children* (as opposed to slaves); also *Līber old Italian god of generation*; see W/H 1938-56 I:792 on speculation regarding his background; Osc *Lúvfreis* gen sg to cognate of Lat *Līber*; cf Ven *Louzera* [name of a goddess]; OIr *luss plant* ← **ludh-stu-*; Lith *liáudis people*, Latvian *ļàudis* pl *common people*; OSl *ljudъ*, pl *ljudьje people*. Benveniste 1973:262-65 discusses semantic relations at length, proposing a development from 'grow' to 'a growth group, stock, people', the members of which are 'free', such as children in contrast with slaves. Vries 1962:361-62, reflecting Trier 1952:113-14, presents some modifications of these views, regarding children as 'aftergrowth, the following generation, the family'. Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:316 fn1 has questions about the relation of 'people' to 'grow', as does Chantraine 1968-80:337.

P 1959:684-85; Seebold 1970:335-36.

L49. *liufs adja ἀγαπητός *beloved* L 3.22; PGmc *liuba-* in **liuba-leiks* προφιλής *lovely*, only nom sg Ph 4.8; **un-liufs* οὐκ ἠγαπημένος *unloved*, only acc sg f R 9.25; other forms ***ga-laufs** *valuable*, **ga-laubjan** *believe*, ***lubains** *hope*, ***broþru-lubo** *brotherly love*.

Run *liubu* (Opedal), OI *ljūfr*, OE *lēof*, OFris *liāf*, OS *liof*, OHG *liob dear*, cf NE *lief*; OE *lēoflīc*, OFris *liāf-līk*, OS *lioð-līk*, OHG *liup-līh*; OE *luflīc lovely*†; OI *ū-lūfr*, OE *un-lēof*, OHG *un-liup unloved*†.

PIE *lewbh- like, desire, dear*: Skt *lúbhyati desire ardently* (not in early Ved), *lobháyati arouse desire*, *lóbhas desire*; NPers *āluftan rave* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:107-08: Hsch λυπτά· ἑταίρα, πόρνη *courtesan* O Hoffmann 1896 BKIS 21:139; dubious, Chantraine 1968-80:651; Lat *lubet, libet please, lubīdō, libīdō desire, pleasure*; dubious, OIr *colba* ← **co-luba love, friendship* Stokes 1907 ZVS 40:247; a hapax uncertain in meaning according to Thurneysen in F 1939:333; closest relationship in OSl *ljubz dear, ljuby, ljubiti love*, not with Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:334 borrowed from Gmc; Alb *lyp beg, desire*.

On the present formations from PIE *lewbh-* see Meillet 1911-12 MSLP 17:196. P 1959:683-84; Watkins 1985:37.

L50. *liuga fō *wedding, marriage* from 'oath', dat pl *þaim liugom haftam* τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν *to the married* 1C 7.10, acc pl *liugos* 1T 4.3 (pl *oaths* = *marriage*); *1. *liugan* wkvIII 1C 7.9, 3sg prs *-gaiþ* M 5.32, 3sg prt *-gaida* L 14.20, **ga-liugan* only 3sg prt *-gaida* γαμεῖν Mk 6.17, (ἐκ)γαμίσκεσθαι (referring to women) *marry*; **un-liugaiþs* neg papl ἄγαμος *unmarried*, only dat sg f 1C 7.11. The verbal forms are denom. Krause 1966 I:192 suggests possible cognate in Run *leugaz* (Skåäng), a PeN not attested elsewhere.

Gmc noun probably borrowed from Celt; OIr *lu(i)ge* ← **lugiom*, Wel *llw*, Bret *lē oath*; no further cognates, P 1959:687. In favor of borrowing, as for ***aiþs**, **arbi** and other legal terms, Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:292; doubted, with reference to Grimm 1898:601, by Heinertz 1927:32ff.

Relationship uncertain in spite of Güntert 1923:69 to OFris *orloch*, OHG *ur-liugi* stn *war* ← PGmc *uz-lugjam lawless state*, and also OS *ur-lagi* stn, MLG *orloge* from which OI *ør-lygi* stn *war* was borrowed. Cf also OI *ør-lǫg* n pl, OE *or-læg*, OS *orlag(i)* n, OHG *ur-lag* stm *fate*, beside OI *lǫg* pl, borrowed into OE *lagu law*† : Lat *lēx*, gen *lēgis* (an example of the earlier Gmc-Ital contiguity) and ultimately PIE *legh-lay*, with parallel in Gk τίθημι *place* : θέσμος *decree*; cf W/H 1938-56 I:789-90, and also Benveniste 1973:379-84 on Skt *dhāman-*, Gk θέμις *law*. See Vries 1962:683 on the Gmc semantic relationships.

L51. 2. *liugan stvII ψεύδεσθαι *tell a lie*, 1sg prs *liuga* R 9.1, 2pl opt prs *-gaiþ* Col 3.9, prt not attested; *un-liugands* prpl ἀψευδής *not lying* Tit 1.2; cf ***laugnjan**; *liugn* ψεῦδος *lie*, only acc sg J 8.44; *liugnja* mn ψεύστης *liar* J 8.44; **liugna-praufetus* mu calque of Gk ψευδοπροφήτης *lying prophet*, only dat pl M 7.

15; **liugna-waurds* adja calque of ψευδόλογος *speaking lies*, only 1T 4.2 (cf ***lausa-waurds**).

OI *ljūga*, OE *lēogan*, OFris *liāga*, OS *liogan*, OHG *liugan* stv *lie*†; with zero grade, OI *lokka*, OE *loccian*, OHG *lochōn* wkv *entice* Noreen 1894:156; Nor *lygn*, OE *lygen*, OFris *leine*, OS, OHG *lugina* stf *lie*†; OHG *lug* stm *lie, deception*.

PIE *lewgh- lie*: Lith *lūgóti*, Latvian *lùgt request* Endzelin 1924 ZVS 52:114ff, Wissmann 1932:176 (on meaning see OI *lokka* etc); OSl *lьgati lie*. No relationship with *1. *liugan* in spite of Grimm 1878:88 and others; not to OIr *fol-lugaim conceal* in spite of Vries 1962:361, which is from PIE *legh-* as in ***ligan**, P 1959: 658-59.

P 1959:686-87.

L52. liuhaþ na φῶς *light* M 5.16; stem *liuhada-* as in **liuhadei(n)* fn φωτισμός *light*, only nom sg *-dein* 2C 4.4B, dat *-dein* 2C 4.6, *fi/ō* nom *-deins* 2C 4.4A, though see Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:86; **liuhadeins* adja φωτεινός *bright*, only nom sg n *-dein* M 6.22; ***liuhtjan** wkvI λάμπειν, φαίνειν *give light* M 5.15; **ga-liuhtjan* φωτίζειν 1C 4.5, *in-liuhtjan* φωτίσαι *make known* E 3.9.

OE *lēoht*, OFris *liācht*; OS, OHG *lioht* stn *light*†, *brightness*; from PGmc *leu(h)-man-*, OI *ljōmi*, OE *lēoma*, OS *liomo* m *radiance*, cf ***lauhmuni**, Lat *lūmen*; from PGmc *leuh-s-*, OI *ljōs light*; OI *lýsa*, OE *līexan* wkv *gleam*, OHG *liehsen gleaming*; also, OI *logi*, OFris *loga*, MHG *lohe* m *blaze*; OI *leygr*, OE *līeg*, OHG *loug* m *flame, blaze*, cf Skt *rocíṣ-*; possibly also OI *Loki* as *god of fire* A Kock 1899 IF 10:90ff, though see Vries 1962:365.

PIE *lewk- gleam, light*: closest parallel to **liuhaþ** in Osc, Lat *L(o)ucetius, Light-bringer* [epithet of Jupiter]; Gaul *Leucetios, Loucetios* [epithet for Mars]; see also Hitt *lukkatta on the next morning*.

Skt *rócate shine, rukmás gold decoration, rociṣ light, lócas-* n *radiance*, with PIE *-ew-* as in OI *ljōs*, Bartholomae 1890-91 I:63; Av *raočah- bright*, OPers *raučah day*; Gk λευκός *white*, ἀμφι-λύκη *twilight*; Lat *lūx light, lūceō shine, lucerna lamp*; OIr *lōchet lightning, luichtide gleaming; luchair radiance*, Wel *llug radiance, light*; Lith *laũkas, láukas having a blaze (of horses)*, OPruss *luckis block of wood*; OSl *luča gleam, lučь ray of light*; Arm *luçanem ignite, burn*; Hitt *lukk- light, ignite*; TochAB *luk- gleam*.

With *s*-extension: Skt *rukṣás*, Av *raocšna- gleaming*; with zero grade, Gk λύχνος *lamp*; Lat *lūmen* ← PIE *lewk-s-men light*; Lat *lūna*, OSl *luna* ← PIE *lowk-s-nā*; OIr *luan* ← PIE *louk-s-no- moon*; OPruss *lauznos* pl *stars*.

PIE *lewk̂-* in Skt *rúśant- light*; Lith *lúšis*, Latvian *lūsis*, OPruss *luysis lynx* (from its gleaming eyes): Gk λύγξ Frisk 1960-72 II:141-42; OE *lox*, OHG *luchs* m *lynx*; OSl *vьz-lysъ bald*; Arm *lois*, gen *lusoy light, lusin moon*.

P 1959:687-90, Watkins 1985:37.

L53. *liuts adja, only nom pl *liutai* γόητες *jugglers, cheats* 2T 3.13; *un-liuts* ἀνυπόκριτος *unhypocritical, sincere* 2T 1.5; *liuta* m ὑποκριτής *hypocrite* L 6.42; *liutei* fn ὑπόκρισις, δόλος *hypocrisy, treachery* Mk 7.22; **luton* wkvII, only nom pl m prpl *-ndans* φρεναπάται *deceivers* Tit 1.10; *us-luton* (ἐξ)απατᾶν *mislead* E 5.6.

OI *ljōtr ugly, terrible*, OFris *liāt*, OHG *lioz deceitful*; with zero grade OE *lot* n *deception, lytig sly, lytigan* wkv *deceive*; also, OI *lūta*, OE *lūtan* stv *bow down*; OI *lūta* wkv *crouch*, OE *lūtian lurk*, OHG *lūzēn be hidden*; OI *lýta* wkv *make ugly, slander*; OI *lýti* f *ugliness*, n *error, spot*. Also OE *lȳtel*, NE *little*; cf **leitils**; Krogmann 1935 IF 53:44-45.

PIE *lewd- duck, act hypocritically*: Wel *lludded tiredness*; Lith *liūdnas sad, liūsti be sad* from 'oppressed', OPruss *laustinti humble*; OSl *ludъ foolish*, Russ *ludit deceive*, Cz *ludař deceiver* Berneker 1908-14:743-44, who is dubious about OI *lūta bow down* and the Balt words; Vries 1962:361 on the other hand compares them with reference to the various roles of the poet. Not here Lat *lūdus* ← OLat *loidos play* W/H 1938-56 I:829-30, in spite of Grien-

berger 1900:150-51.

P 1959:684.

L54. *liuþon wkvII ψάλλειν *sing praise*, only 1sg prs *-þo* R 15.9; **liuþareis* m*ia* ᾠδός *singer*, only nom pl *-rjos* Neh 7.1,44.

OI *ljōðа*, OE *leōþian*, OHG *liudōn* wkv *sing, rejoice*, derivation from OI *ljōð* etc listed under **awi-liuþ**; OHG *liudāri* m *singer*.

No etymology. P 1959:683 hesitantly posits PIE *lēw-* or *lāw-* an onomatopoeic root from which + *-d-* he derives Lat *laus*, gen *laudis praise*; Gmc would have a *-t-*suffix; see also discussion in W/H 1938-56 I:776. Not here Gk λύρα *lyre*, which is borrowed; nor OIr *lōid*, related to MIr *lāidim admonish*, and *luad mention*. Older speculation in F 1939:336.

P 1959:683.

L55. *lofa mn[?] *palm of hand*, only dat sg *slah lofin* ῥάπισμα *strike with the hand* J 18.22, dat pl *lofam slahan* ῥαπίζειν *strike* Mk 14.65.

OI *lōfi* m *palm*; ME *lōf large oar*; OHG *laffa* f *palm*; with geminated labial: NI *löpp* f, Dan *lab*, Sw, Nor *labb* m *paw*; OHG *lappo* m *palm, blade of oar*.

PIE *lēp- flat; palm of hand*: Kurd *lapk paw*; Lith *lópa claw*, Latvian *lẽpa*; Russ *lápa paw*, Pol *łapa claw* Berneker 1908-14:690; Lith *lopetà shovel*, Latvian *lâpsta*, OPruss *lopto* f *spade*; OSl *lopata winnowing-shovel*, Russ *lopáta shovel, blade of oar, lopátka shoulder-blade* Berneker 1908-14:732-33.

P 1959:679.

L56. *lubains fi ἐλπίς *hope*, only gen sg *-nais* R 15.13.

OE *lufen* f *hope*.

Based on PGmc *luban-*, PIE verb stem *lubhēy-* (cf OLat *lubēre please*, OHG *lobēn* wkv *praise*) from PIE *lewbh-* as in **liufs**; zero grade also in ***broþru-lubo***, OE *lufu*, OFris *luve*, OHG *luba* f *love*†; OS *luba* f *choice*; OI *lofa*, OE *lofian*, OFris *lovia*, OS *lobōn*, OHG *lobōn* wkv *praise*.

P 1959:683-84.

L57. *lubja-leis adj*a* nom pl *-sai*, gloss to γόητες *liutai sorcerers* 2T 3.13A, *knowing drugs or poisons*; *lubja-leisei* f*n* φαρμακεία *use of poisons, sorcery*, only G 5.20.

OI *lyf* n *healing herb, medicine*, OE *lybb* n *poison, sorcery*, OLG *lubbi* n *sap*, MDu *lubbe*, OHG *luppi* n *strong juice of plants, poison, sorcery*; OLG *lubbian*, OHG *luppōn* wkv *poison*; LG *lübben* wkv *castrate*.

PIE *lewbh- peel*, as in ***laufs**: OIr *luib* f *plant, herb, lub-gort garden*; according to Vries 1962:346-47,369 inherited independently, though Güntert 1919:203 and Marstrander 1924:20 assume Gmc borrowing from Celt, as in **lekeis**; cf also Lith *lúoba bark of tree*, Russ *lub bark*. Hardly with Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I:61 to Go **liufs dear* like Lat *venēnum poison to venus love*.

For *-leis* cf **lais**.

P 1959:690.

L58. *luftus mu[?] ἀήρ *air* 1C 9.26.

OI *lopt, loft* n *loft*†, *air, sky*, OE *lyft* f/n, OS, OHG *luft* m/f *air*; MLG *lucht upper story, attic*. From PGmc *laubjō*, MLG *lōve*, OHG *louba* f *arbor, porch*; cf ***laufs**.

Etymology unclear. Probably from PIE *lew- cut off, separate*, as proposed by Torp and Falk, eds 1909:377 and Grienberger 1900:152-53, with shift in meaning illustrated in Lith *lúoba bark of tree, lubà board in ceiling* to 'upper story' and then 'sky, air'. The root PIE *lew-* has extensions with *-b-*, *-bh-* and *-p-*, but the labial before *-t-* cannot be identified; similarly, MIr *luchtar boat*. According to Meringer 1916:57ff the semantic shift could have been from porch of a megaron-type Gmc house to an airy room or space. Cf P 1959:690-91. Loth 1926 RevCelt 43:135ff on the other hand relates Wel *llwch* ← PIE *lup-s- whirling dust*, MWel *lluch* ← PIE *loup-s- dust, snow*; doubtful. Pisani 1978-79 JDECU 14,i:32-33.

L59. lukarn n*a* λύχνος *lamp, light* M 6.22; ***lukarna-staþa** mn λυχνία *lamp-stand* M 5.15.

MHG *lucerne* f *lamp* (later borrowing).

One of the earliest borrowings from Lat,

lucerna lamp; unstressed *-e-* → Go *-a-* as in **karkara** ← Lat *carcer*, Corazza 1969:15-17. Not from Celt, OIr *lōcharn*, *luacharn lamp* as by Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:306, though Gutn *lukarr* m *small fire* is a Celt borrowing, Much 1901 AinZDA 27:114.

PGmc *staþan-*: OI *staðr* m *haystack*, OFris, *stathe* f *place of residence*, MLG *stade harvesting area*, OHG *stado* m *shore*; *-t-*extension of PIE *sthā-* as in **staþs**.

L60. lun λύτρον *ransom*, only acc sg Mk 10.45; *us-luneins* f*i/ō* only acc sg *salvation* Sk 1.6 / Ia.21-22, derived from Go **lunjan*; cf OE *ā-lynnan* wkv *save*.

Borrowed Finn *lunnas ransom* Thomsen 1870:151, indicates a m nom **luns*, Kluge 1911 FUF 11:139-40,and short *-ŭ-*.

Like Gk λύτρον *ransom*, from PIE *lew- cut off, release*, as in Skt *lunā́ti cut*, Gk λύω *release*, Lat *luō free, pay off*; see ***fra-liusan**, also from *lew- + -s-*.

P 1959:681-82.

L61. ***lustus** mu ἐπιθυμία *desire, covetousness* R 7.7; **un-lustus* only in *ei ni wairþaina in unlustau* ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν *so that they do not become discouraged* Col 3.21; *luston* wkvII ἐπιθυμῆσαι *desire*, only inf M 5. 28; **lustu-sama* wk adj ἐπιπόθητος *longed for*, only voc pl Ph 4.1 (only example in Go of the productive *-sama* cmpds in Gmc, Kluge 1926: 115).

OI *lyst* f, *losti* m, OSw *luste(r)*, OE *lyst*, OFris *lust* m, OS acc pl Heliand 1661 *lusta* (Mon), *lusti* (Cott), OHG *lust* stm/f *desire, lust*†; OE, OHG *unlust* stf *dislike*; OE *gelustian rejoice*, *lystan*, OS *lustean*, OHG *lustōn*, *lustian* wkv *desire* (derived from a *-tā-*abstract, Specht 1927:34; cf Gk λάστη); OE *lust-sum-lic pleasant*; OS, OHG *lust-sam pleasant, charming*.

PIE *las- be greedy, lascivious*: Gk λιλαίομαι ← **-las-yo- desire*, Hsch λάστη· πόρνη *courtesan*, Hsch ληναί· βάκχαι. Ἀρκάδες *Bacchantes* ← **las-nā*, Jacobsohn 1909 ZVS 42:264; Lat *las-civus lascivious*; OIr *lainn* ← **las-ni- greedy*; Lith *lokšnùs* ← **lāšknus sensitive*; OSl *laskati flatter*, Russ *laska(t) caress*. Not Skt *lā́ṣati desires*, in spite of P 1959:654; see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:95,99-100 -- possibly borrowed from Munda.

P 1959:654.

M

M1. *magan irreg prt-prs δύνεσθαι M 6.24, ἰσχύειν M 8.28 ***have power, be able***, many occurrences, 3sg prs *mag* M 6.24, 1pl prs *magum* J 14.5, 3sg prt *mahta* M 8.28, nom sg m prpl *-gands* L 1.20; papl, *(ni) maht (ist)* J 10.35 οὐ δύναται *(is not) possible*, which according to Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:88 conveys passive sense to an active inf; ****ga-magan***, only 3sg prs *gamag* ἰσχύει ***avails*** G 5.6; Go semantic field distinct from Gk, Scardigli 1973:107; problematic relations with ablaut classes V and VI resulting from possible analogical reanalysis, Osthoff 1891 BGDSL 15:217-18; also Seebold 1970:342; B/E 1981:128-29 and below; cf also **mahts**; **mahteigs**.

PGmc *mag, magum, mahta* with innovations in the dialects, Osthoff 1891 BGDSL 15: 211-17: OI *mā, megom, mātti*, OE *mæg, magon, meahte*, OFris *mei, mugun, machte*, OS *mag, mugun, mahta*, OHG *mag, magun, mugun, mahta* with variants; NHG *mag, mögen, mochte* 1sg prs, 1pl prs, 3sg prt, meanings ranging from 'have power, be strong' to 'be allowed, be pleased to do'; NE *may, might* prs ind, prs conditional (older prt) modals. OI *magna (magically) strengthen, megna help, make strong*; *megin*, OE *mægen*, OS, OHG *megin* stn ***power, strength***; NE *main* (frozen in 'with all one's might and *main*'). Stem vowel innovations in OS, OHG on analogy with semantically similar PGmc **kunnan** ***understand, be able***; in OI, OE, OFris the result of umlaut spreading from opt, Osthoff 1891 BGDSL 15:211-17; but probably not PGmc *mōg, magum* levelled to *mag, magum* as in Osthoff; cf PIE below; see also Fourquet 1962 *F* Hammerich:63ff, who suggests that Gmc prt-prs alternation confirms PIE perf patterns.

Loans of VLat period into West Rom ****ex-magare deprive of strength or ability***: OItal *smagare*; OFr *esmaier trouble, disturb*; *esmai* ***perturbation***; NFr *émoi* ***anxiety***; Prov, Catalan *esmayar disturb* Gamillscheg 1970:26,29; NE ***dismay***.

Etymologically difficult. Probably from PIE *māgh-, magh-* ***be able***: Gk μῆχος, Dor μᾶχος ***means, contrivance***; μηχανή, Dor μᾱχανᾶ ***means, invention, machine***; orig *r/n* heteroclitic *μᾶχαρ/*μάχανος beside *s*-stem μῆχος, μᾶχος, Frisk 1960-72 II:235; Lith *makėti* ***please, be pleasing***, ablaut variant, *mėgti* ***like***; Latvian *mêgt* ***be used to, accustomed to*** Fraenkel 1962-65:395,425-26; ibid: 462-63 also relates ablaut variant *mokėti* ***be able, know how*** with Gk μηχανή on basis of PIE *makh-, mokh-*, PIE *kh* not *gh*, of μηχανή. But see phonological arguments against supposing an orig PIE voiced/voiceless aspirate distinction, WP Lehmann 1952:7f, the glottalic theory, Hopper 1977 Orbis 26:60ff; OSl *mogǫ*, Russ *mogu I can*, OPruss *massi he is able* Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:62-66; if not loans from Go ****magan*** as in Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23: 335; Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:299-300; Arm *marthankh aid, help, *mag-thra-*; TochAB *mokats mighty*. Indo-Iran problematic: Skt *maghám* ***gift, reward, wealth***, Av *maga-* ***gift, grace*** Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:546 with many references; also Av *moγu-*; OPers *maga-Median priestly class, magician*; (probably not of Semitic (Assyrian) origin as in Bartholomae 1904:1110,1111; Schmitt 1971 Glotta 49:105-07); Gk μάγος ***magician*** loan from OPers; Lat *magus* ***magician*** loan from Gk; cf also Lat *machina* ***machine*** from Dor Gk μᾱχανᾶ, Ernout and Meillet 1967:379,376, as is Alb *mokër* ***millstone*** W/H 1938-56 II:4, Huld 1984:159.

****magan***, like **1. witan** ***know***, ***þaurban*** ***need***, **kunnan** ***know***, ***ogan*** ***fear***, **skulan** ***ought, owe***, ***aigan*** ***have***, reflects older stative-resultative (**witan** ***have seen, know***) and durative-intensive meanings (***þaurban*** ***enjoy, habitually use, need***), Meid 1971:19-35,26,32ff.

The Gmc prt-prs as a class serves as source of NE modals *may, might; shall, should; can, could*; cf Lightfoot 1979:101ff on changes from older prt-prs main verb class to more recent modal auxiliary.

Suggested PIE origins: (1) *o*-grade perfect, Meillet 1906-08 MSLP 14:335; Watkins 1969: 224; (2) athematic opt, Trautmann 1914 ZVS 46:180-83. Most likely explanation by Prokosch 1939:192-93 as zero grade form of PIE *māgh-* which came to be used as prt-prs, and then developed full set of forms, B/E 1981:129.

P 1959:695; Seebold 1970:342-43, Watkins 1985:38.

M2. *magaþs *fi* παρθένος *maiden, girl* L 1.27; **magaþei** *fn* παρθενεία *state of maidenhood*, only dat sg *-þein* L 2.36.

OE *mæg(e)þ, mægden*, OS *magath*, OFris *megith*, OHG *magad* stf *maiden*†, *magatīn* stn *girl*; NHG *Magd*, dim *Mädchen girl*. OHG (St Gallen Credo) *macadi* = Go ***magaþs**, Scardigli 1973:230, contamination from ms tradition. Cf **magus**; also OIr *macdacht young age, virgin*, though its formation is uncertain, Vendryès 1959-:M-3.

M3. magus *mu* παῖς *child, boy* L 2.43, 9.42, 15.26, τέκνον *son* L 2.48; used by Mary of her son, which elsewhere is **sunus**; *magula mn* παιδάριον *little boy* J 6.9; derivative with ***-lo-***; ***þiumagus*** παῖς *servant* M 8.6.

Run *magoz son* (Vetteland), *magu* acc sg (Kjølevik), Krause 1966 I:138,173, Antonsen 1975:38-39,50; OI *mǫgr son, servant*, OE *mago youth, warrior*, OS *magu* m *servant*; OHG *magaczogo* wkm *trainer*. Cf ***magaþs, mawi**.

Etymology disputed. Probably non-IE term for *son of maternal lineage* beside **sunus** *son of paternal inheritance*, WP Lehmann 1968 ZMF 35:15-19, similarly, OIr *mug*; less likely, PIE *mogu-s boy, servant* as by Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:292; cf Vendryès 1959-:M-70-71; Gaul PeN *Magu-rix*, OIr *mog Dē servant of God*, Wel *meu-dwy servant of God, ascetic*, Corn *maw servant*; OIr *macc son* Wiedemann 1904 BKIS 28:62-66; 1902 BKIS 27:221, Vendryès 1959-:M-1-2, Scarcely PIE *mak^{w}k^{w}o-* Pokorny 1913 ZVS 45:363; or from children's language, Meillet 1920 MSLP 21:46; not cognate with Lith *žmogùs man*, Berneker 1898 IF 9:360-61; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:1318-19. Semantic relation between **magus**, ***magan**, Lat *vir man, vis power*, etc proposed by Brugmann 1917-20 IF 38:140-41 probably of little pertinence for etymology.

P 1959:696.

M4. mahteigs adj*a* δυνάμενος *able* 2T 3.15, δυνατός *possible* L 14.31, δυνάστης *ruler* L 1.52; *un-mahteigs* ἀσθενής *weak* 1C 9. 22, ἀδύνατος *impossible* L 18.27, ἀδυνατήσειν *be impossible* L 1.37.

OI *māttigr*, OE *mihtig*, OFris *machtich*, OS, OHG *mahtig powerful, mighty*†. Possibly TochA *mokats mighty*; cf **mahts, *magan**.

P 1959:695.

M5. mahts *fi* δύναμις *power* M 6.13, ἰσχύς *might* L 10.27, κράτος *strength* Col 1.11, nom pl *-teis* δυνάμεις *miracles* M 7.20; ***un-mahts*** ἀσθένεια *weakness, sickness* M 8.17; ***ana-mahts*** ὕβρις *insult* 2C 12.10; ***ana-mahtjan*** wkvI ἀδικεῖν *wrong, injure, defraud* 2C 7.12, Mk 10.19, βιάζειν *do violence to* M 11.12, ὑβρίζω *insult, mistreat* L 18.32; cf ***magan**.

PGmc *mah-ti-, mah-tu-*, Benveniste 1948: 108,110-11. OI *māttr* m *strength, power, health*; OE *meaht, miht*; OFris *mecht, macht*; OS, OHG *maht* stf *might*†, *power, strength*; OE *un-meaht*; OHG *un-maht weakness, unconsciousness*.

PIE *məgh-ti-*, Kuryłowicz 1968:292; OSl *mošt*ь, Russ *moč*ь *power*, loan from Gmc.

P 1959:695.

M6. *maidjan wkvI καπηλεύειν *change, falsify*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* 2C 2.17; *in-maidjan* wkvI Ph 3.21 ἀλλάττεσθαι, μετασχηματίζειν, μεταμορφόεσθαι *transform, metamorphose, exchange*; ***in-maideins** *fi/ō* ἀντάλλαγμα *exchange* Sk 5.15 / Vc.3; see **maiþms, misso, ga-mains**, and ***ga-maiþs**, though it is not related here ac-

cording to Holthausen 1921 IF 39:68; Bugge 1899 BGDSL 24:456 (both rejected by F 1939: 191.)

OE *mīþan*, OFris *mītha*, OS *mīthan*, OHG *mīdan* stv *hide, preserve, simulate, avoid.*

PIE *mey-*: Skt *minā́ti, mayate exchange mutually*, Av *miþō false*; Latvian *mît exchange*; with PIE *-t(h)-*, Skt *méthati be hostile, mithás*, Lat *mūtāre change, mūtuus mutual*; Latvian *mituôt exchange, mitêt change*; OSl *mitě alternately*; Hitt *mutai-(ex)change.*

P 1959:710,715; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:634-36,682-83.

M7. *maihstus (m)*u* κοπρία *dung heap*, only dat sg *-tau* L 14.35.

OE *meox*, OFris *mjuks*, OS *mehs urine*; OS, OHG *mist* stm *dung*; OE *micga, migoþa* m, OFris *mese* f *urine.* OI *mīga*, OE *mīgan*, OFris *mīga*, OS *mīgan* stv *urinate*; OE *mixen* f, OHG *mistina* f *dung heap.*

PIE *meygh-s-tu- urination* Benveniste 1948:107; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:446, based on PIE *meygh- urinate*: Skt *méhati*; Av *(fra-)maēzaiti urinate*; Skt *meha-*, Av *maēsman-*; Sacian *miysaa- urine* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:690; Bailey 1979:332; Gk ὀμείχω *urinate*, μοιχός *adulterer* Chantraine 1968-80:797,708-09; Lat *mingō, meiō* ← **meigh-yo-*; Lith *mỹžti*, prs *minžu urinate*, where Lat and Lith both have productive nasal infixation, Kuiper 1937:159; Lith *myžalaĩ*, Latvian *mìzals urine*; Arm *mizem urinate*; TochB *miśo urine.*

P 1959:713.

M8. *mail f[?] ῥυτίς *wrinkle*, only gen pl *-le* E 5.27.

OE *mǣl, māl* n *stain, mark*; MLG *mēl*, OHG *meil* n, *meila* f *spot*, cf NE *mole skin spot*; OE *mǣlan*, OHG *meilen* wkv *spot.*

No etymology, despite older attempts such as PIE *mejewā stain* Hirt 1900:151; **may-la* ← **mĭ-*, Gk μιαρός *stained* Grienberger 1900:154; but see Chantraine 1968-80:701. Possibly OIr *mael* adj *bald* ← **mailo-* referring to physical defect, cf *caech blind* Saussure 1921:595-96, Vendryès 1959-:M-6-7; but see also ***maitan.** Or, Lith *máiva swamp, marsh* Fraenkel 1962-65:398. Older references in F 1939:340-41.

P 1959:697, proposing PIE *may- spot.*

M9. *maimbrana mn μεμβράνα *parchment*, only acc pl *-nans* 2T 4.13; from Lat *membrāna thin skin.*

M10. mais adv, comp of **filu** μᾶλλον, πλεῖον *more (than)* M 6.26, L 7.42.

OI *meir*, OE *mā*, OFris *mā, mē*, OS, OHG *mē(r)*, NHG *mehr more*†. See comp adj **maiza**, superl **maists.**

Etymology difficult; possibly from PIE *mē-large, mə-yes- more* attested only in European dialects: Sapphic Gk πειθῶ/μαῖσ', archaic Aeol **mais*, Pisani 1972 Glotta 50:28-29; Osc *mais more*, superl *maimas most*, possibly Lat *magis more*, with *-g-* from *magnus*, though F 1939:341 objects to relationship as proposed by Sommer 1900 IF 11:84-85,90. On OIr *mō*, comp of *mār large*, see Vendryès 1959-:M-18.

P 1959:704, W/P 1927-32 II:238, W/H 1938-56 II:14.

M11. maists adj, superl of **mikil** μείζον *greatest, best* L 9.46; ἀρχιερέα dat sg *maistin gudjin* J 18.24, calque on Lat *summus sacerdōs High Priest* Scardigli 1973:109; πλεῖστον *at most*; see **mais, maiza.**

OI *mest-r*, OE *māst, mǣst* (cf *lǣst least*), OFris *māst*, OS *mēst*, OHG, NHG *meist most*†.

Probably based on PIE *mē-, mə- large*, which has variant suffixes; Umbr *mestru more*; possibly Osc *maimas most*; OIr *moam, māam*, superl of *mār large*, Vendryès 1959-:M-18.

P 1959:704; W/P 1927-32 II:238.

M12. *maitan stvVII κόπτω *cut, hew*, only 3pl prt *maimaitun* Mk 11.8, **af-maitan* stvV ἀποκοπτεῖν Mk 9.43, ἐκκοπτεῖν *chop off* Mk 11.8; ἀποκεφαλίζειν *behead* Mk 6. 16; *bi-maitan* stvV περιτεμνεῖν *circumcise* J 7. 22, περιτέμνεσθαι *be circumcized* G 6.13; *bimait* na περιτομή *circumcision* J 7.22; **un-bi-mait* na ἀκροβυστία *foreskin, lack of circumcision,*

only dat sg *-ta* Col 2.13; **un-bi-maitans* οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία *uncircumcized*, only nom pl papl *þai namnidans -anai* E 2.11. **ga-maitan* κατατομήν *circumcize*, only acc sg papl *-non* Ph 3.2; **us-maitan* ἐκκόπτεσθαι *prune, amputate* M 7.19.

OI *meita* wkv *cut*, OHG *meizan* stvVII *cut, hew* Seebold 1970:343-44; OI *meitill*, OHG *meizil* m *chisel*; OHG *(stein-)meizo* wkm *stone mason*; possibly also OI *meiða* wkv *injure, cripple*, OE *mǣdan madden*†, *render insane* Solmsen 1904 ZVS 37:584, Wood 1906 MLN 21:40; not to ***ga-maiþs**, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:280, Schwietering 1919 ZDA 56:125-32; nor *s*-doublets in Go ***bi-smeitan** *spread*, **ga-smiþon bring about*, as by O Hoffmann 1903 *F* Fick:45.

Etymology doubtful; possibly from PIE *may-(d-) strike, cut off*; with *-lo-*, OIr *mael bald, without horns* Wood 1906 MLN 21:40; dubiously, Gk μιστύλλω *chop in bits*, μίτυλος *mutilated, hornless*, Lat *mutilus mutilated*; Chantraine 1968-80:706-07, W/H 1938-56 II: 136-37, Vendryès 1959-:M-6-7.

P 1959:697, with reference to PIE *smēy-slice* P 1959:968.

M13. maiþms *ma* δῶρον *(exchange) gift*, only nom sg Mk 7.11; on the IE concept of reciprocity in giving, Benveniste 1971:273-74, 1973:82; cf ***maidjan, misso.**

OI *meiðmar* f pl *valuables*, OE *māþom gift*, Beowulf form metrically different from Sievers's law, WP Lehmann 1968:165, OS *mēðom* stm *treasure*.

PIE *mey-t(h)- exchange*, Latvian *miêtus exchange*; Gk μοῖτος *favor, service rendered* possibly from OLat, Chantraine 1968-80:708. P 1959:715, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:754.

M14. maiza adj, comp of **mikils** μείζων *greater, larger* M 11.11; *maizo* adv πλεῖον *more* L 9.13; see also **mais, maists.**

OI *meiri*, OE *mǣra, māra*, OFris *māra*, OS, OHG *mēro, more*†.

PIE *mē- large* with *-yes-*, Lat PeN's *Maia, Maius*; OIr *mō*, comp of *mār*. Benveniste 1948: 121-25 notes that PIE *-yes-* indicated primarily an internal modality, while WP Lehmann 1974: 246 has argued that PIE, as a verb final language, would not have expressed comparison of inequality by means of such a suffix. Puhvel's 1973 JIES 1:145-54 formal catalogue of comparative suffixation ignores such constraints on the comparative method; Andersen 1980:225-36 takes PIE *-yes-* as comparative suffix in spite of its non-use in Hitt, Toch, Arm, Indic etc.

P 1959:704; W/P 1927-32 II:238.

M15. *malan stvVI ἀλήθειν *grind*, only nom pl f prpl *-ndeins* L 17.35.

OI *mala*, OS, OHG *malan* stv *grind*; cf also OI *mola* wkv *crush*; *e*-grade *melr sandhill*; + *-wo-* in OI *mjǫl*, OE *melu*, OS, OHG *melo meal*†; cf also **malma, malo, *ga-malwjan, mulda.**

PIE *mel- crush, grind*, *o*-grade prs *mol(-ə)-*, Meillet 1916 MSLP 19:181-90, Jasanoff 1978:38; Lat *molere grind*, *mola grindstone, mill, immolāre sprinkle with sacrificial meal*; OIr *mol mill wheel*; Lith *màlti*; Hitt *malla- grind*, ← PIE *mol-ə-* where *-ll-* reflects laryngeal suffix, Watkins 1975:376; Hitt *memal meal, ground grain*; cf also *marra-* ~ *marriya-grind fine* Hoffner 1974:144-45. *e*-grade derivatives in PIE *-ye/o-*: OIr *melim*, OSl *mljǫ, mlěti grind*; zero grades: Gk μύλη *mill*, μύλλω *crush, pulverize; have intercourse*; μυλλάς *prostitute*, though see **qens**; Gaul *malu*; Arm *malem crush* Meillet 1916 MSLP 19:186; *mamul press* Meillet 1935 BSLP 36:[art]122, *mlemlem rub*; cf also Skt *mlāyati wither*, Gk ἁμαλός *soft*. *o*-prs and *e*-derivatives in Anat, Gmc, Celt, Lat, Balt, and Slav preserve an old IE agricultural term where Gk ἀλέω, Arm *alam grind*, Gk ἄλευρον *(wheat) flour*, Arm *alewr flour* offer innovations in form beside *o*-grade relic forms (μύλλω, *malem*) with derived meanings, Porzig 1954:156, Kammenhuber 1961:68-69; Lat retains religious association in *immolāre sacrifice*, which is closely bound up with agricultural fertility; also PIE *mel-d(h)- soft*, cf ***mildiþa.**

P 1959:716-17, Seebold 1970:344-45, Watkins 1985:40-41, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 692-93.

M16. malma *ma* ἄμμος *sand* R 9.27.

OI *malmr ore, metal*, OE *mealmstān malmstone*†, *mealmiht sandy*, Sw *malm sandy plain, ore*, NE *malm light, loamy soil*; *e*-grade, OS, OHG *melm* stm *dust*; zero grade, NDu *molm*; NHG *Mulm dust*. See also ***malan**.

Derivation with PIE *-mo-* as in **2. arms**, ***barms**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:246-50; not Pal *marumba- gravel*, as by Charpentier 1915 IF 35:264; see Petersson 1920:7-8 and Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:591; nor Lith *melmuõ kidney stone* Fraenkel 1962-65:431; possibly a Gmc innovation.

P 1959:717.

M17. malo *nn* (or *fn*, Trutmann 1972: 33-34 note 99, orig *n*-stem adj, 'the grinding one') σής *moth* M 6.19; cf ***ga-malwjan**.

OI *mǫlr* stm *moth*; OE *mælsceafa* m *caterpillar*; OHG *miliwa* stf *mite*, MLG *mel(d)e*, NHG *Milbe mite*. See also ***malan**.

PIE *mel- crush, grind*: OSl *molĭ*, Russ *molь*; Arm dial *maɣmóɣ* ← ****mołmoł moth***.

P 1959:716-17.

M18. *mammo *fn* σάρξ *flesh*, only gen sg *-mons* Col 1.22.

Etymology disputed. According to Mikkola 1897 BKIS 22:241-43 from PGmc *ma(m)z-*, a variant of **mimz**, + *-mǭn-*; also Grienberger 1900:154, Trautmann 1906:62; objections in W/H 1938-56 II:65. Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25: 287 withdrew his proposal of 1905 BGDSL 30: 300-01 that it developed in child language from 'mother's breast' to 'flesh', though Scardigli 1973:72 again ascribes it to child language.

M19. *mammona m (only dat sg *mammonin* M 6.24, and with *-im* for *-in*, marginal gloss on *faihu-þraihna money hungry* L 16.30) from Gk μαμ(μ)ωνᾶς *money, wealth*, itself a loan from Aram *māmōnā*; cf Lat *mammona*, NE *Mammon personification of wealth*.

M20. *managS adja ἱκανός *sufficient (in size)* L 8.32, παμπολύς *very large* Mk 8.1, πολύς *many* J 7.31, πόσος *how many* Mk 8.5; *managizo* comp πλείων, περισσός J 7.31, M 5. 37; *managist-* superl οἱ πλείονες *the most, majority*, nom pl m *þai -tans* 1C 15.6. Comp suffix *-iz-* from PIE *-yes-*, B/E 1981:93; Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:560-61 on PIE *-os*-forms; Trutmann 1972:40 note 104; see also **maiza**. *managduþs fi* περισσεία *abundance*, only nom sg m 2C 8.2; OHG *manigzala* stf *majority*; with PIE suffix *-tūt-* ← *-tu-*, cf Lat *servi-tūs*, Benveniste 1948:108; see also ***(aJuk)-duþs**. *managei fin* λαός *people* M 27.6, ὄχλος *crowd* M 7.28, πλῆθος *multitude* L 2.13. ****managfalþs*** adja πολλαπλασίων *many times more*, nom sg f *-þo* E 3.10B, παλυποίκιλος *manifold*; ****managjan*** wkvI πλεονάσαι, πληθύνειν *increase, make (more) abundant* 1Th 3.12, 2C 9.10; ****managnan*** wkvIV πλεονάζειν *be plentiful, abound, increase* 2C 4.15, περισσεύειν *be left over* 2C 8.7; ****us-managnan*** wkvIV περισσεύειν *increase, become more*, only 3sg prt *-gnoda* 2C 8.2.

OI *mangr many*, OE *manig*, OFris *monich*, OS, OHG *manag, menig much, many*†. OI *mengi* stn, OE *mengiu*, OS *menigi*, OHG *managē, menigī* stf *crowd*, NHG *Menge amount*. OHG *managfalt frequent, multiple*; *manigfalti* stf *multiplicity*; OE *manigfeald, manifold*†, WGmc innovation under influence of Go, Scardigli 1973:223; Gmc cmpd, Carr 1939: 66. MHG *ver-menigen broadcast*.

PIE *men(e)gho-*, if IE: Skt *máṁhate give, maghám gift*, but see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 537-38,545-46 and ***magan**; OIr *menic(c) frequent, abundant*; *mēit quantity*; *mētaid grow, augment* Vendryès 1959-:M-31-32,37; Lith *minià crowd, masses*, but see Fraenkel 1962-65:453; OSl *mьnogъ*, Russ *mnógъ abundant*, OSl *mьnožiti increase, make become more*. PIE *mn̥gh-*: TochA *māk*, B *māka much, many* Brock 1971 ZVS 85:289-90 based on phonological difficulty of TochA *ā* correspondance with PIE *e*, cf **mikils**. Finn *moni many*.

P 1959:730.

M21. mana-seþs fi ὁ κόσμος *the world, mankind* J 7.7, literally 'seed of man'; cf **1. manna**, **saian**, *-seþs*; a poetic compound in Go.

Other derivatives of PIE *sē(y)- sow*: with *-tlo-*, Lat *saeculum generation, age, century, world*, Wel *hoedl length of life*, Lith *sėkla seed* W/H 1938-56 II:460-61; Fraenkel 1962-65:772, 778-78. Ernout and Meillet 1967:588 relate with Lat *saeculum* only Wel *hoedl*. See W/H 1938-56 II:461 for less likely derivation.

P 1959:890, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 689.

M22. *manauli σχῆμα *likeness, shape*, only dat *-lja* Ph 2.8; possible cmpd **man-auli*, with obscure second element; cf OI *man(n)-œli cripple, bungler*, a hapax in the Finnboga saga, Vries 1962:378,684; lost in WGmc, Carr 1939:67; many Go words for semantic field, 'face, countenance, look, aspect', Scardigli 1973:364; **1. manna** *man*. Older proposals in F 1939:344.

M23. 1. manna irregular mn ἄνθρωπος, ἀνήρ *person, man*, dat sg *mann* M 7. 26, acc pl *mans* J 6.10, *mannans* 2C 5.11; τίς *(some)one* M 6.24; *mana-maurþrja* mn ἀνθρωποκτόνος *murderer*, only nom sg J 8.44; see **maurþr**; *man-leika* mn εἰκών *likeness, image* 1C 15.49B; *ga-man* na μέτοχος, κοινωνός *partner* 2C 8,23, κοινωνία *fellowship* 2C 13.13. See **mana-seþs**, ***un-mana-riggws**. Also name of *m*-rune in Go Run alphabet like OI *maðr*, OE *man*.

Run *mąz* (Eggja), OI *maðr, mannr*, OE, OFris, OS *mann*, OHG *man(n)* stm **man**†, *person*. In cmpds, OI *mann-líkan*, OE *manlīca*, OHG *manalīhha* stf *human likeness*; see also **leik** *body*. OHG *mano-houbit* stn *bondsman, mana-heit* stf *mankind*. Old stem **manan-* attested in *mana-* cmpds beside innovation in **manna(-)**, P Ramat 1963 Sprache 9:23-31, Trutmann 1972:26-27. Possible **manw-* in PeN *Mannus*, ancestor of the Germans in Tacitus, Germania 2; cf Hachmann 1970:100,465 on archaeological evidence.

PIE *manu-s, monu-s*, Skt *mánuṣ-*, Av *manuš- man, person*; OSl *mǫžь* ← **monžьь-*; Russ *muž man* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:575-76; Lith *žmogùs person* with similar suffix. On *n*-stem of *manna*, *mans* ← **man-en-iz*, see Gmc **hann-ī*, **han-en-ī rooster*, Go **hana** with later syncope, Darms 1978:472 note 4,128-32; Brugmann 1916-17 IF 37:250 warns against proposing a protoform for something so irregular. F 1939:345 rejects speculative relation with Phryg PeN Μάνης, OLat *mānus good*, Lat *mānēs deified souls of the dead*; but he is less skeptical about basis in PIE *men- think*, as in **1. *munan**. Other proposals listed there and in W/P 1927-32 II:266.

P 1959:700, Watkins 1985:38.

M24. 2. manna indecl μάννα *manna* J 6.31; loan from Aram *mannā́*, E Klein 1966-67:934.

M25. manna-hun indef prn; only with negative, *ni-mannahun* οὐδείς Mk 9.39, μηδείς *no one* L 3.14. See **1. manna**, **-hun**.

M26. *mannisks adj*a* ἀνθρώπινος *human* J 12.42; **manniskodus* mu *human nature*, only gen sg *-daus* Sk 6.12 / VIb.17-18; derivative of *mann-* in **1. manna** + *-isks* and *-odus*.

OI *mennskr*; OE, OS *mennisc*; OHG *mannasci*; NI Faroese *menskur human*. Suffix *-isko-* in Celt, Gmc, Sl, Balt, also Thrac PeN's, Porzig 1954:201; with the same function, PIE *-yo-*: Skt *divya-*; Gk δῖος *divine, shining*; Skt *rājya-*; Lat *rēgius royal, kingly*; Skt *manuṣyá- human*; EN's with *-ko-* in Lat *Tusci*, *Volsci*, *Osci*; also OPruss *smū-nenisku*, Lith *žmóniškas human* Fraenkel 1962-65:1319-20.

P 1959:700.

M27. manwus adj*u* ἕτοιμος *ready, at hand* 2C 12.14; **un-manwus* ἀπαρασκεύατος *unprepared*, only acc pl m *-wjans* 2C 9.4; *manwuba* adv ἐν ἑτοίμῳ *ready* 2C 10.6; **manwiþa* fō ἑτοιμασία *readiness* E 6.15, δαπάνη *resources* L 14.28; *manwjan* wkvI ἑτοιμάζειν *prepare* M 25.41; **faura-manwjan prepare*, only nom sg f prpl *-jandei* Sk 4.8 /

IVb.2-3; **ga-manwjan* κατασκευάζειν etc *have prepared, ready* L 7.27; **faura-ga-manwjan* προετοιμάζειν *have ready ahead of time* E 2.10.

OI *mund hand, mundr dowry*; OE *mund hand, mundian* wkv *protect*; OFris, OS *mund*, OHG *munt* stf *hand, protection*; OS *mundon*, OHG *muntōn* wkv *protect*; by contrast with F 1939:345-46 who views *manwus* as isolated, Kroes 1955 GRM 36:265 argues for Gmc (and Lat) relations.

Possibly OI *mund* ← PIE *mn̥-tós hand*: Gk μάρη *hand*, if authentic, (heteroclitic *r/n*), Chantraine 1968-80:667, and Alb *marr take*; Lat *manus*, **man-u-*; Umbr *manf*; Osc *manim*, acc sg **man-i- hand*; Lat *manceps purchaser, mandāre entrust*, western IE legal terms; OIr *muntar family*, ← PIE *-tero-*, Vendryès 1959-:M-75-76; Hitt *maniyahh- administer* Oettinger 1979:458 note 142.

P 1959:740.

M28. maran aþa = μαρὰν ἀθᾶ *maranatha* 1C 16.22, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I: 279.

Several interpretations. By one, it is taken from an Aramaic liturgical expression, *māranā' thā' (our) Lord come*. By another, E Klein 1966-67:936, it transliterates Heb *moḥorâm attâh under the ban*, expressing a curse. F 1939:346 took it as from Aram *mār'anā 'aþāh my (our) Lord is coming*.

M29. marei *fn (in)* θάλασσα *sea* M 8. 24; *mari-* n*i* in **mari-saiws* λίμνη *lake*, only acc sg *marisaiw* L 8.32; see ***saiws**.

Gmc **marīn-* f, **marī* n; base meaning, *standing body of water (inland or coastal)*; *-īn* stems ← *-ī-/-yā-* + *n*, Trutmann 1972:18 fn43. Paradigmatically parallel to Gk γλωχίν *projecting point, extremity*, γλῶσσα *tongue*; or ῥανίς *drop*, ῥαίνω *sprinkle*; Μαῖρα *the shining one (Sirius)*, μαρμαίρω *sparkle* W Schulze 1966: 118. PGmc lengthened grade derivative *mōra- belonging to the sea, marsh*, not necessarily PIE, Darms 1978:158-66. OI *marr sea*, OE *mere sea, inland sea, pond*, OFris *mere*; OHG *meri* stm/n *sea*; lengthened grade, OI *mærr swampland* f, OE, OFris *mōr moor†, heath*, OHG *muor* stn/m *moor*; NE *mere arm of the sea, lake, pool*. With PIE *-isko-* OE *mėr(i)sc*, OFris, OS *mersk marsh†(land)*.

PIE *már-y-* or *mór-y-n*, Benveniste 1935a: 76; with f derivatives in *-id-* and *-idn-*, Thieme 1963 ZVS 78:240-41: Lat *mare*; OIr *muir* (cf Gaul GN *Mori-dūnum*, etc) *sea*; Lith *mãrė*, pl *mãrios sea, bay*; OSl *morje sea*; Lat *marīnus pertaining to the sea*.

If there was a PIE word for 'sea', it was replaced in Gmc, cf Go ***saiws**, WP Lehmann 1968 ZMF 35:9; Skt *mírah sea, boundary*: doubtful, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:644; also *marúḥ wilderness, sandy waste* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 591-92; not Skt *maryādā boundary*; but possibly Hitt *marmar(r)a moor*, Oss *mal deep standing water* Meid 1982 *F* Kronasser:95; all derivatives of PIE *mer- brightness* Thieme 1963 ZVS 78:240-41; W Schulze 1966:118; or water term, in names for bodies of water only, and enlarged in PIE *mergh- moisten, drizzle*: Gk βρέχω; Latvian *merguot rain softly*; and PIE *merk- steep, soak*: Gaul *mercasius swamp, marsh*; Lith *meřkti soak* Meid 1982 *F* Kronasser:96.

P 1959:748,733,738-39, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:673,943.

M30. *marikreitus m[?] μαργαρίτης *pearl*, only dat pl *-tum* 1T 2.9.

OE *mere-grēot* n, *-grota* m, OS (Heliand 1721) acc pl *merigriton* (Mon), *merigriotun* (Cott) f, OHG *merigrioz* stm *pearl, ocean sand*.

Borrowing of Lat *margarīta* or Gk μαργαρίτης *pearl*, possibly with modification by folk etymology, M Jellinek 1926:180,182,186; W Schulze 1966:512 speculates about possible miswriting of *-tum* rather than *-tom*, for which a nom **marikreita* could be assumed, making borrowing from Lat more likely; cf also F Kauffmann 1906 ZDP 38:434 fn, Loewe 1907 ZVS 40:550; Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:4 (like W Schulze); Jacobsohn 1929 ZDA 66:224 (dubious of Etr origin). Corazza 1969:32-34 considers it an early, assimilated borrowing from Lat.

Go *-kreitus* (with *k* for *g*) like **Kreks** : *Graecus*; Grienberger 1900:156 assumes restructuring of first constituent after **marei**, but not the second after **kreitus small sphere* : Du *krijt circle*; nor by Behaghel 1903 ZDW 4: 250-51. Gk word of uncertain origin, possibly Iranian, Frisk 1960-72 II:174-75.

M31. marka fō ὅριον *region, border* M 8.34; *gamarko*[?] *neighbor* G 4.25, probably to be interpreted *gamarkoþ* wkvII συστοιχεῖ *borders on* Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:361, II:46, 92.

Run *alja-markiz* (Kårstad, Krause 1966 I: 116-21) *foreigner*: Gaul EN *Allo-broges*; OI *mǫrk*, gen *merkr* stf (Wessén 1927 *F* Falk:85-86) *wood, boundary wood* (forests provided boundaries for tribes and peoples); cf OI *Danmǫrk Denmark*; also the Hagenau forest between the Alamanni and Franks; on other kinds of boundary designations among Indo-European peoples see Vendryès 1925 *F* Boyer: 13ff, Tesnière 1929 BSLP 30:[art]174ff, OE *mearc*, OFris *merke*, OS *marca*, MLG *mark*, OHG *marca* stf *boundary, district, march*†. Cf also Finn *-markku*, a borrowing in GN's, Karsten 1906 ANF 22:184.

Lat *margō edge*; OIr *mruig* (← **mrogi-* with metathesis) *district*; cf Gaul EN *Allobroges* ← **Allo-mrogi-* ("ideo dicti *Allobrogae*, quoniam *brogae* Galli *agrum* dicunt; *alla-* autem *aliud*", note to Juvenal 8.234 -- 'they are called *Allobrogae* because the Gauls say *broga* for district, and *alla-* is "other'"); cf A Thomas 1894 RevCelt 15:216-19, PeN *Brogimarus, -tarus* etc, Vendryès 1959-:M-68,M-20, Wel, Corn *bro* *area, district*. Further attempts at relationships improbable, in spite of admission by W/H 1938-56 II:39-40 of Gk ἀμέργω *pluck*, Lat *merges sheaf*; cf F 1939:347 for others even less likely.

P 1959:738.

M32. *martwr m only gen pl *mar[wtre]* for *martwre* Cal, Oct 23,29; loan from Lat *martyr* = Gk μάρτυς *witness, martyr*; form metathesized twice, less likely an error then a Hellenism, Scardigli 1973:163; or, influence of Romance, cf SouthwestFr *martrou, martou*, Frings 1936 BGDSL 60:460-64.

M33. *marzjan wkvI σκανδαλίζειν *offend* M 5.29; **af-marzjan* σκανδαλίζεσθαι *take offense* 2C 11.29; **ga-marzjan* σκανδαλίζειν *cause offense to* J 6.61; *marzeins* fi/ō only nom sg σκάνδαλον *offense, stumbling block* G 5.11; *af-marzeins* ἀπάτη *deception* Mk 4.19; *fraþja-marzeins* only nom sg m *sis silbin ... ist* ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾶν *deceive, fool oneself* G 6.3; **ga-marzeins* σκάνδαλον *offense, cause for anger* R 14.13.

OE *mierran disturb, confuse, hinder*, OFris *mēria prevent*, OS *merrian*, OHG *merren* wkv *give offense, prevent, injure, mar*†; OFris *mēre bond, fetter*; probably not OHG *morsāri* stm *mortar*, MHG *(zer-)mürsen* wkv *crush*.

Etymology unclear; possibly from PIE *mer-(s-) disturb, irritate, neglect, forget*, as by P 1959:737-38 (not Fraenkel 1962-65:456-57): Skt *mṛṣyate forget, neglect*, Lith *miršti forget, overlook*, Arm *moṙanam I forget*, TochAB *märs- forget*, rejected by F 1939:348 because of the meaning, who proposes instead OSl *mrъzzkъ contrary, mrъzěti be hated*, Serb *mrȁziti make an enemy of*, Russ *mérzkij disgusting, merzítь arouse disgust, merzétь become nasty*, if *z* corresponds to *s*; cf Shevelov 1965:147-49 with references; also **ga-daursan** and W Nehring 1894 IF 4:397ff, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:301ff, 1906 ZVS 39:599f, E Zupitza 1904 ZVS 37:396ff, Agrell 1921:18. Other unlikely proposals listed by F 1939:347-48.

M34. marzus CrimGo 'nuptiae' *wedding*.

Isolated in Gmc and obscure etymologically. Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:125 interprets *z* as *þ*, as in *tzo* = **þu** *thou* Stearns 1978:146.

Grienberger's derivation from Go **marwiþos marriage performance*, a pl verbal abstract associated with MHG *merwen* wkv *hold*, as a refl with *zuo bind, marry*, is scarcely

credible. Hardly better is Much 1898 AinIF 9: 198, who proposed Go **marþus bride house*, with second element as in **gudhus*; the first he related to Lith *martì bride, young woman*, as had Tomaschek 1881:62 with the second element *-kus*, as in **kiusan**, OI *kør choice*, thus *choice of the bride*. Others also relate Lith *martì*, Latvian *màrša brother's wife*, OPruss acc *mārtin bride*; Cretan (-Gk) μαρτις, Legerlotz 1859 ZVS 8:127, Delbrück 1889:60ff. P 1959:738-39 posits PIE *meryo- young man*: Skt *máryas young man, wooer*; Gk μεῖραξ *maiden*; also Lat *maritus married* W/H 1938-56 II:40-41; Wel *merch daughter*; OCorn *moroin maiden* ← PCelt *morignā*; Lith *mergà*, OPruss *mergo maiden* Fraenkel 1962-65:412. In view of the problems with these Stearns 1978:146 suggests borrowing from a non-Gmc language, though Ar *ma'rūd female slave, maiden*, by Kuun 1880:242-43 is scarcely credible; nor is an origin in Lat *martius March (as month for weddings)* Scardigli 1973:260; Stearns also suspects distortion by informant, typesetter or even Busbecq.

M35. mats mi βρῶσις *food* J 6.55; **nahta-mats* δεῖπνον *dinner, evening meal* L 14. 17; *matjan* wkvI βιβρώσκειν, φαγεῖν, ἐσθίειν, συνεσθίειν *eat, have a meal with* J 6.13, L 9.13, M 9.11, G 2.12, *feed, give to eat* L 15.16, δειπνᾶν *dine* L 17.8, τρώγειν *chew, eat* J 13.18; cf Go quotation in Lat epigram, *matzia (ia drincan) eat (and drink)*; attestation of Goths in West, Scardigli 1973:200; **ga-matjan* φάγεσαι *finish eating* L 17.8, Lloyd 1979:230-31,274 on semantics; **mati-balgs* mi πήρα *food-bag, lunchbox* L 9.3; cf also ***undaurni-mats**.

OI *matr* m, *mata* f, OE, OFris *mete*, OS *meti*, OHG *maz* stn *food, nourishment*, NE *meat*; OHG *mezzirahs* ← *-sahs food-knife*, MHG *mezzer* stn *knife*; OI *mettr* ← PGmc *matitiþs satisfied*; OI *metja slurp (of dogs)*, *metta satisfy one's hunger*, OE *mettian* wkv *feed*; also MLG *mat(e)*, OHG *gi-mazzo* wkm *table companion*; MLG *met pork*; ablaut variant, ODan, OFris, OE *mōs*, OHG *muos* stn *food, meal*.

Etymology uncertain; possibly PIE *mad-wet, become moist; fat, fattened*; cf Skt *mátsya-*, Av *masya- fish, the wet one*, Skt *mádati boils, médas* n *fat, marrow*; MIr *māt* f *pig* ← **māddā*; Alb *majmë fat*; orig 'soft food, porridge', Grienberger 1900:156-57, Thurneysen 1903 IF 14:132; or PIE *mad- common meal* Burrow 1981 BSOAS 44:85-104. Possibly also to ***mitan** *measure out* Vries 1962:380, though this root generally refers to 'mental measuring'. Other references in F 1939:348-49. Detailed discussion by Karstien 1924 *F* Behaghel:289ff, who assumes PGmc *mata-* as a cross-culture word referring to participation in public sacrifice.

P 1959:694-95,705-06.

M36. maþa mn σκώληξ *worm*, only nom sg Mk 9.44,46,48.

OE *maþa maggot, worm*, OS *matho*, OHG *mado* wkm/n *worm*, OI dim *maðkr maggot*, possible ablaut variants, OI *motti moth, mite*, OE *moþþe, mohþe*, MHG *matte, motto moth*†. Loan into Finn *mato*, Kylstra 1961:70.

Etymology uncertain. Possibly PIE *math-* or *moth-*: Skt *mathuṇas bug*, unlikely, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:564-65; Arm *mat'il louse*.

P 1959:700.

M37. maþl (n)*a* ἀγορά *assembly, marketplace*, only dat sg *-la* Mk 7.4; **maþleins* or **-lei* fi or fn λαλιά *speech, dialect*, only acc sg *-lein* J 8.43; **maþljan* wkvI λαλεῖν *talk, hold formal discussions*, only 1sg prs *-lja* J 14. 30; *faura-maþleis* m*ja* ἄρχων L 8.41, ἡγεμών *chief, ruler, governor* Neh 5.14, ἐθνάρχης *governor, official* 2C 11.32, ἀρχισυνάγωγος *head of the synagogue* L 8.49.

CrimGo *malthata* in *ich malthata* : 'ego dico' *I say*; rather, 'dixi' *said*, Förstemann 1874-75 II:166; if so, metathesized form of 1sg prt **maþlida*, + another prt suffix, Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:130-31, among other proposed explanations; rather 1sg prs **mal(þ)-* + obj prn *-þata*, Stearns 1978:144-46.

Gmc term for formal pronouncements in epic exchanges; OI *māl speech*, OE *mæþel advice, advisory body, speech*, OS *mathal law-court, assembly*; OE, OS *mǣl* f *conversation, argument*; OHG *mahal, māl* stn *law-court*, OI *mæla*, OE *mæþlan*, OS *mahalian speak*, OHG *mahalen* wkv *speak, promise, take as wife, gi-mahalen speak, become betrothed*; MLat *mallus law-court, summons* ← **maþlâ-*, also Lat *mallāre sue, take to court*, Lex Salica; on sound correspondence, Sievers 1894 IF 4:336; not with **1. mel** *fixed time* or **mela** *signs, script* Detter 1898 ZDA 42:57; Lang *gamahal witness for an oath*; part of Gmc legal vocabulary, Scardigli 1973:32; on formulaic use, WP Lehmann 1968:152. Suggested relation to **ga-mot** *find room, have permission* Burrow 1981 BSOAS 44:96-98, problematic; see also Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:211-15.

No IE relationships. If related to *-mot-* as in **ga-motjan**, based on PIE *mə(d)-* + *-tlo-* → Go *maþl*; cf OI *mōt assembly* Vries 1962:376, 393-94, who however rejects relationship to Arm *matčim approach*, as in P 1959:746-47. If to *-mot-*, as in *ga-mot*, derivation is even more difficult, P 1959:705-06. Other proposals in F 1939:349-50 to be rejected. Problem complicated by forms with *-h-*, though this has been derived from *-þ* as in OHG *bihal* ax; cf Vries 1962:36. The forms may have been created in Gmc, or taken over from an unknown source.

M38. *maudjan wkvI ὑπομιμνήσκειν *remind*, only 3sg prs *-deiþ* Sk 6.4,5 / VIa.15-16; **ga-maudjan* J 14.26, ἀναμιμνήσκειν *call to mind, remind* 2T 1.6; **ga-maudei* f*in* ὑπόμνησις *cognizance*, only acc sg *-dein* 2T 1.5. No Gmc cognates.

Etymology uncertain. Dubious derivation from PIE *mēwdh- be aware of, long for*: Gk μῦθος *speech*, according to Wood 1900 MLN 15:96, but not Chantraine 1968-80:719; related to OIr *smūain- think, consider*; Lith *maũšti long for, be morose*, by Grienberger 1900:158; though questioned by Vendryès 1959-:S-144; proposed relationship to Lith *ãp-maudas vexation, displeasure*, OSl *mysl thought*, rejected by Fraenkel 1962-65:420.

P 1959:743.

M39. maurgins ma πρωΐα *morning(time)* J 18.28, αὔριον *tomorrow* 1C 15. 32.

OI *morginn*, OE *morgen, myrgen*, OFris *morgen*, OS, OHG *morgan* stm *morning†(time), tomorrow†*; OI *morna* wkv *become morning*; less clearly related *myrkr*, OE *mierce*, OS *mirki dark, mirk†*. Loan into Finn *murkina breakfast* Thomsen 1870:156.

Based on PIE *mer- glimmer, glitter* as in Skt *márīci- ray of light*; Gk Μαῖρα *the sparkler = dog-star*, μαρμαίρω *sparkle*; possibly OE *ā-merian purify*: + *-k-*, as in Lith *mérkti blink*, OSl *mrsknąti darken* Fraenkel 1962-65: 441; less likely with extension in PIE *-g^{w}-*, as in OI *myrkr*, acc *myrkvan dark*, Lith *márgas colorful* Fraenkel 1962-65:410. For older discussion see F 1939:350-51.

P 1959:733-34.

M40. *maurnan wkvIII μεριμνᾶν *worry, concern oneself*, only 2pl imp *-rnaiþ* M 6.25,31, Ph 4.6; nom sg m prpl *-rnands* M 6.27.

OE *murnan worry, sorrow for*, OS *mornon, mornian*, OHG *mornēn* wkv *sorrow, mourn†*; with redupl OI *Mímir* [PeN for mythical figure]; OE *gemimor known, māmrian* wkv *think out, plan*.

PGmc *mur-na-* (*murn-a-*) Seebold 1970: 351-52. 3rd class forms clear only in OHG; if old nasal prs *-nāi-* ← PIE *-n-ē-*, orig middle, Jasanoff 1978:84-86 fn57; cf also B/E 1981:114 with references.

PIE *(s)mer- remember, be concerned*: Skt *smárati remember, long for*, Av *mar-, -šmar- notice, be mindful of*; not OIr *maraid remain, survive* Vendryès 1959-:M-19; Lith *merėti concern oneself*, but see Fraenkel 1962-65:457, *die of hunger, worry* ← PIE *mer- die*; Skt *smará- remembrance, smṛti- recollection*, Av *mi-mara- mindful*, Indo-Iran PeN *Artaššumara- ← *Rta-smara- mindful of the truth*, Kammenhuber 1968:80,178, 196,234; Gk

μέριμνα *thought, care, anxiety*, μέρμερος *causing much care, grief*, Gk μάρτυς, gen μάρτυρος *witness*, Lat *memor mindful of, memoria recollection*, Arm *mormok' care, discontent* ← **mor-m[or]-o* with *-ok'*.

F 1939:351 rejects here OE *māmor deep sleep, mām(o)rian think out, plan*; OI PeN *Mimir*, not from PIE *mer- rub, wear out*: Skt *mṛṇāti crush*; Gk μαραίνω *rub off*, as by Wood 1907-08 MP 5:282-83; further, Lat *morbus sickness*, without etymology, Ernout and Meillet 1967:414.

P 1959:969.

M41. maurþr na φόνος *murder* Mk 15.7; **maurþrjan* wkvI φονεύειν *kill, murder* M 5.21; cf **1. manna** *man*, *mana-* cmpd *mana-maurþrja* mn *murderer* J 8.44 beside periphrastic *mannans maurþrjandam* ἀνδροφόνος *murderer* 1T 1.9.

OE *morþor murder†*, *myrþra*, OHG *murdreo* st/wkm *murderer*; OI *myrða*, OE *for-myrþran*, OFris *morthia kill, murder†*; OI, OE *morþ*, OFris *morth*, OS *morð*, OHG *mord* stm/n *murder = death*. OI poetic praise epithets based on dual meaning of *morð-* also as 'battle': *morðteinn murder-bough, morðgǫfugr battle-famed, morðfíkinn battle lusty*. Contrast with legal perception of murder, See 1964: 21-22; Devoto 1956 I:93-99 on cultural implications of semantic range of IE death terms; Scardigli 1973:37 on change from viewing death as natural occurrence.

PIE *mer- die*: Skt (RV) *márate*, Skt *mriyáte*, Av *miryeite die*, OPers *am(a)riyatā died*; Gk μαραίνειν *extinguish*, Hsch ἔμορτεν· ἀπέθανεν *died*, Lat *morior*, Lith *miřti*, OSl *mrěti*, Arm *meranim die*, Hitt *mer- die, disappear*. PIE *mṛ-tis death*: Skt *mṛtiṣ*, Av *mərətiš*, Lat *mors*, gen *mortis*, Lith *mirtìs*, OSl *sъ-mrъtь death*, cf also Skt *māras death*, *māri- plague*, Gk μόρος *mass dying, death*, Lith *mãras*, Latvian *mèris* OSl *morъ plague*. PIE *mṛ-tó- dead*: Skt *mṛ-tá-*, Av *mərəto dead*, Hsch μορτός· ἄνθρωπος θνητός, βροτός ← *βρατος ← *μρατος with Aeol vocalism *mortal*; cf Skt *mártas*, Av *marəto*, *mašyo*, OPers *martiya-man, mortal*, Arm *mard mortal*. PIE *mṛ-wo-*: OIr *marb dead, marbaid put to death*, Wel *marw*, pl *meirw(on)*, Corn *marow dead* Vendryès 1959-:M-19. PIE *mṛ-to-wo-*: Lat *mortuus*, OSl *mrъtvъ dead*.

P 1959:735.

M42. mawi *fiō* ἡ παῖς *child* L 8.51, παρθένος 2C 11.2, κοράσιον *girl* Mk 6.22; *mawilo fn* κοράσιον *little girl*, only nom sg Mk 5.41; cf **magus**, ***þius**, **þiwi**.

PGmc *magw-ī-* Kluge 1926:21. OI *mær*, gen *meyjar girl, maid*, dim *meyla*; OE *mēowle* f *little girl*.

Parallel suffixal patterns to PGmc *magw-* (**magus**), f *magw-ī-* (*mawi*): Skt *pṛth-ú-s wide*, f *pṛthv-ī*; Gk πλατ-ύ-ς *flat, wide*, f πλατεῖα ← *πλατεϝ-ια with full grade *-ew-*; Lith *plat-ù-s wide*, f *platì* ← **platv-ī*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1: 212-13,219; cf also Skt *devī*, gen *devyáḥ goddess* = Go *mawi*, gen *maujos*, Beekes 1969: 155.

P 1959:696.

M43. megs m γαμβρός *son-in-law, one who shares inheritance through marriage*, only nom sg Neh 6.18.

OI *māgr male relative by marriage*, OE *mǣg*, OFris *mēch*, *mei*, OS, OHG *māg* stm *male relative*.

Probably a Gmc innovation, distinguishing between son of direct paternal inheritance and those outside it, WP Lehmann 1968 ZMF 35: 15-17; semantic range of OI *māgr son-in-law, brother-in-law, father* based on reciprocity of behavior toward all male in-laws, Szemerényi 1977:192,190ff. PIE etymology unlikely, as from *mĕgh- well-disposed, friendly*; Gk περιημεκτέω *be angry, disgusted*, *ᾱ-μεκτος *unwilling* Prellwitz 1899 BKIS 24:215-16; not according to Chantraine 1968-80:886; expressive rather than inherited origin, Frisk 1960-72 II:513; Lith *mẽgti like, find pleasing* Fraenkel 1962-65:425-26. Also unlikely, PIE *meĝ(h)- large*: Skt *maháyati strengthens, gladdens*.

P 1959:707,708-09; W/H 1938-56 I:256,

257-59.

M44. meins 1sg prn poss *atta meins* J 10.30, μου M 7.21, ἐμαυτοῦ M 8.9 *my*.

Run *swestar minu my sister* (Opedal), Antonsen 1975:40; *magoz minas staina my son's stone* (Vetteland), Antonsen 1975:38; OI *mīnn, minn* ← **mī*; OE, OFris, OS, OHG *mīn my, mine*†.

PIE *me me*, gen orig uninflected, Porzig 1954:164; dialectally innovating forms with *-no-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:405, *-ne*, G Schmidt 1978:88-90,50-53,91-92; Skt gen *máma* ← **mana*, Av *mana*, OPers *manā*, Lith *manęs*, acc *manè*, Latvian *manis*, OPruss *mien*, OSl *mene*, Hitt *ammel*, if with G Schmidt 1978:91-92, ← **amen*, PIE *(e)men* with dissimilation of nasal as in Hitt *lāman name*, cf Go **namo**; Hitt encl *-mis* innovating, G Schmidt 1978:82-82; TochAB *ñi* ← **mñi, *mäni*, Meillet 1913 MSLP 18:421, also poss prn, Sieg and Siegling 1931:164. Cf also **mik, ik**.

Same formation in **þeins, *seins**; also OI *sveinn*, OE *swān*, OS *swēn*, OHG *swein servant*, orig 'one's own' based on PIE *swe-* as in **swes**; cf TochA *śñi his*, also with *n*-suffix, used as noun 'property', Sieg and Siegling 1931: 165, P 1959:882-84.

P 1959:702.

M45. meki *ia* μάχαιρα *short sword*, only acc sg E 6.17, Scardigli 1973:129.

CrimGo *mycha* 'ensis' *sword* Stearns 1978: 148; Busbecq and the Milan palimpsest, Tischler 1978:9; Run *makija* (Vimose), Antonsen 1975:32; OI *mækir*, OE *mǣce*, OS *māki* m *sword*. Not orig Gmc, but cross-cultural term in Gmc **mēki*, Finn *miekka*, Kylstra 1961:59, 64; OSl *mečь*, Russ *meč*, Serb *mȁč*. Possibly from Iran **madyaka something attached to the waist, middle*; cf *madya- middle* (Lat *medius*) → **mēdkē* → **mēdkī* → **mēkki* → *mēki*, Szemerényi 1979 ZVS 93:110-18; Scardigli 1973:257-58 fn48.

M46. 1. mel *na* ὥρα, χρόνος *hour, time* (sg only, etymology separate from **2. *mel**) R 13.11, J 12.35, καιρός *due time* M 8. 29; **mela* mn μόδιος *bushel*, only acc sg *-lan* Mk 4.21. See also **simle, *mitan**.

OI *māl time, term, mealtime*, OE *mǣl measure, moment, opportunity, mealtime*, OFris *mēl time, mealtime*, OHG *māl* stn *time, moment*, NHG *-mal, ein-mal time, once*; OI *mæla* wkv *measure*; *mælir* m *measure, bowl, basin*, OE *mǣle cup, bowl*, NE *meal(time)*; also OI *met weights of scales*, OE *mitta measure, bushel*, OHG *mez* stn *measure, size*; OE *mǣþ* m/f *measure, moderation, share, fate*.

PIE *mē- measure*, with **-l(o)-*: Lith *(tuo-)mẽl right away*, literally '(that) time', with **-ur-*, Hitt *mehur (proper) time*, but see Eichner 1973 MSzS 31:53-107; with **-d-*, Gk μέδιμνος *cereal measure*, Lat *modius grain measure*. With *-t-*, Lith *mẽtas time*, pl *mẽtai year*; with other vocalism, Alb *mot season* Huld 1984:95; Lith *mãtas measure*, Latvian *mats mill measure*, Alb *mat, mas measure* Fraenkel 1962-65:414-15,445; with PIE *-tro-*, Skt *mắtrā measure, quantity*, Gk μέτρον *measure, moderation*; with PIE *-ti-*, Skt *mātí- measure, correct perception*, Gk μῆτις *plan, wisdom*; Burrow 1980 BSOAS 43:324-25.

P 1959:703-04, Watkins 1985:39, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:684,691.

M47. 2. *mel na pl *mela* only, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:93, γραφή L 4.21, γράμματα *scriptures, writings* J 5.47; *ga-meleins fi/ō* γραφή *scripture* J 7.38; *ufar-meleins fi/ō* Mk 12.16, but *ufar-meli* nia ἐπιγραφή *inscription, title* L 20.24; cf also **meljan**.

OI *māl*, OE *mǣl mark, spot*, OFris *mēl sign*, OS *(hōbid-)māl picture of head*, OHG *māl* stn *instance, time, fixed time, gi-māli* stn *drawing, picture, ornament*. F 1939:353 rejects Detter 1898 ZDA 42:57 on relation to **maþl** and Loewe 1916 ZVS 47:132 on relation to **1. mel**.

PIE *mel-, melə-no- smeared with black, dirt*, color term: Skt *málam dirt, malinás dirty*; Gk μέλας, μέλανος *black*, μολύνω *soil*, ← ***μαλύνω, J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32:384; Lat *mulleus (royal) red shoe*, Gaul *melinus* 'color

nigrus', Wel *melyn yellowish* Stokes 1905 BKIS 29:169; Lith *mẽlas blue, mẽlyne,* Latvian *mę̣lns black, dirty,* OPruss *melne blue spot*; ablaut variants, Lith *mólis loam, mùlti become dirty, mulvė mud, swamp,* Russ *malina blackberry, raspberry.*

P 1959:720-21, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:632,783.

M48. meljan wkvI γράφειν *write* L 1. 63, ἀνατάξασθαι *compile a record, record* L 1.1 ἀπογράφεσθαι *register, enroll (for taxation)* L 2. 3, *ana-meljan* ἀπογράψασθαι *enroll (for taxation)* L 2.5; **faura-meljan* προγράφειν *depict, display publicly,* only nom sg m papl *-liþs* G 3.1; *ga-meljan* γράφειν *write* L 16.6, ἀπογράφεσθαι *enroll (for taxation)* L 2.1, papl *-melido* γραφή etc *written thing* J 10.35; cf also ***writs**; **faura-ga-meljan* προγράψαι *have already written* R 15.4; **ufar-meljan* ἐπιγράφειν *inscribe over,* only nom sg n papl *-liþ* Mk 15. 26; **uf-meljan sign, put one's signature to,* only 1sg prt *-lida,* DeN; on model of Gk ὑπογράφειν, Lat *subscribere,* Scardigli 1973:159, 281.

OI *mæla paint, portray,* OE *ge-mælan spot, stain,* OFris *mẽlia paint,* OS, OHG *malōn* wkv *paint, draw, gi-māli* stn *ornament, drawing, picture.*

PIE *mel-,* see **2. *mel.** Writing a post-PIE innovation; here, writing as 'blackening, coloring'; cf also PIE *peyḱ-,* Run *faihido* (Vetteland), Krause 1966 I:136-39, Antonsen 1975:38, ***filu-faihs** *many-colored*; Skt *piṁśáti hew out, adorn* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 167-68; Lith *piẽšti draw a line with coal, write*; OSl *pьsati write, paint* Bezzenberger 1902 BKIS 27:176. Other words reflect other elements of Gmc writing technology, such as **boka** (undetermined meaning in PGmc), **runa** *secret (script),* ***writs** *(inscribed) line, stroke* Arntz 1944:280-97.

M49. mena mn σελήνη *moon,* only nom sg Mk 13.24; *menoþs* m*cons* μήν *month* L 1.36.

CrimGo *mine* 'luna' *moon* Stearns 1978: 147; OI *māni,* OE, OFris *mōna,* OS, OHG *māno* wkm *moon*†; OI *mānaδr,* OE *mōnaþ,* OFris *mōnath,* OS *mānuth,* OHG *mānōd* stm *month*†.

PIE *mē-n-,* heteroclitic: nom *-ṓt,* obl *-és-/-s-* derivatives, Beekes 1982 JIES 10:55: Gk μήνη *moon*; Skt *mā́s-,* Av *māh-*; Gk μήν, Ion μείς, Aeol gen μῆννος; Lat *mēns-is*; OIr *mí,* Wel *mis month*; Lith *mẽnuo,* gen *mẽnesio,* Latvian *mẽnesis moon, month,* OPruss *menig moon* Bezzenberger 1904 BKIS 28:158; OSl *měsęcь moon, month*; Alb *muaj month* Huld 1984:96. Possibly Hitt *meyani-, meni- length, course (of a year),* for this meaning, Josephson 1972:108-09; possibly, Luw (Hier) */m/e-ni-ya-alli crescent moon* Meillet 1933 BSLP 34:[art]132. TochA *mañ,* B *meñe moon, month.* Much of the earlier discussion is superseded by Beekes 1982 JIES 10:55, building on J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:340,345-46 and 1889:193; see also Fraenkel 1962-65:438-39. Based on PIE *mē- measure*; cf ***mitan.**

P 1959:731-32, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:684,699.

M50. menus CrimGo 'caro' *flesh.*

Related to **mimz** in spite of orthographic and phonological problems; Stearns 1978:146-47. Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:362 took it as a misprint for **Mems* or **Menns,* E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:12 for **Memis*; Loewe 1896: 171 took *u* to be an epenthetic vowel. The *e* is a problem, because *e* + nasal is expected to be *i,* as in *wintsch*; Stearns 1978:147 suggests influence from Middle Flemish, favoring finally Massmann's explanation from **Menns.* -- Less likely to Hung *mén-hús horse meat,* as by Kisch 1925 KVSL 48:1, though Busbecq commented on the fondness of Tartars for horse meat. See also Tischler 1978:9, Scardigli 1973: 248,257.

M51. mereins f*i/ō* κήρυγμα *news, gospel* 1C 15.14; **waila-mereins* κήρυγμα *evangelism,* only gen sg *-nais* 1C 1.21; *wajamereins* βλασφημία *blasphemy* Mk 7.22; **waila-merei* f*n* εὐφημία *good repute,* only acc

sg *-rein* 2C 6.8; **waja-merei* fn δυσφημία *ill repute* 2C 6.8; **waila-mereis* adjia εὔφημος *praiseworthy*, only acc sg *-ri* Ph 4.8B; *meriþa* fō φήμη *fame* L 4.14, ἀκοή *report* Mk 1.28, ἦχος *rumor* L 4.37; cf also **merjan**, **waila**; on Gk and Lat models for Go word formation, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:350.

OHG *māri* stn *news, narration*; OI *mærð*, OE *mærþ(u) fame, famous deed*; OS, OHG *mārida* stf *news*. OI *mærr*, OE *mære*, OS, OHG *māri* adj *known, famous, great*. Run *ni wajemariz* (Thorsberg) *of good repute*; *SigimArAz* PeN *victory-famous* (Ellestad), Antonsen 1975:29-30,81-82, Krause 1966 I:53-55, 132-36; Go PeN's *Geila-mer*, *Wala-mer*; OI *Bjartmarr*, *Hröðmarr*, *Ingimarr*; OHG *Sigimar*, *Segimerus*, *Hlodomār*, *Theudemerus*, Schönfeld 1911:43,141,205, etc; on social evaluation of death, killing, Mittner 1955:129-30; OSl *Volodi-měrs* loan from Gmc; cf also Gaul *-māros* in PeN's *Iantumāros*, *Nertomāros*; Ir *Nertmar*.

PIE *mē-(ro-)*, *mō-ro- great, magnificent*: Gk ἐγχεσί-μωρος *mighty with the spear*; OIr *mār*, Wel *mawr large*, *māraid magnifies, honors*. Less likely, contamination of PIE *mē-large* with *mer- shine, glisten* Lindow 1976:129-30 with reference to Mittner 1955:139ff; P 1959:733-34, rejected by F 1939:355.

P 1959:704; W/P 1927-32 II:238.

M52. Merila [name of a *bokareis* or scribe] DeN 3.1, Scardigli 1973:286-87 on the profession; F 1939:355 with references on PeN's; signature on DeN, named **Mirica** in the text; derivative in *-ila*.

Run *Marilingu female descendent of Mārila* (Tanem, Antonsen 1975:69); OHG *Merling*. See **mereins**.

M53. merjan wkvI εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, καταγγέλειν, κηρύσσειν *proclaim* 2C 10.16, Ph 1.18, L 3.3, διαλαλεῖν L 1.65; *merjands* prpl nom sg m κῆρυξ *herald* 1T 2.7; **us-merjan* wkvI διαφημίζειν *spread (the news) abroad* (trans), only 3pl prt *-ridedun* M 9.31; **us-mernan* wkvIV διέρχεσθαι *spread* (intrans), only 3sg prt *-rnoda* L 5.15; *waila-merjan* wkvI calque on Gk εὐαγγελίζεσθαι *proclaim, preach good news* L 16.16, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:492; *waja-merjan* wkvI βλασφημεῖν *blaspheme, slander* M 9.3.

Based on PGmc *mēri-*: OI *mæra*, OE *mǣran announce, praise*, OS *mārian*; OHG *māren* wkv *make known*; OE *ā-mǣran make famous*. See **mereins**.

P 1959:704; W/P 1927-32 II:238.

M54. *mes na τράπεζα *table*, πίναξ *platter* dat sg *-sa* Mk 6.25,28, 12.1, acc pl ὑπολήνιον *trough under a winepress* Mk 12.1.

OE *mēse table, dish*, OHG *mias*, *meas* stn *table, mealtime*.

Loan from VLat *mēsa* when ClassicalLat *ns* → *-s*, Scardigli 1973:82; but at a time when nom sg n still ended in *-a*, Grienberger 1900: 158-59; among early borrowings, Corazza 1969: 26-28. Not to Go ***maitan** as in Noreen 1894: 31,192. For Gmc *ē²* see **her**. OIr *mias*, gen *mēse*, OWel *muiss*, Wel *mwys dish* also borrowed from Lat, Vendryès 1959-:M-47-48.

M55. midja-sweipains fi κατακλυσμός *flood*, only L 17.27 with reference to the great flood in Noah's day.

Probably a poetic nonce-creation for *world-* (***midjun-gards**) *deluge* (as in OI *sveipa envelop*), a partial calque for κατακλυσμός, cf κατα-κλύζω *inundate, deluge*. Noun formed from Go **sweipan* wkv + *-ains* as in *bauains*; OE *swāpan*, OFris *swēpa swing, sweep†*, OS *swēpan*, OHG *sweifan* stv *swing*; OS *for-swīpan* stv, prt *forswēp drive off*, MHG *swīfen* stv *move*; OI *sveipr* m *fold*, *svipa* f *whip*, MHG *sweif* stm *swinging movement, encircling band*.

PIE *swēy- bend, swing*; various suffixes: *sweib-* also in Av *xšaēwayat-aštra- swinging the whip*, *χšviwra- rapid*; *-p-* in OI *svīfa swing*, OE *swīfan turn, sweep*, OFris *swīfa* stv *turn*; OHG *swebēn* wkv *hover*; OI *svipr* m *rapid movement*; OE *swipu* stf *whip*, NE *swift*. Also without initial (movable) *s-*: PIE *weyp-*, *weib-turn, swing*: Lat *vibrō vibrate*, Go ***weipan**,

MHG *weifen swing*; see also ***bi-waibjan***. P 1959:1041-42,1131-32.

F 1939:356 interpreted the cmpd as 'sweeping, flooding the middle' (ie the area of the earth between the fire-world in the south and the ice-world in the north); Grienberger 1900:159-60 assumed *midja-* in relation to **miþ** 'together', as 'flowing-together of the waters, high tide' and *-sweipains* as *rapid rushing, as at high tide*; Scardigli 1973:66 takes it as a creation of Wulfila, with *midja-* referring to the earth.

M56. *midjis adj*ja* μέσος *middle* J 7. 14, elsewhere for (τὸ) μέσον *the middle* L 4.35 (only with prep, *among, in the middle of*).

OI *miδr*, OE *midd*, OFris *midde*, OS *middi*, OHG *mitti* adj *middle, mid*†; see also ***midjun-gards, midja-sweipains***.

PIE *medh-yo- middle*: Skt *mádhya-*; Av *maiδya- middle*; Hom μέσσος, Att μέσος; Lat *medius what is in the middle, intermediary*; Gaul *Medio-*, as in GN *Medio-lanum middle plain*, modern *Milano*; OIr *mide*, NIr *Meath, (im-)medōn in the center*, MIr *mid- middle*; Lith *mẽdis, mẽdžias wood, tree*, Latvian *mežs wood, forest*, OPruss *median forest (as on the edge of a field)*; cf parallel semantic development in OI *viδr*, OE *widu forest, tree, wood*†; Lith *vidùs inside, vidurỹs middle* Fraenkel 1962-65:425; OSl *meždu between*; *mežda street*; Russ *mežā boundary*; cf also **marka** with references on semantic developments; Arm *měj middle*.

P 1959:706-07.

M57. *midjun-gards mi οἰκομένη *inhabited world* L 4.5.

OI *miδ-garδr*, OE *middan-geard*, OS *middil-gard* OHG *mitti-gar[t]* stm *world, mittil(a)gart* stm *earth, world*; presupposes a shamanistic view of the inhabited earth as between the northern ice world and southern fire world, according to Scardigli 1973:65-66 fn70; more likely the portion of the universe between *the abode of the giants*, OI *ūt-garδar* m pl, and *the abode of the gods*, OI *ās-garδr* m sg. See ***miduma, midjis, gards***.

Possibly **midjun-** with *-n-* for *-m-*; cf ***miduma***: sequence *-ng-* rather than *-gg-* is notable. On apocope of final vowel, see **þiudan-gardi*, Brugmann 1903 IF 14:5 fn2 and Skt *madhyaṁ-* in *madhyáṁ-dinas midday*; Av *maiδim zrayaŋhō midst of the sea*; according to Grienberger 1900:160 suffixed form of **midja-**; **midjōns*, cf Lat *mediānus middle (part)*.

M58. *miduma fō τὸ μέσον *middle* (only with prep *among*) L 10.3; *midumonds* subst prpl μεσίτης *mediator*, only nom sg m 1T 2.5, based on **midumon mediate*, cf OE *medemian*, OHG *metemēn* wkv *give proper measure, determine*; cf *merjands herald*, **merjan**, ***midjis**.

OI *mjǫδm* f *hip, body middle*, OE *midemest midmost*†, *medeme mediocre, usual*, OFris *medemest middlemost*, OHG *metem* adj, *mittamo* wkm *middle*.

PIE *medh-yo-* with *-ṃmo-*: Skt *madhyamá-*, Av *maδəma- midmost*; Osc *messimas midmost*[?]. B/E 1981:95 fn1 follow Szemerényi 1960 BGDSL-T 82:1-30 on identification of *-uma* as elative or intensive; hence superl use is an independent dialectal innovation; on PIE comp, see **maiza** *more*. See also Trutmann 1972:44-45.

P 1959:706.

M59. miera CrimGo 'formica' *ant*; Stearns 1978:147.

Not in European Go, though reconstructed as **miurjo*, Much 1898 AinIF 9:197-98. OI *maurr* m, Sw, Nor dial *maur*, Dan *myre* (ME *mȳre* from NGmc; NE *pis-mire*), MDu *mure ant*.

Forms vary in the dialects, possibly because the word designates an everyday item (F 1939:357), less likely by reason of taboo; the course of each change cannot be stated precisely. PIE *morwī-* : *wormo-, mormo- ant*: Skt *vamrás*; Av *maoiri-* ← **marvī*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:146-47; Gk μύρμηξ, resembling Lat *formīca*, with reduplication, Chantraine 1968-

80:723, W/H 1938-56 I:531-32; Ernout and Meillet 1967:247-48; OIr *moirb*, MWel *myr*, pl *myrion*; Arm *mrǰimn* **ant.** These words commonly replaced in later dialects, as in OE *ǣmette*, OHG *ā-meiza* wkf/m **ant**† ← *cutter*, as in ***maitan**. Compare the similar situation in the words for snake: Skt *ahiṣ*; OE *wyrm*, *nædre*, *snaca*, Buck 1949:194-95.

P 1959:749; much further discussion, as by Grammont 1895:177, Gdr 1897-1916 I:849, Wijk 1913-14 IF 33:367ff, none of which is more than hypothetical.

M60. mik 1st person prn, acc με, ἐμέ very frequent M 8.2, dat *mis* μοι also frequent *to me* M 7.21; cf also **meins**, **ik**.

PGmc acc *mek*, dat *mez*, G Schmidt 1978: 54-55,135-36,72-73; Run *m(i)k* (Etelhem, Krause 1966 I:39-40 though taken as *ek* by Antonsen 1975:80), OI *mek*, *mik*, OE *mec*, *mic*, OS *mik*, OHG *mih* **me**†, NHG *mich*, Run *mez* (Opedal, Tune), Antonsen 1975:40,44-45; OI *mēr*, OHG, NHG *mir to me*.

Gmc acc from PIE *(e)me-g(e)* *me* G Schmidt 1978:53-64: Gk ἐμέγε; Ven *meo*; TochB *ñä-ś*, A *ñuk*, Hitt *ammuk* *me* ← **am(m)u* modified after *uk I* Tischler 1983- I: 22. Gmc dat possibly from PIE *me* + ablative *-tos*, *-ts* or prn *so*: PGmc *mez*, OIr *me-sse* *me*, *tu-ssu* *you*; Umbr *se-so* *oneself* Prokosch 1939: 281, G Schmidt 1978:135-36; cf also stressed forms, PIE acc *(e)me* *me*: Skt *mā*, *mām*; Gk ἐμέ; OLat *mēd*; ClassicalLat *mē*; OIr *mē*; Wel *mi*; Lith *manè*; Latvian *mani*; Luw (hierogl), Lyd, Lyc *amu*; PIE encl *me*: Skt, Av *mā*; Gk με; Lith *-m*; TochB *-ñ*; Hitt *-mu* (analogical with 2 pers *-du*), G Schmidt 1978:49-53. PIE dat *(e)me-ĝhi*, loc *em-oy*, *(e)me-ĝ-bhi*, G Schmidt 1978:65-82: Skt *máhyam*, loc *mayi*; Av (Gatha) *maibyā*, *maibyō*; Lat *mihi*; Umbr *mehe*; Gk ἐμοί *to me*; PIE encl *mey*, *moy*: Gk μοι; OLat *mei*; ClassicalLat *mī*; Lith *-mi*; OSl *mi*; TochA *-ñi* *to me*. On the distribution of PIE deictic ptc *ĝ(h)i* outside the personal prn system as well, G Schmidt 1978:59-64; cf Fairbanks 1977 JIES 5:101-29 on the probable mechanism by which the IE dialects independently innovated new obl case forms; also Porzig 1954:180,192 on the dialect distribution of personal prn acc *-g(e)* (Ven, Go, Hitt) as opposed to *-m* (Skt, OPers *mām*, OSl *mę*, Alb *mua*, *mue* ← **mēm*). The handbooks vary in accounting for the case forms; Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:382ff, Szemerényi 1980:196-98.

P 1959:702 *me-*, 418 *-ĝ(h)e*.

M61. mikils adj*a* μέγας ***great*** M 5.19, πολύς ***many*** M 7.22; *mikilaba* adv μεγάλως ***greatly, very much***, only Ph 4.10; **mikilei fn(in)* μέγεθος ***greatness*** E 1.19, μεγαλειότης ***majesty*** L 9.43; *mikilduþs* **fi greatness** Sk 4.12 / IVb.17, with PIE suffix *-tūt-* ← *-tu-*, cf Lat *servi-tūs*, Benveniste 1948:108; **mikilþuhts* adj*a* only acc pl m *-tans* ὑπερήφανος ***arrogant, proud*** L 1.51; cf also ***þugkjan**, *hauh-þuhts*. **mikiljan* wkvI μεγαλύνειν, δοξάζειν ***praise, magnify*** L 1.46,49, L 2.20; **ga-mikiljan* μεγαλύνειν ***magnify***, only 3sg prt *-lida* L 1.58; *mikilnan* wkvIV μεγαλυνθῆναι ***be enlarged***, only inf 2C 10.15.

OI *mikill*, OE *micel*, *mycel*, OS *mikil*, OHG *mih(h)il* ***great, large***; NE dial *mickle* ***much***†; on OE vowel in Beowulf, WP Lehmann 1968:161. OE *micelu*, OHG *mihhilī* stf ***greatness***, OI *mjǫk* ← PGmc *meku* ***much***: OI *mikla*, OE *micelian*, OHG *mihhilōn* wkv ***magnify, honor***.

PIE *meĝ-ə-*: Skt *máhi*, *mahán*; Av *maz-ə-* ***great***; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:609-10, with many references; Ind *-h-* ← PIE *-ĝ-* + *H* as also in Skt *duhitā́*, cf Go **dauhtar** ***daughter***, Skt *ahám*, cf Go **ik** *I*, Skt *hánuḥ* *jawbone*, cf Go ***kinnus**; Gk μέγας; OIr *maige*, *magdae* ***great, large***; *mag-* ***grow*** Vendryès 1959-:M-8-9; Arm *mec*, instr *mecaw*; Alb *madh* ***big***; TochA *māk*, B *māka* ***many***, Hitt *mekki-*, *makkaes* ***much, many***; Anatolian **mek-*, Luw **mai-* ***many***, *mayassi-* ***crowd, population***; Lyc *miñti* ***judicial assembly*** Laroche 1963 BSLP 58:[art]78-79; Benveniste's 1962:111-12 rejection of Toch and Hitt reflexes must be reconsidered in the light of **mikils** ***great, many***; Hitt 'much' and 'many',

and Hitt reflexes of consonant + *ə* or *h₂* + vowel sequences, Oettinger 1979:249 fn22,548; cf also Pedersen 1926:47-50; Beekes 1969:153-54.

PIE nom *meĝh, meĝ-ŗ*, gen *meĝ-n-és*, Petersson 1921b:118-19: Lat *magnus great*; with contamination of **mə-i̯s*: *magis rather, more, maximus most*, cf **mais**; *maior* ← **mag-i̯os*, Sommer 1900 IF 11:84-85; W/H 1938-56 II:10-12,14; with PIE *-l-*, Gk μεγάλη *great*; with PIE *-w-*, OI *mi̯ǫk much (above)*; with PIE *-l-wó-*, Gk ἀγλαός *magnificent* ← **mĝəl-wó-*, Pinault 1979 MSzS 38:165-70; W Schulze 1966:75-79 for PIE *-l-* as augmentative; or, Gmc and Gk *-l-* independent developments, Chantraine 1968-80:675; cf Skt *maháyati*, Gk μεγαλύνειν, Lat *magnificāre magnify, honor*, independent of Go **mikiljan*, OHG *mihhilōn* wkv *magnify* Osthoff 1888 BGDSL 13:437, beside common Gk and Arm innovations, Gk μεγαίρω *envy*, Arm *mecarem esteem* Porzig 1954:157; on IE *-l-* and dim, Sieberer 1950-52 Sprache 2:111-18. PIE *mē-r-* (**mais**) and *meĝ-ə-* (**mikils**) reflect an old IE suppletive adj paradigm, Ernout and Meillet 1967:377-79.

P 1959:704,708-09, Watkins 1985:39-40.

M62. *mildiþa fō σπλάγχνα *mildness, kindness*, only gen pl *-þo* Ph 2.1; **friaþwa-milds* φιλόστοργος *tender-loving*, only nom pl m *-dai* R 12.10A; **un-milds* ἄστοργος *unkind*, only nom pl *-djai* 2T 3.3.

OI *mildi*, OE *mildo*, OHG *miltī* stf *generosity, kindness, miltida* st/wkf *compassion, pity*; cf also OI *mildr*, OE, OFris *milde*, OS *mildi*, OHG *milti*, NHG *mild friendly, generous* (NE *mild*), OI *ū-mildr*, OE *un-milde*, OHG *un-milti unkind*. See also ***malan, mulda**.

PIE *mel- crush, grind; soft, limp*, with many suffixes: + *-H-* in Skt *mlā́yati wither*, Gk μαλερός *crushing*, ἁμαλός *soft*, cf ***malan**. With PIE *-dh-* indicating completed action, WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18:126: Skt *mā́rdhati neglect*, Gk μάλθηω *wax*, μάλθων *weakling*, μαλθαίνω *weaken*, μαλθακός *tender*; possibly also OIr *meldach pleasant*, though not Wel *blydd tender* Vendryès 1959-:M-33-34; the Celt forms may be extended with PIE *-d-*, as in Skt *mardati*; cf ***ga-malteins**. The meaning was modified in Gmc under Christian influence.

P 1959:718,719.

M63. milhma mn νεφέλη *cloud* L 9.34.

Possible Gmc cognate only in OSw *molin*, Sw *moln cloud*; dialectal replacement for PIE *nebh-*, WP Lehmann 1968 ZMF 35:6,8-9.

Many conjectures; possibly here Lith *mìlšti(s) gather (of a storm)*, Latvian *milzt become dark or foggy*; Russ *molostъ thunderstorm* Fraenkel 1962-65:453, cf Torbiörnsson 1894 BKIS 20:124ff, 1901-03 I:88, 1906 BKIS 30:62ff; if restructured, with metathesis of *-l-*, possibly also to Lith *miglà*, Latvian *migla*; OSl *mьgla fog*, which like Gk ὀμίχλη *cloud* are based on PIE *meygh- cloud*, as in Skt *meghás*, Av *maēγa- cloud*; Arm *mēg fog*; OI *mistr*, OE *mist* ← PGmc *mihstaz*, Sverdrup 1915 IF 35:154. Other conjectures cited by F 1939:359 less likely.

P 1959:724.

M64. *militon wkvII, only nom sg m prpl *þai -ndans* οἱ στρατευόμενοι *those doing military duty* L 3.14; loan from Lat *militāre serve as a soldier*.

OE *milite* pl *soldiers*; *militisc warlike* ← Lat *mīlēs*, pl *milites soldier*; W Schulze 1966: 511 fn2; Corazza 1969:49-50; Scardigli 1973:85-86 for other such loans.

M65. miliþ na μέλι *honey*, only acc sg Mk 1.6.

OI, OHG *milsku sweet mixed drink*; OE *milisc sweet, mild, miliscian* wkv *sweeten with honey, mele-dēaw honeydew, nectar*; OS *milidou*, OHG *mili-tou mildew*†.

PIE *mel-i-t; mel-u-* under influence of *medh-u- honey*; but cf Mayer 1956 ZVS 73:235-37 on parallel with **mel-i/u-ĝ- milk*. Gk μέλι, gen μέλιτος *honey*; βλίττω ← **mlit-yo- rob a beehive*; Lat *mel*, gen *mellis* (not necesarily from **mel-n-és*, W/H 1938-56 II:62); OIr *mil*,

gen *melo, mela* ← **meli- honey*; *milis sweet*; Alb *mjáltë*; Arm *meɫr*, gen *meɫu*; Hitt *milit-*, Luw *mallit- honey* Čop 1970 IF 75:85. Evidence for heteroclitic declension, **mel-i-t-*, gen **mel-n-és*, Petersson 1921b:4-5; Benveniste 1935a:7-8, depends on Lat *mellis* ← **mel-n-is*; on PIE nom *-t-* as in **menoƀs, 1. mel**, cf Beekes 1982 JIES 10:55,58-63.

Porzig 1954:203 takes **mel-i-* as western IE innovation beside **medhu honey, mead*: Skt *mádhu sweet drink, anything sweet, honey, Soma, milk*; Av *maδu berry wine*; Oss *mud honey*; NPers *mai wine*; Gk μέθυ *alcoholic drink, wine*; OIr *mid*, gen *meda fermented drink, hydromel*; Celt **medu-* : Wel *medd*, Corn *med*, Bret *mez*; Lith *medùs honey, mìdus mead, honey wine*; OSl *medъ*, gen *medu, meda*; TochB *mit honey*; NE *mead*.

On Finn *mete*, Hung *mēz honey* Gauthiot 1910-11 MSLP 16:268-70.

P 1959:723-24 PIE *mel-i-t*, 707 *medhu*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:570-72, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:603-05.

M66. *miluks f*cons*; *i*: B/E 1981:83 γάλα *milk* (only gen sg **miluks* 1C 9.7).

OI *mjǫlk*, OE *meolc, mioluc*, OFris *melok*, OS *miluk*, OHG *miluh* stf *milk*†; OI *mjaltir* f pl *whey*, *molka* wkv, OE *meolcan*, OFris *melka*, OHG *melchan* stv *milk*†.

On PIE *i-* and *u*-stem forms of *mel-* with *-k-* and *melkó milk-giving*, PGmc *mélko milk* as in Gk φορός *bearing*, φόρος *load*, cf Gk μέλκα *spiced sour milk* Mayer 1956 ZVS 73:235ff; on cns stem, **melk-* → **mélək-s* with post-Verner's law loss of *ə*, Hamp 1979 ZVS 92:30.

PIE *mēlĝ-, mlĝ- draw, pull*; according to Benveniste 1935a:157, ← **əǝm-él*, an extension of **əǝem- gather a liquid*, as in Gk ἄμη *pail, bucket*: Gk ἀμέλγω *draw, pull*, Lat *mulgeō milk*; OIr *bligim I milk, melg- milk*, gen *bō-milge cow's milk*; *mlig-, blig- draw, extract*; *mlicht, blicht milk*; Wel *blith*; OIr *mlegon drawing, milking*; cf parallel semantic shift, Fr *traire milk* ← Lat *trahere draw, pull*; Lith *mélžti*; OSl *mlěsti milk*; OPol *młost milk can*; Russ *molost milk time*; Alb *mjel milk*; TochA *malke*, B *malkwer milk*, TochAB *malk- (to) milk*; Lith *maĩkas gulp* Fraenkel 1962-65:402; OSl **melko*, Russ *moloko*, Pol *mleko milk* Vasmer 1953-58 II:151-52; Gk μέλκα *herbed, spiced sour milk* via Lat *melca* from Gmc, W/H 1938-56 II:62-63, with references, as also in F 1939: 361. On distribution of IE words for 'milk' see A Brückner 1913 ZVS 45:101ff, Porzig 1954: 132, who doubt existence of a PIE word for 'milk'; possibly also Skt *mṛjáti rubs, wipes*, which however may be related to Gk ὀμόργνυμι *wipe off* Beekes 1969:44, ← **hₓmerĝ-*, though Szemerényi 1958 ZVS 75:170 argues for the relationship, as does Frisk 1960-72 I:91, who maintains the claim for a restriction of the meaning 'rub' to 'milk' in the European languages.

P 1959:722-23; Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:670-71, Watkins 1985:41, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:571.

M67. mimz *na* κρέα *meat*, only acc sg 1C 8.13; cf also ***mammo**, CrimGo **menus**; no cognates in other Gmc dialects.

PIE *mēmso- meat*: Skt *māṁsám*, older *māṁs-*, acc sg *mā́ḷ*, Lith *meĩsa*, Latvian *miẽsa* ← **mensā*, cf OPruss *mensā-*, OSl *męso*, Arm *mis*, Alb *mish*, TochB *misa* pl *meat, flesh*. PIE *mē(m)s-ro-*: Gk μῆρος, older pl μῆρα *(sacrificed) thigh meat*; Lat *membrum* ← **mēms-ro- piece of meat, member* W/H 1938-56 II:64-65, Frisk 1960-72 II:230-31; OIr *mīr*, acc pl *mírenna piece of meat, food* Brugmann 1905-06 IF 18: 436-39; relic food term in Go, Scardigli 1973: 24,257. On reduction of sequences: vowel + laryngeal + resonants (orig long diphthongs) see Hirt 1921-37 II:51-76.

P 1959:725, Watkins 1985:41, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:698-99.

M68. mins adv ἧττον *less* 2C 12.15, ἔλαττον *fewer* 1T 5.9, ὑστερέω *be inferior to, less than* 2C 12.11; *minniza* adj, comp of **leitils** μικρότερος M 11.11, ἐλάσσω R 9.12 *smaller, lesser, younger*; **minnists* superl of **leitils** μικρότερος L 9.48, ἐλάχιστος M 5.19,

ἔσχατος M 5.26 *smallest, least (important)*; *minznan* wkvIV *diminish, become less* inf only, Sk 4.2,7 / IVa.4,23, 6.2 / VIa.7; *-nan* derived from comp stem, Annerholm 1956:147 PGmc *-nn-* ← PIE *-nw-*; cf Lat *minus* and also **kinnus**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:560, Krause 1968: 109.

OI *minnr* adv *few, less*; *minni* comp adj *fewer*; *minnistr* superl *least, smallest*; OE *minsian*, OS *minson* wkv *become small*; *minnero* comp adj *smaller*; OFris *minn* adv *less*, *min(ne)ra* comp adj *fewer*, *minria become smaller*; OHG *min* adv *less*, *minniro* comp adj *smaller, fewer*, *minnisto* superl *least, smallest, least important*, *minnirōn* wkv *become smaller*.

PIE *mey-, mi-new- small, less*: Skt *míyate, miyáte grow smaller* (intrans); *minâti lessen, diminish, damage* (trans); Gk μείων *smaller, less* (cf ἀ-μείνων *not smaller or less; better*); Myc *me-u-jo* ← **mei-w-(i)yo- lesser*; cf later Gk μεῖστος *least*; μιν-ύθω *diminish, destroy; be diminished, decay*; Lat *min-u-ere diminish, become smaller*; *minor smaller, fewer, minus small*; cf also *minimāre make small*; OIr *menb small, little*, but see Vendryès 1959-:M-37; *min small, tiny*, loan from Lat *minus*, Vendryès 1959-:M-52-53; OSl comp *mьnjьjь*, *mьnje smaller*; possibly Hitt *meḫawas*, acc *meus*, gen *miyuwa[s]*; Luw *mauwa- four*, ie 'the smaller (hand)', less than five of the full hand, Heubeck 1963 Sprache 9:200-02; but see also Carruba 1969:195ff for another etymology; on comp and superl suffix, see **maiza**.

P 1959:711.

M69. Mirica PeN, *spodeus* or cleric, Scardigli 1973:287-88 on this title/profession; named in line 84 of DeN, signature, however, as **Merila**; dim in *-ka* only here in Go; beside *-la*, cf Go PeN **Sindila** beside OHG PeN *Sindico*, Förstemann 1900:1340-41; cf NHG *Hänsel* beside *Hänschen*; cf also Sieberer 1950-52 Sprache 2:111-15 on IE dim suffixes, possible iconicity rather than inherited relation.

M70. missa- *false*, orig 'various, different', as in OHG *missi various*; **missa-deþs* fi παράβασις 1T 2.14, παράπτωμα M 6.14 *misdeed, transgression*; cf also ***ga-deþs**; **missa-taujands* prpl παραβάτης *sinner*, only acc sg *-jandan* G 2.18 ← **missa-taujan*; cf **taujan**; *missa-leiks* adja ποικίλος *different, various* L 4.40; cf **ga-leiks**. *missaqiss* fi σχίσμα *schism, difference of opinion* J 7.43; cf **ana-qiss, qiþan**.

OI *mis-(gørð) sin*, OE *mis-dǣd*, OS *mis-dād*, OHG *missi-tāt* stf *transgression, misdeed*†. Cf also ME *a miss, on miss erroneously*, NE *amiss*: OI *missa* wkv *miss, lose*; *missir* m, *missa* f *loss, damage*; OE *missan fail to hit or reach, miss*†. OI *mis-líkr*, OE *mis-līc*, OFris *mis-lik*, OS *mis-līk*, OHG *mis-līh, missalīh various*.

Etymology unclear; Gmc *missa-*, ← PIE *mit-tā-*; *missi-* ← PIE *mit-tiā*, cf **misso**; scarcely to Lat *mittere let go, send*, as by Kögel 1880 BGDSL 7:173-75; see W/H 1938-56 II:97-99. Semantic problems also with derivation from PIE *mey-t(h)- exchange*, papl *mi-t(h)-sto-*: Skt *mithū pervertedly, wrongly* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:634-35,682-83; OIr pejorative prefixes problematic; *miss-* of *miss-imbert foul play*, not *mi-*, Stokes 1894:216; but cf *mī-, mī-ghim misdeed*; *mī-imbert deception* Vendryès 1959-:M-46; also *messa worse*, suppletive comp of *olc bad*, ibid:M-43-44.

P 1959:715.

M71. misso adv ἀλλήλων J 13.14, ἑαυτῶν J 12.19 *each other, reciprocally*.

OI *ȳmiss, īmiss* adv *different, reciprocal*.

Possibly to PIE *mi-t(h)-sto-*: Skt *mithás mutually, alternately, reciprocally*; Lat *mūtue mutually, in return*; OSl *mitě*, Russ *mitusь alternately*. Cf ***maidjan, missa-**.

P 1959:715, W/H 1938-56 II:137-38,140.

M72. *mitan stvV μετρεῖν *measure*, 2pl prs *-tid*, 3sg prs pass *-tada* L 6.38, nom pl m prpl *-tandans* 2C 10.12; **ga-mitan* μετρεῖν *measure, mete out, apportion*, only 3sg prt *gamat* 2C 10.13; *us-mitan* ἀναστρέφεσθαι *behave, conduct oneself* 1T 3.15, πολιτεύεσθαι

conduct one's life, live Ph 1.27, A Sturtevant 1937 JEGP 36:180-81. ***mitaþs** fcons (fi) μέτρου, κόρος *measure* L 6.38, L 16.7; ***mitadjo** fn[?], μέτρον *measure*, only acc sg **-jon** L 6.38; see ***us-met**.

OI *meta reckon, estimate*, OE, OS *metan measure, mete† out*, OFris *meta measure*, OHG *mez(z)an* stv *measure, compare, evaluate*; also OE **mǣþ** *measure, share; right, good*, (archaic) *meet†*; NHG *messen measure, ermessen judge*; OI *met weight*, OE *ge-met measuring*, OHG *mez* stn *measure*. Possibly here OI *mjǫtuðr*, OE *me(o)tod*, OS *metod* stm *fate, creator, God* Kluge 1926:17.

PIE *med- measure*: thematic, Gk μέδομαι *take care of*, Hom μέδων *ruler*, μεδέων *ruling*, μέδιμνος a *measure*; Lat *medeor heal, apply measures for a malady*; Osc *med-diss judge* ← ***medo-dik̑s, -deik̑-**, cf Lat *iu-dex judge*; with PIE *-ye/o-*; OIr *midithir judge* Vendryès 1959-:M-48-49; with PIE *-tu-*, OIr *mess judgment, opinion*; Wel *meddwl*; Arm *mit thought*; cf also Lat *medicus*, Av *vi-mad doctor*; Lat *modus measure*, Lat *modius bushel* Meillet 1922 BSLP 23:[art]94-97; more recently tied to old full grade prs sg middle Skt and IE type as protero-dynamic II/2, Beekes 1973 ZVS 87:86-98, 1974 ZVS 88:183; possible parallel ablaut pattern in OHG *māen mow*, Lat *metere mow, harvest*, PIE *mē-* : *met-*, W Schmid 1956 IF 62:238 fn69. Semantic variation, 'judge' - 'govern' - 'heal', derivation from orig IE legal concept, 'apply tried and tested measure to bring order into a situation'; notions of moral value, such as justice, right, are dialectal innovations. Measure as active constraint (***med-**) thus contrasts with measure as of dimensions (***mē-**), Benveniste 1973:399-406. But distinctions do not always clearly emerge, as in Gk μῆτις *plan, device*, formally ← ***mē-ti-**, semantically closer to Gk μήδεα *designs*, formally ← ***mēd-**; cf also μέδιμνος, Lat *modius* ← ***med-**, but semantically with athematic, Hsch μῆστο· βουλεύσατο ← *μηδ-το, Chantraine 1968-80:693; thematic, μήδομαι *meditate*; Arm *mit-k' designs*. See also **1. mel**, ***mela**, **miton**, **mota**, ***ga-motan**.

P 1959:705-06,703-04, Watkins 1985:39, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:811.

M73. miton wkvII βουλεύεσθαι *plan* 2C 1.17, ἐνθυμεῖσθαι *think about* M 9.4, λογίζεσθαι *reason, ponder* 1C 13.11, διαλογίζεσθαι *argue, debate* Mk 2.8, φρονοῦν, σκοποῦν *think, be concerned for* R 8.5, Ph 2.4; **ufar-miton** *forget*, only inf Sk 3.17 / IIIc.11, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:96; better interpretation by W Bennett 1960:122-23 as a phrase 'above the intention', acc sg of **mitons**; **mitons** fi διαλογισμός *thought, opinion* L 9.46; ***ga-mitons** διάνοια *mind, reason*, only gen pl **-ne** E 2.3.

OE *metian weigh, consider*, OFris **mētigia**, OHG *mez(z)ōn* wkv *moderate, mitigate*.

PIE *mē-, mēd-, med- apply measure, moderate, judge*; or, if distinct from PIE *mē-* *measure*, ***mitan** *skillfully devise, contrive* Burrow 1980 BSOAS 43:313,324-25. Problem whether Skt evidence for homophonous *mā*-forms is adequate to conclude that **miton** *plan* is a reflex independent of ***mitan** *measure*.

M74. miþ prep μετά, σύν, ἐν etc *with, among* M 5.25, J 12.2, J 9.16; **miþþan** adv *meanwhile*, only Sk 2.4 / IIa.14, 2.9E / IIb.8, 2.18E / IIc.14; **miþ-þan-ei** conj ἡνίκα 2C 3.15, variant **miþ-þane** ἐν τῷ + inf *when, while, even though* L 2.43; gen absolute, Stutz 1973 ZVS 87:1-15.

OI *með(r)*, OE *mid, miþ* OFris *mith, mei*, OS *midi*, OHG *mit(i) with*; OI *meðan meanwhile, whereas*, OE *mid þon (þe) when, while*; cf also OE *sīþ-þan after, when, since*, ME *sithen(s) since†*; on parallel cross-linguistic development of logical connectives, conjunctions, Traugott 1982:258-67; on *n*-formant in Gmc dem, Dal 1971:86-128; see **miþ** in ***mid-gardi-waddjus**; also **miþ-wissei** fn, calque of Gk συνείδησις *conscience, consciousness* 1C 8.10; also Lat *con-scientia*; presupposes adj

miþ-wiss* ← **1. witan *know* Scardigli 1973: 108-10 on *miþ-sokjan* and Gk or Lat word formation models.

PIE *me- mid,* + suffixes as in *me-dhi in between, in the middle*; also PIE *medhi-, medh-yo- middle,* ***midjis**; PIE *me-ta* : Gk μετά *with, among, after*; Alb *mjet means.* Orig meaning of **miþ** and Gk μετά in uses like Go *miþ tweihnaim markom between both borders* Mk 7.31, *missaqiss warþ miþ im a schism arose among them* J 9.16, W Schulze 1966:846 fn2.

P 1959:702,706-07.

M75. mizdo *fn* μισθός *recompense, reward* L 6.23.

OE *meord, mēd recompense, payment,* OFris *mēde rent, gift,* OS *mēda,* OHG *mieta* st/wkf *recompense, gift*; Lombardic *meta compensatory action*; NHG *Miete rent*; NE *meed reward.* Gmc *ē*^{2} here through compensatory lengthening on loss of *-z-*, Hirt 1931-34 I:33; see also WP Lehmann 1952:71-72. Earlier proposals in Gdr 1897-1916 I:626,780, and references in F 1939:364-65; see also Connolly 1979 BGDSL-T 101:1-29.

PIE *misdhó- reward, prize*: Skt *mīḍhám competition, contest, prize*; Av *mîžda- reward, gift*; Oss *mizd*; Gk μισθός *recompense*; OSl *mizda reward.* Maintained beside **laun** *reward,* because of formal similarity to Gk μισθός, Scardigli 1973:129; cf also Benveniste 1973:131-37 on semantic developments for modern IE 'wage', 'price' words.

P 1959:746; see also Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 642-43 for an attempt to account for the IE base, though cmpd with *dhē- place* is less likely than *-dh*-suffix, in spite of Specht 1944:249-50.

M76. mota *fō* τέλος *tax* R 13.7; **mota-staþs* mi τελώνιον *tax office,* only dat sg *-ada* L 5.27, M 9.9; cf **staþs**; *motareis* mia τελώνης *tax collector, publican* L 18.10.

OE *mōt tax, toll,* OSw *mōt measure,* Bavarian *mues miller's pay.*

Etymology disputed, though probably from MLat *mūta toll* M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66: 129, Corazza 1969:64-66; OHG **mūta,* NHG *maut* from Go during period of Theoderic the Great, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:152; (Lat *mūta* rather from Gmc, Much 1920 DLZ 41:554, unlikely;) cf also GN *Mautern* 'toll city on south Danube', from Go dat pl *motarjam at the toll takers*; also problematic, OI *mūta bribery, payment,* though probably from Lat. OSl *myto tax (office)* probably from OHG, Vasmer 1953-58 II:185; cf also Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:211-15, Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:322-23, Scardigli 1973:233. Relation to ***ga-motan** rejected, F 1939:365; in spite of Stender-Petersen 1927: 322-25 on Gmc legal character of ***ga-motan, mota,** and relation to ***mitan** *measure, mela bushel: toll = payment measured out in terms of a commodity* Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:211-15; also Much 1920 DLZ 41:554.

M77. *moþs *ma* ὀργή *anger* Mk 3.5, θυμός *anger, spirit* L 4.28; *modags* adja ὀργιζόμενος *angry* nom sg, only M 5.22, L 15. 28; cf also ***muka-modei, *Alamods,** literally 'one spirit', Scardigli 1973:282-83.

OI *mōðr anger,* OE, OFris, OS *mōd courage, spirit,* OHG *muot* stm/n *soul, spirit, courage*; cf NE *mood*; NHG *Mut courage, spirit*; OI *moðugr,* OE *mōdig,* OS *mōdag, mōdig excited,* OHG *muotig courageous.*

Etymology problematic. Scarcely to Gk μαίομαι *seek,* as by P 1959:704-05, nor to μῆνις *anger* Chantraine 1968-80:659,697; nor to Lat *mōs will, custom* Ernout and Meillet 1967:416; also unlikely, Lith *matrùs careful, matýti,* see Fraenkel 1962-65:415-16; OSl *ss-mě-ti dare* ← PIE *men- think* Fick 1874 ZVS 22:377; ← PIE *mē- be spiritually aroused* J Schmidt 1904 ZVS 37:45; see Burrow 1981 BSOAS 44:85-104 on Skt evidence for distinguishing homophonous *mā*-roots.

M78. *muka-modei *fn* ἐπιείκεια *gentleness,* only dat sg *-dein* 2C 10.1; cmpd of *muka-* and ***moþs** with *-ei* as in ***af-gudei, *lagga-modei.**

muka-: OI *mjūkr flexible, soft,* borrowed as ME *mēoc, mēk meek*; cf OI *þolin-mœði*

patience (OI *mæði tiredness*); OE *ēaþ-mōd humble*; OS *ōð-mōdi*, OHG *ōd-muoti humility*. Possibly also OI *mykr manure, mugga drizzling rain*; on quantitative ablaut relation, OI *mjūkr* : *mykr*, Darms 1978:402.

PIE *mewk-, mewg- slip, slimy, glide*: Skt *muñcáti loose, free, muktás freed*; Gk μύσσομαι, Lat *ē-mungō blow one's nose*; Gk μύξα, Lat *mūcus mucus*; OIr *mocht*, Wel *mwyth soft, tender* ← **muk-to-*; Lith *mùkti get away, maũkti strip off*; TochA *muk-*, B *mauk- let loose, give up*; for semantic discussion, K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:234-36, who also relates PIE *smewgh-*: OI *smjūga*, OE *smūgan slip through*, etc.

P 1959:744-45.

M79. mulda fō κονιορτός, χοῦς *dust* L 9.5; *muldeins* adja χοικός *of dust, earthly* 1C 15.47.

OI *mold*, OE, OFris *molde*, OHG *molta* stf *dust, earth, mold*†; OE *myl*, MLG *mol* n *dust*, NLG, NHG *müll* m *rubbish*; OI *mylja*, OHG *mullan* wkv *crush to pieces*. But OI *mylna* f *watermill* from OE *mylen* m/f *mill*† or OS *mulin* f *watermill*, are from VLat *molīna mill*.

PIE *mel- crush, grind*, as in **malan**, *mlə-to soft, dust, flour*: Skt *mlā-tá-* (*mlā́yati wither*), Gk ἁμαλός; OIr *mlāith, blāith soft*, Wel *blawd*; Lith *miltai flour*; OSl *mlad* soft*, *mlěti grind* Solmsen 1904 ZVS 37:587ff. Other extensions in **ga-malteins**; and **mildiþa**; also extended with **-w-* in Myc *me-re-u-ro flour* Chantraine 1968-80:721.

P 1959:716-19.

M80. 1. *munan prt-prs IV δοκῶ *think*, 1sg prs *man* L 17.9, 3sg opt prs *muni* 2C 11.16, 3sg prt *munda* Ph 2.25, nom sg m prpl *munands* Ph 2.3, nom sg m papl *munds* L 3.23 λογίζομαι *consider*, ἡγεῖσθαι *believe, think*. *gamunan* μνημονεύειν *keep in mind*, μιμνήσκεσθαι, μνησθῆναι etc *remember* L 1.72; ***ga-munds** *fi* μνημόσυνον *memorial* E 1.16, ἀνάμνησις *reminder*, μνεία *remembrance*; *gaminþi nia* acc sg μνεία *remembrance* 1Th 3. 6; **ana-minds fi* pl *-deis* ὑπόνοια *suspicion, supposition* 1T 6.4; cf also **2. munan, *mundon, aina-mundiþa**.

OI *man*, inf *muna*, OE *ge-man, ge-munon remember*, OS *far-munan despise*, prt-prs, but OHG *fir-manēn* wkv *condemn, despise*; OI *mynd form, manner*; OE *gemynd*, OHG *gimunt* stf *memory*; OI *minni* n *memory*; OE *myne* m *memory, feeling*; OS *minnea*, OFris *minne*, OHG *minna* stf *love*.

PIE *men-* 'mente agitāre' *pursue mentally, think* Meillet 1897, *mon-, mn̥-*: Ved *mamne think*; Gk μέμονα, μέμαμεν *think intensively, be eager for, yearn*; Lat *meminī think of, remember, mention*; Hitt *mema-*, Luw (Cuneiform) *mammamna- speak* Oettinger 1979:486-87; also stative-intrans types in Lith *minė̃ti mention* Meillet 1905-06 MSLP 13:364-72; Specht 1935 ZVS 62:79-80,99-102; Fraenkel 1950 ZSP 20:247; OSl *mьněti think* Kuryłowicz 1964:79-81; Watkins 1969:217; Jasanoff 1978: 67-68,99. PIE *mnā- (mneə-)*: Gk μνάομαι *think about, mention*, μιμνήσκω *remember*; Lat *comminiscor devise, contrive*. PIE *mn̥-ye/o-*: Skt *mányate*, Av *manyeite think*, Gk μαίνομαι *rage, be mad*; OIr *do-moiniur*, OSl *mьnjǫ consider*; Lith *miniù remember*; on development of meaning 'rage' in Gk cf Frisk 1960-72 II:160-61. PIE *mn̥-ti-*: Skt *matíṣ thought, design*, Lith *mintìs*, TochAB *mnu thought*, Lat *mēns*, gen *mentis mind, disposition*, OSl *pamętь memory*. Gk μάντις *prophet, diviner* (unusual in meaning with *-ti*, Frisk 1960-72 II: 172-73, with many references). PIE *mn̥-tó-*: Skt *matá having thought*; Gk αὐτό-ματος *self-motivated*. PIE *men-e/o-*: Skt *mánas*, also *mánman- mind, perception*; Gk μένος *strength, might*; OIr *menme spirit, sense*; Lith *mẽnas memory, understanding*; Arm *i-man-am understand*.

The PIE verbal root *men-* is without suffixes only in *o*-grade; it became a prt-prs in Gmc, much as the Gk perfect forms made up an independent paradigm; similarly, the Lat forms, though with modification of the stem vowel in the singular. See Lloyd 1979:292.

P 1959:726-28; Watkins 1985:40-41.

M81. 2. munan wkvIII μέλλειν *be about to, intend,* 2sg prs *munais* J 14.22, 3sg prt *munaida* L 19.4; **muns* mi πρόνοια *(fore)thought,* πρόθεσις *purpose,* νοήματ-α *intentions, designs* R 9.11; cf also **1. *munan** for etymology, ***mundon, *ufar-munnon.**

OE *manian,* OFris *monia,* OS *manōn,* OHG *manēn, manōn* wkv *warn, advise, remember;* NHG *mahnen remind, admonish;* OI *munr spirit, will, joy.* On inherited or innovating character of Gmc wkvIII verbs, as well as their relation to prt-prs counterparts in Go, and PIE *-ē*-formations, cf H Wagner 1956 ZCP 25:161-73, Polomé 1967 *F* Pokorny:83-92, Jasanoff 1978:56-93. Besides the pair **man, 1. *munan** prt-prs *think,* **2. munan** wkvIII *intend,* cf also *wait,* **1. witan** *know,* **2. witan** wkvIII *observe;* **kann,** *kunnan know how, understand,* **ga-kunnan** wkvIII *recognize;* **þarf,** **þaurban need, ga-þarban* wkvIII *abstain.* Older treatments cited by Streitberg 1896:306-11, Wilmanns 1906-09:87-90. OI *munr* m *spirit, meaning;* OE *myne* m *remembrance;* MHG *mun thought, purpose;* Skt *i*-stem *múniḥ sage* may not belong to reflexes of PIE *men-* in view of its meaning, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:654-55, though other derivatives like Gk μάντις *seer* have developed independently in meaning, Frisk 1960-72 II:172-73.

M82. *mundon wkvII σκοπεῖν *pay attention to, observe,* only 2pl imp *-doþ izwis* Ph 3.17B; **mundrei* fn σκοπός *goal,* only dat sg *-rein* Ph 3.14; cf **1. *munan.**

OI *munda* wkv *strive for, aim,* OS *mendian,* OHG *mendōn* wkv *rejoice; mendī* stf *joy;* cf NE *mind;* OHG *muntrī* f *zeal, munder lively.*

PIE *mendh-, mn̥-dh-*: Gk μανθάνειν, μαθεῖν *learn;* προμηθής *forethinking, provident;* Lith *mañdras lively, awake;* OSl *mǫdrǫ wise;* Alb *mund am able;* possibly based on PIE *men-dhē- set the mind on,* from PIE *men-* + *dhē- set* Meillet 1897:41: Skt *man[*z]-dhātár- pious, medhā́ wisdom;* Av *mąz-dā- stamp in the memory, mązdra- wise;* see Frisk 1960-72 II: 170-71, Chantraine 1968-80:664 on the Gk development of μαθεῖν; also references in Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:685-86,582.

P 1959:730.

M83. munþs ma στόμα *mouth* L 1.64.

OI *munnr, mūðr,* OE *mūþ,* OS *mūð mouth†, opening,* OFris *mūth, mund,* OHG *munt* stm *mouth;* possibly also OI *mēl* ← **minþla,* OE *mĭþl,* OHG *mindil* n *bit, bridle.*

PIE *menth- chew, mouth*: Gk μασάομαι *chew* ← *madh-* with *-n-* according to Chantraine 1968-80:669, though W/H 1938-56 II:24 propose PIE *menth-* as for Lat *mandō chew.* Or, less likely, PIE *men- project*: Lat *ē-minēre stand out, mentum chin* ← **mn̥-to-* like Wel *mant jaw(bone);* MIr *mant gum, jaw(bone),* new western IE word for 'chin' replacing PIE *ōs* according to Porzig 1954:126.

P 1959:732-33 *menth-,* 726 *men-.*

N

N1. *nadrs ma ἔχιδνα ***snake, viper***, only gen pl *-re* L 3.7.

OI *naðr* m, *naðra* f, OE *nǣdre*, OS *nādra*, OHG *nāt(a)ra* wkf *adder*†, *snake*; ME *(n)addre*, with false sandhi division, *a naddre* → NE *an adder*.

PIE *nē-trā-* : *nə-tr-(ik)-*: Lat *natrix water snake*; OIr *nathir*, gen *nathrach* (**-ik-*), Wel *neidr*, pl *nadraedd* ← **nətrī*, MCorn *nader*, MBret *azr*, Bret *aer* with loss of initial nasal; western IE word for snake as opposed to several others, Buck 1949:194-95; common Celt-Ital innovation in **-ik-* Porzig 1954:110; perhaps from PIE *(s)nē- wind, twist, the twisting* W/P II:327-28; cf also ****neþla***; less likely to PIE *snā- swim*, because of *-ē-*. P 1959: 767.

N2. nahts f*cons* νύξ ***night*** J 9.4; *anda-nahti* n*ia* ὀψία ***evening*** Mk 11.19; **nahta-mats* m*i* δεῖπνον ***dinner, evening meal*** L 14.17; see **mats**.

OI *nātt*, OE *niht, neaht*, OFris *nacht*, OS, OHG *naht* stf ***night***†, ***evening***, with Gmc **-ja-*, OI *miðnætti* ***midnight***†, OE *sin-nihte* n ***eternal night***; *nihte-gale*, OHG *nahti-gala* st/wkf ***nightingale***†, literally 'night-singer', MHG *nahtmaz* n ***nightmeal***.

PIE *nok^{w}-t-*, gen *nek^{w}-t-s* ***night*** as in Hitt *nekuz* ***at night***; cf *nekuzi* [*nek^{w}t-zi*] ***grows dark, becomes night***, deverbative root noun ← **nek^{w}-t-* ***grow dark, become night***, Schindler 1972 BSLP 67:[art]32 passim, but Tischler 1976 MSzS 35:124 considers it nominal, as do most scholars; cons stem, Skt *nak, nakt-*, Lat *nox*; Alb *natë* ***night***; OIr *in-nocht* ***tonight***; *i*-stem forms dialectal in spite of Benveniste 1935a:78,76-78,81 as in Lat gen pl *noctium*. On Skt *nákti-*, Lith *naktìs*, OSl *noštь*, cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:121-22. Possible zero-grade in Gk νύξ, gen νυκτός ***night***, or ← **nok^{w}ts*, Cowgill 1965:156; cf also Go ****uhtwo*** *dawn*. Forms without **-t-* in Gk, Hsch νύχα· νύκτωρ, ἔννυχος ***nightly***, νύχιος ***belonging to the night***, unexplained, Frisk 1960-72 II:327-28, W/H 1938-56 II:181-83. With **-r-*, Gk νύκτωρ ***by night***, Lat *nocturnus* ***belonging to the night*** and **-n-* in Skt *naktábhiṣ* ***by night*** of heteroclitic origin, Benveniste 1935a:10,80-81.

Many derivatives in the dialects, which, like its early forms have been widely discussed. Sapir 1938 Lg 14:274 related it to Gk γυμνός, Lith *núogas* ***naked***, accounting for Hitt *-e-* from a laryngeal *-γ-*, which elsewhere as in Lat *noct-* modified the stem vowel, so that the vowel alternations are not the result of ablaut; speculative.

P 1959:762-63 Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:27,28,168,791.

N3. *naiteins f*i/ō* βλασφημία ***blasphemy, insult, slander***, only nom pl *-nos* Mk 3.28, acc pl *-nins* L 5.21, Mk 2.27. See ****ga-naitjan*** *treat shamefully*.

N4. namo n*n* ὄνομα ***name***, dat sg *-min* L 16.20, acc pl *-mna* Mk 3.17, gen pl *-mne* E 1. 21, dat pl *-mnam* Sk 5.13 / Vb.24; **namnjan* wkvI L 7.11, **ga-namnjan* καλεῖν ***name***, only 3sg prt Sk 2.24 / IId.15.

OI *nafn* n, OE, OFris *nama*, OS, OHG *namo* wkm ***name***†; OI *nefna* (PGmc **namnian*), OE *namnian, nemnan*, OFris *namna, nanna*, OS *nemnian*, OHG *nemnen, namon* wkv; also OE *namian*, OFris *namia*, OS, OHG *namōn* ***name***†, ***call***. On Gmc *-n-*, Trutmann 1972:28.

PIE nom-acc *(ʔ)nómn̥* though Beekes 1969:47,230 favors a prothetic vowel rather than initial laryngeal; may apply for Gk and Arm though scarcely for Celt, Balt and Sl. PIE *-ó-* ← *-éγ-*; see also Cowgill 1965:156 (PIE *nomn̥*), Szemerényi 1964:110, Benveniste 1935a:181; favoring medial laryngeal *-γ-* instead of lengthened grade in Skt and Lat, Beekes 1969:230; Bammesberger 1984:140-41 takes these long vowels as secondary. Skt

nāma, *nāman-*; Lat *nōmen*; TochA *ñom*, B *ñem*; Hitt *laman*, with dissimilation of nasals; cf also Finn *nimi*, Lapp *nâmâ*; with dissimilation, Mordvinian *lem*, Cheremiss *ləm*, *lum* *name*; possible pre-dialectal contact between Uralic and PIE, Kronasser 1966:58-61; Luw (hieroglyphic) *lamanasti* 3sg prs *names* Meriggi 1962:78. Gk ὄνομα, Chantraine 1968-80:804; OIr *ainm n-*, gen *anme*; Corn *hanow*, pl *hanwyn*; OPruss *emmens*, gen *emnes*, OSl *imę*, Arm *anun*, Alb *emër*, gen *emën* ← **énmen* *name* Hamp 1965:138, Huld 1984:61-62.

P 1959:321, Watkins 1985:45.

N5. *naqaþs adj*a* γυμνός *naked* M 25.43; *naqadei* f*n* γυμνότης *nakedness* R 8.35.

PGmc *nak(ʷ)na-*, *nak(ʷ)e-dh-*: Run acc sg m *nAkdan* (Eggja ← PGmc *nakwidaz*, *nak(k)widanō*, Krause 1966 I:227-35, 1971:38, 82,117), OI **nøkkr* → *nøkkviðr* *naked*, *nøkkva* *strip*, *denude*; cf also *nakinn* *naked*, with *-n-*suffix; OE *nacod* *naked*†, *empty*, *nacian* *strip*; *næcedu* f *nakedness*, *be-næced* *unclothed*; OFris *nakad*, *naken(d)*, OHG *nac(c)kot*, *nahhut* adj *naked*; *nachatōn* wkv *lie naked*; *nachottag* stm *nakedness*.

PIE *nogʷ-*, *nogʷ-no-*, *nogʷ-od(h)o-*: OSl *nagŭ*, Lith *núogas*, Latvian *nuôgs* *naked*; with **-no-*: Skt *nagná-*, Av *maγna-* *naked*; Skt *nagnátā* *nakedness*, cf Lith *nuogatà*, Russ *nagotá* *nakedness* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:126. Gk γυμνός *naked* ← **nogʷnós*, *μυγνός with dissimilation and metathesis, Cowgill 1965:156; scarcely credible; see also Sapir 1938 Lg 14:274, who derives *γ-* from *n* + laryngeal; Hsch ἀπολύγματος· ἀπογύμνωσις Κύπριοι, Chantraine 1968-80:242. With dental suffix, Lat *nūdus* ← **noų(e)dos*, PIE *nogʷedhos*. OIr *nocht* ← **nogʷto-* *naked*. Arm *merk*; Hitt *nekumanza* *naked* ← **neku-wanza*, PIE *nogʷ-*, Albrecht Götze 1928:120; also Kammenhuber 1969:216 on Hitt *-uwanzi*, *-um(m)anzi* alternation; but Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art] 138, defending sound correspondence PIE *w* → Hitt *w*, *nekumanza* ← **negʷant-s*; Kronasser 1966: 267, supposes either **nekunawant-* (cf Skt *nagná-*) with *-n-* dissimilation, or **nogʷ-ment-* where *-m-* not a Hitt innovation; cf also Skt *-want-*, *-mant-* alternations.

P 1959:769, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 45,50,100,168.

N6. *nardus m*u* νάρδος *oil of nard (aromatic plant)*, only gen sg *-daus* J 12.3; loan from Lat *nardus*, W Schulze 1966:509-10,511 fn2.

OE *nard* *nard salve*, OHG *nartha* st/wkf *nard*, *nard oil*; Skt *naḍá-* *reed*, probably not related, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:128-29,140-41. Gk νάρδος, perhaps of Semitic origin, H Lewy 1895:40, cf Heb *nērdh*, Aram *nirdâ*, in turn probably from Skt *náladam* *nard*.

N7. nasjan wkvI σῶσαι *save* L 9.24; *ga-nasjan* ἰᾶσθαι *heal* L 6.19, (δια)σώσειν L 7.3, J 12.47, σῶσαι *heal*, *save* L 17.33; *nasjands* m*nd* σωτήρ *savior* L 2.11; *naseins* f*i/ō* σωτηρία *salvation* L 19.9; cf **ga-nisan**.

OE *nerian* *save*, *protect*, OFris *nera* *nourish*, OHG *nerren* wkv *nourish*, *feed*, *heal*; OE *neriend*, OS *neriand* *savior*, Go influence Scardigli 1973:225; OE *neru* f *deliverance*. On *nasjands*, Trutmann 1972:20,24,41,42; possibly a calque of Gk, F Kauffmann 1923 ZDP 49:21-22.

N8. nati n*ja* ἀμφίβλημστρον *casting net* Mk 1.16, δίκτυον *fishing net*.

OI *net*, OE *nett*, OFris *net*, *nette*, OS *netti*, *(fisk-)net*, OHG *nezza*, *nez(z)i* stn *net*†; vocalic variant, OI *nōt* f *net*, cf Darms 1978: 308-10. Possibly with *-s-t-* OI *nest* *needle*, *clasp*, *clip*, OHG *nestila* *brooch*; OE *nos(t)le*, OHG *nusta* *connection*.

Etymology uncertain. PIE *ned-* *tie*, *bind* reconstructed with certainty only from Gmc; even here words like OI *nest* may be from PIE *nedh-*, the possible source of Skt *nahyati* *bind*; Lat *nassa* *weel*, *narrow-necked wicker basket for catching fish*, *nōdus* *knot*, cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:147-48, W/H 1938-56 II:155-56; Lat *nectō* *tie* is not an old prs, Ernout and Meillet 1967:435. OIr *nessa* *nearer*, *nascid* *tie*, *naidm* *contract* from PIE *nedh-*, Vendryès 1959-:N-3-

4,N-12. P 1959:758-59 in need of revision, as is Schindler 1972 BSLP 67:[art]36 on OI *nōð*; Darms 1978:308-10 properly skeptical of PIE origin. Possibly taken over from the pre-Gmc peoples.

N9. natjan wkvI inf only L 7.38, **ga-natjan* βρέχειν *moisten*, only 3sg prt *-tida* L 7.44.

Derived from PGmc *nata-* as in OS, Du *nat*, OHG *naz* adj *wet*, *nazi* stf *moisture*, *naz(z)ēn* wkv *become wet, rain*, *nez(z)en* wkv *moisten*, NHG *nass* wet.

Etymology unclear; possibly to Skt *nadī́ river*, Skt *nádati sounds, roars* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:129-30; cf the German river name *Nette* ← PIE *nodyā*, P 1959:759; if from PIE *ned/t-* may be related to Gk Νοτός *southwest wind which brings moisture*, as opposed to Βορέας; derivation, νότιος *humid* Chantraine 1968-80:758; Lat *natāre, nāre swim* ← **nə-(t)-*, adj **natos*, cf Arm *nay* ← **nato- wet, liquid*, ultimately from PIE *snā-* : *snə- flow*: Skt *snāti bathes* (not Gk *νέ-ϝ-ω swim*, νῆσος *island* Chantraine 1968-80:748-49,752); OIr *snā- flow, swim, float*, P 1959:971-72.

N10. naubaimbair Cal 2.1, Lat *november November*; in Cal = *fruma Jiuleis month before Christmas*.

N11. nauh adv ἔτι *still, yet, for a while* M 27.63; *nauh ... ni* οὐκέτι *no more* J 16.16; *nauh-þan* ἔτι *already, still* L 1.15, *while* L 8.48; *nauh-þan-uh* ἔτι *still* L 15.20, *while* Mk 14.43, *also, besides* Neh 5.15; *ni nauh-þan-uh* J 7.6 (J 7.30), *nauh-þan-uh ni* J 8.57 (J 7.39), *nauh ... ni* Mk 11.2, *niþ-þan nauh-þan-uh* οὔπω *not yet* J 11.30; *nauh þanuh /ni/* μήπω *not yet* R 9.11; *nauh-uþ-þan* adv ἔτι δὲ καί *and even* L 14.26; cf **þan** and **-uh**; **nu**.

OFris *noch*, OS, OHG *noh* adv, conj *still, yet*; NHG *noch* adv *still*.

PIE *nu-k^{w}e*; cf Go **nu**; Brugmann 1904b: 63-67; WP Lehmann 1974:118-23,214-15; on development of temporals from spatials in language generally, Traugott 1975 Semiotica 15: 207-30.

P 1959:770.

N12. naus *mi* τεθνηκώς, νεκρός *one having died, dead one* L 7.12, nom pl *naweis* L 7.22, acc pl *nawins* L 9.60; *nawis* adj*i/ja* νεκρά *dead*, if attested; only nom sg f *frawaurhts was nawis* ἁμαρτία ἦν νεκρά *sin was dead* R 7.8; but ms reading uncertain *nawis*, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:227; *naus*, illegible, Friesen 1927:13; ***ga-nawistron**.

Run *nā-seu blood* ← **nawi-saiwi corpse-sea* (Eggja, Krause 1971:93); OI *nā-r*, OE *nē(o)- dead person, corpse* in *nēo-bedd death-bed, dryht-nē corpse of a warrior, orc-nēas monsters* (Beowulf 112); cf also **nauþs** *need*.

PIE *nāw-, nəw-ti- death, need*: OIr *noíne older, nauna hunger, famine*, Corn *nown hungry*; Lith *nõvė oppression, torture, death*, Latvian *nãwe death*, OSl *navь corpse*; reduced grade, *unyti be lazy, neglect*; TochA *nwam sick*. On words for corpse as dialectal innovations in IE, W Schulze 1966:146; cf also Wel *neued*; OPruss *nautin* acc sg *need*; OSl *nǫžda force, compulsion, nužda need, nǫditi compel*; TochA *nut-*, B *naut- disappear*; on semantic parallel for 'torture' and 'kill' in same root, Latvian *gélti give pain, hurt*; Lith *gãlas end*; OPruss *gallan death*; Lith *gìltinė goddess of death, death* Fraenkel 1962-65:130,145-46,149-50,151; OHG *quelan suffer, torture oneself*; OE *cwalu death, destruction* Grienberger 1900:164. Not to Gk νέκυς *corpse* as by Noreen 1894:178.

P 1959:756, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 419,825.

N13. nauþs *fi* ἀναγκή *trouble, need, constraint* 2C 9.7; **naudi-bandi fiō* ἄλυσις *chain, fetter*; see also **bandi** Mk 5.4; *naudi-þaurfts* adj*a* only nom sg m Sk 2.20 / IIc.23-24 and nom sg n *naudi-þaurft nu man* ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἡγησάμην 2C 9.5, ἀναγκαῖος *I considered it necessary*; see also *þaurfts*; **nauþjan* wkvI ἀναγκάζειν, βιάζειν *exert compulsion upon* G 6.12; **ana-nauþjan* only 3sg opt *-þjai* M 5.41 = ἀγγαρεύσει *force, compel*. See ***bnauan**.

OI *nauð(r)*, OE *nēad-, nīed*, OFris *nēd*, OS *nōd*, OHG *nōt* stm/f *need†, compulsion*. Cmpd

stem *naudi-* beside **nauþs** suggests pre-Verner's law formation ← PGmc *nauþi-*, Carr 1939:45; OFris *nēd-bende violent, forced fettering*; OE *nied-þearf*, OFris *nēd-threft*, OHG *nōt-thurf(t)* stf *pressing need*; OI *neyðа*, OE *nīedan*, OFris *nēda*, OS *nōdian*, OHG *nōten* wkv *force, compel.*

PIE *nāw-, nəw-ti-*; see **naus** P 1959:756.

N14. nehv adv ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ *he went near/neared the house* (only *atiddja nehv razn* L 15.25); *nehva* ἐγγύς *near, close by* J 6.4; *nehvis* comp adv ἐγγύτερον *nearer*, only R 13. 11; *nehvundja* mn ὁ ἕτερος R 13.8, ὁ πλησίον *neighbor, fellowman* L 10.29; **nehvjan* wkvI only prpl nom pl *imma -ndans sik* αὐτῷ ἐγγίζοντες *approaching him* L 15.1; **at-nehvjan*, 3 sg prt *-nehvida* ἤγγισεν, ἤγγικεν *has come near, is at hand* L 10.11.

OI *nā-*, OE *nēah*, OFris *nēi, nī*, OS, OHG *nāh near*, NE *nigh, neighbor*; OI *nær*, OE *nēar*, OFris *nīar*, OS, OHG *nāhōr closer, near*†; OI *nānd*, OHG *nāhwist* stf *nearness*; OI *nā*, OE *ge-nēah(w)ian*, OHG *nāhēn* wkv *come near, approach.*

Etymology obscure; possibly to Go ***bi-nauhan**, Skt *náśati*, Lat *nanciō, nanciscor, nactus draw near, arrive* P 1959:317; less likely to PIE *an up to*, as in *-na in (direction toward)* + PIE *ok^{w}- see* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:799, P 1959: 40; other proposals in F 1939:373; possibly a Gmc innovation.

N15. *neiþ nа φθόνος *envy, spite* G 5. 26; **anda-neiþa* mn ἐναντίος *contrary, hostile, opposed* Col 2.14; cf also ***ga-naitjan.**

OI *nīð insult*, OE *niþ enmity*, OFris *nīth envy, hate*, OS *nīð*, OHG *nīd(h)* stm *enmity, hate*; OHG *gi-nīdōtēr desirous, Hart-nīd* PeN *firm-striver.*

Possibly from PIE *ney- be aroused* + *-to-*; OIr *nīth combat* and in Gaul EN *Nitio-briges*, PeN *Nitio-genna*, Wel *nwyd passion*; *d*-extension in ***ga-naitjan.**

P 1959:760.

N16. *neiwan A ghost-word, Ebbinghaus 1982 Sprachwiss 7:403-06; cf **swaran.**

N17. *neþla fō ῥαφίς *needle*, only gen sg L 18.25, Mk 10.25.

OI *nāl*, OE *nǣdl*, OFris *nēdle, nēlde*, OS *nāðla*, OHG *nādala, nālda* st/wkf *needle*†; OHG **nāen, nāwen* wkv, NHG *nähen sew.*

PIE *(s)nē- spin, sew, twist thread*; with PGmc *-þla-* ← PIE *-tlo-* indicating an instrument, as in Skt *vahítram*, Hsch ὄχετλον, Lat *vehiculum* (*-cl-* ← **-tl-*) *vehicle* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:343; see **hoftuli**, Meid 1967:187-88. Gk *νέω, νήθω spin, νῆμα web, thread*; Lat *neō spin, nēmen web*; OIr *snī*, Wel *nyddu*, Corn *nethe twist, spin*; OIr *snāth*, OBret *notenn thread*; Lith *nýtis loom reed*; also Skt *snā́va*, Gk *νεῦρον*, Lat *nervus sinew*, TochB *ṣñaura sinews*; cf ***snorjo.**

P 1959:973.

N18. ni third most frequent word; sentence negative with both declarative and imp; οὐ J 12.9, οὐκ, οὐδέ M 25.45, οὐχί J 13.11, μή Mk 13.21 *not*; also correlative *ni ... ni* οὔτε ... οὔτε *neither ... nor* L 20.35; contracted with *ist is, nist isn't* L 20.28; with suffix **-uh** *and, nih* οὐδέ J 15.4, G 2.3, οὔτε L 20.36, μή (cf assimilated *nis-sijai* ← **nih-sijai* μή γένοιτο *nor let it come about* L 20.16) *and not, nor*; correlative also *nih ... nih* οὔ(τε) ... οὔτε ~ οὐδέ M 6.20, μή ... μήδε M 6.25, μήκετι ... μηδέ Mk 2.2 *neither ... nor*; other assimilations *niþ-þan* ← **nih-þan* (in *niþ-þan nauhþanuh ... nauhþanuh* οὔπω ... ἔτι *nor yet* J 11.30); *niþ-þatei* ← **nih-þatei* οὐδέ *and not, nor* R 9.7. *nibai* negative question ptc, often in correlative use *ni ... nibai* οὐ(χ) ... μή *not ... unless, not ... if not* J 6.46,7.35; *ni ... niba* μή ... ἐκτὸς εἰ μή *not ... unless, not ... except if* 1T 5.19; cf also **jabai** *if, when*, **iba(i)** question ptc. *ni-u* negative plus interrog ptc **-u**; in confirmation questions; expects positive answer οὐχ M 6.26, οὐχί M 5.46, οὐ μή J 18.11, μή J 18.25 *not*; cf *not* in NE *isn't it so that, n'est-ce pas, nicht wahr*; positive expectation contradicted by *ne* οὐκ *no* J 18.25; cf also οὐ, J 7.12 οὐχί L 1.60 *no*; μή *no, not* J 18.40. *nei* (only twice, rhetorical questions 2C 3.8, Sk I.17 / Ic.11) οὐχί *not*;

wai-nei ὄφελον *if only* 1C 4.8; *un-* bound ptc of word negation, cf *un-mahteigs weak, unconscious, impossible, *un-manwus unprepared, un-rodjands dumb.*

Run *ni* (Thorsberg, Stentoften, Antonsen 1975:29,85; Krause 1971:63,121); OI *ne* (in poetry beside *at*, Neckel 1913 ZVS 45:1-8); OE *ne* (beside *nā*); OS *ni, ne*, OHG *ni not*; more recent NHG *nicht*, NE *not*, strengthened forms, cf Jespersen 1917:9-14; cf also OI prose suppletive *eigi not*, also result of negative strengthening, Neckel 1913 ZVS 45:15-23. OS *ne(k)* ← **ne + ak*; OHG *noh* ← **ni + ouh not + and*; cf also functionally similar to Go *nih*, OI *nē*, OE *ne and not, nor* Neckel 1913 ZVS 45:9-15; other inner Gmc cmpd forms, OI *nei* ← **ni + aiw not ever*; *ni, næ* ← **ne + æ no* Vries 1962:407,408,413; OE *nā not†, not, never*, OFris *nā, nō no, never*, OHG *ne, nī no, not, nay†*; OI *nefa, nema*, OE *nefne, nemne*, OS *neba* etc, OHG *nibu* etc conj *if not, except, unless.* Inherited word negation ptc: OI *ō-, ū-*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *un-*.

PIE *ne, nē* declarative sentence negation: Skt *ná*; Lat *ne-* as in *ne-sciō not know, ignore, ne-que nor, and not*; OIr *ni*; Lith *nè*, OPruss *ni*, OSl *ne not*; with expressive reinforcement, Lat *nōn* ← **ne-oinom not one*, OLat *noenum*; Hitt *natta*, Luw *nawa not.* PIE *mē* prohibitive (imp sentence negation): Skt *mā*; Gk μή; TochA *mar*; Arm *mi* (cf other non-indicative uses noted in the grammars) *let not, not*; cf also formally innovating, but semantically similar Lat *nē*, Osc *ni*, OIr *na, nach*, Hitt *lē*, Luw (Cuneiform) *nis*, (Hieroglyphic) *nis let not* Hawkins 1975 AnStud 25:121; also confirming interrog negative ptcs, Lat *-ne, -n*; TochA *te.*

PIE *ne, n̥* in word negation: Skt, Av *a-*; OPers *a-, an-*; Gk ἀ, ἀν-, νη-, cf Beekes 1969: 98-113 on possible laryngeal suffix, though semantically unmotivated; Lat *in-, im-, il-, ir-*; Osc, Umbr *an-, am-*; OIr *an-, am-, in-, é-*; possibly Lith, OSl *ne-*, if not dial innovation, Fowler 1896:34-35; Beekes 1969:104ff; cf also Puhvel 1953 Lg 29:14-25 for possible separative origin of prefix in IE adv, eg Go **ana** *on*, and relative age of negative cmpds; **n̥-* in Hitt *asiwant- poor, a-siwa-nt- who is without god, an-* in *a(m)miyant- small, not grown* Tischler 1983- I:22,83, Puhvel 1984-:211-12,47-48.

PIE/IE negative reinforcement and suppletion: *ne + i*; Go *nei* variant interrog negative (above); Lith *neĩ not once*; *ne + k^wi/o-*: Skt *nákiḥ no one, nothing*; OIr *ne-ch someone*; Lith *nègu, nèg(i) nor*; OPruss *neggi also not, yet*; PIE *(ne)X + k^wi/o-*: Gk οὐ(κ), οὐχ(ί); Arm *oč*; also OI *eigi* (above) *not* Cowgill 1960 Lg 36: 347-50; formations with **k^wi/o-*: Gk οὔ-τις beside οὐδ-αμός, μή-τις *no one*; οὔτε, μήτε, οὐδέ *neither*; Myc proclitic forms with *o-u-* in *o-u-qe neither, o-u-di-do-si do not give*, for accentual problems, Moorhouse 1959:18-23; Lat *ne-que*, Osc *nep neither, ne-quis no one*; in Hitt *natta kuit not at all*, there is no compounding; other strengthened forms of **ne* include OIr *nicon not; na-thō, nāte, nāde, nacce no* (cf OI *-at* above; possibly Hitt *natta not*); Hitt *nawi not yet*; NHG *nein no*, parallel to Lat *nōn* (above); NFr *ne ... pas not.*

P 1959:756-58,703; WP Lehmann 1974: 123-26.

N19. nidwa *fwō* βρῶσις *rust, decay*, only nom sg M 6.19,20.

OI *nið-fǫlr rust yellow* Falk 1889 ANF 5: 111.

Etymology disputed. Possibly a cmpd of PGmc *ni- down + -twā* as in OE *nio-wol, nihol thrown down; niðer underneath*; PGmc *nidwa deposit as on metal, rust* Grienberger 1900:166; cf OE *sōt soot†* to **sitan**; see Holthausen 1934a:237,307; rejected by Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:128. Or as proposed by Lidén 1897-99:60 to PIE *ney- : ni- be aroused, shine*; possibly in Skt *nī́-las dark-blue, black*; Lat *nit-ēre glitter, shine*; OIr *niam brightness, beauty* Vendryès 1959-:N-16; meaning relationship improbable; P 1959:760.

N20. niman stvIV λαμβάνειν *take (away), accept, get* M 5.40, αἴρειν *take away, take up*, δέξεσθαι *receive*; *af-niman* αἴρειν,

ἀπο-λαβέσθαι *take away, remove* J 11.39; *and-niman* δέχεσθαι, λαμβάνειν, *receive, accept* M 10.40; **at-niman* only 3sg prt *atnam* = μετέστησεν εἰς *bring into* Col 1.13; **bi-niman* only 3pl opt *-maina* = κλέψωσιν *take (steal) away* M 27.64; **dis-niman* only nom pl m prpl *-mandans* = κατέχοντες *keeping, possessing* 2C 6.10; *fra-niman* 1sg prs *-ma* παραλήψομαι J 14.3, inf λαβεῖν *take along, win for oneself* L 19.12; *ga-niman* παραλαμβάνειν *take along* M 9.13, μαθεῖν *learn*; **in-niman accept* Sk 6.14 / VIb.22-23; *miþ-niman* only inf M 11.14 δέξασθαι *receive, accept, believe*; **us-niman* αἴρειν, *take out, take along* J 17.15. See ***anda-nem, anda-numts**, *arbi-numja*, **arbi**.

Run *un-nam* (Reistad), **und-nam* 1sg prt-prs *have learned, understand* Krause 1966 I: 170-72, 1971:132-33, but read *unnamz untakeable* by Antonsen 1975:52-53 (dubious); OI *nema take, get, learn*, OE *niman*, OFris *nima, nema*, OS, OHG *neman* stv *take*; Seebold 1970:357-59.

Etymology disputed. Benveniste 1948:79, 1971:273 and esp 1973:66-70 is probably correct in associating PGmc *nem-* with PIE *nem-*, Gk νέμω on the basis of the meaning 'receive legally'; a decisive argument rests on the parallel between Gk κληρονόμος *heir* and Go *arbinumja heir*. Gk *νέμω distribute, possess*, νομή *distribution, pasture*, νόμος *law* Frisk 1960-72 II:302-04; Lat *numerus number, quantity*; Lith *núoma*, Latvian *nuõma rent, lease, ņemt take*. Fraenkel 1962-65:184-85; not OIr *nāmae enemy* nor *neim poison* Vendryès 1959-:N-2,N-7. Attempts to relate Lat *emō buy*, (in cmpds *take*), OIr *em-* in *ar-fo-em receive*, Lith *imti take*, OSl *jęti take* far less credible in view of form; a prefix *ni-*, or movable *n-*, Hirt 1921-37 I:328 unlikely. Thorough discussion of *nem-* in Laroche 1949; not here Gk νέμος, Lat *nemus grove* P 1959:764. Earlier references in F 1939:375-76.

P 1959:763-64,310-311, Trier 1963:59-69, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:754.

N21. *niþan stvV συλλαμβάνειν *help, support*, only 2sg opt prs *niþais* Ph 4.3. Scribal error for **neþais*, Seebold 1970:360; stvV or wkvIII, Darms 1978:94.

Possibly to OFris *nāthe*, OS *naðа*, OHG *gi-nāda* stf *grace, mercy, goodness*.

Etymology uncertain; cf PIE *na- help*, with suffixes in Skt *nāthate seek asylum, nā́dhas- help*; Gk ὀνίνημι *benefit, help* P 1959: 754, though Frisk 1960-72 II:395-96 is skeptical. Fowkes 1947 Lg 23:420-21 relates OIr *snād- protect*, Wel *nawdd support*; approved by Vendryès 1959-:S-146-47.

N22. niþjis m*ja* συγγενής *relative* J 18.26; *niþjo* f*n* ἡ συγγενής *kinswoman* L 1.36.

OI *niðr* m *relative, descendant*, OE *niþþas* (pl) *men*.

Often associated with OI *nefi nephew, male relative, nipt near female relative, sister's daughter*, OE *nefa nephew†, grandson, nift*, OFris *nift niece, neva nephew*, OS *nevo*, OHG *nefo* wkm *grandson, relative, descendant* and derived with loss of *-p-*, ie Go *niþ-*, from PIE *nepōt- nephew, grandson*, Skt *nápāt offspring, son, grandson, naptí- daughter, granddaughter*; Gk ἀνεψιός *nephew*, Lat *nepōs*, gen *nepōt-is grandson, neptis granddaughter*; OIr *nia nephew, necht daughter, girl*; OLith *nepuotis grandson, nephew*; OSl *netĭjĭ nephew* F 1939: 376-77, P 1959:764. Emphatically rejected by W Schulze 1966:69-73 in favor of derivation from PIE *(e)ni-* + **-tyo- the one inside* as opposed to Go ***framaþeis** *the one outside, stranger*; Gaul PeN *Nitio-broges*; OSl *ništĭ poor, inferior*; **-tyo-* has force of social space, Benveniste 1962:104; cf Skt *nítya-* (**ni-tyo-*) *continual, one's own*, vs Skt *ní-ṣṭya- foreign, strange*.

P 1959:311.

N23. niujis adj*ja* καινός *new, unused* L 5.36, *νέος new, young*; dat f pl *-jaim* newly attested in Mk 16.17, Tollenaere 1972 TNTL 88:1-10. **niujiþa* f*ō* καινότης *newness*, only dat sg *niujiþai* R 7.6; **ana-niujiþa* ἀνακαίνωσις *renewal*, only dat sg *-þai* R 12.2; *in-niujiþa* ἐγκαίνια *Feast of the Dedication*, only

nom sg J 10.22; **ana-niujan* wkvI ἀνα-καινόω, ἀνα-νεόομαι *renew* 2C 4.16; **niuja-satiþs* νεόφυτον *novice*, only acc sg m papl *-satidana* 1T 3.6; cf ***satjan**; prefixed forms and cmpd, calques on Gk equivalents.

Run *niujil[a]* (Darum V) Krause 1966 I: 240, *niuwila* for *niujila* hypocoristic PeN, (Skonager III), Krause 1966 I:254, 1971:94, Antonsen 1975:59-60,76; cf Lat PeN *Novius*. OI *nýr*, OE *nīewe*, OFris *nī(e)*, OS, OHG *niuwi* adj *new*†, *young*, OHG *niuwĭ* stf *renewal*.

PIE *new-os*, *new-yo-s*: Skt *náva-* *new*, *young*; Gk νέος, **νέϝος*, Myc *ne-wo*, Lat *novus*, OSl *novъ*, Arm *nor*; Skt *návyas*, Gk νεῖος, OIr *nuae*, Wel *newydd*, Gaul GN *Novio-dūnum*, Lith *naũjas* *new*. Hitt *newa-* *new*; TochA *ñu*, B *ñuwe*; Gk νεάω; Lat *novāre*; Hitt *newahh-*, OHG *niuwōn* wkv *make new*, *renew*; Gk νεότης *youth*; Lat *novitas* *newness*, cf **nu**.

P 1959:769.

N24. niu-klahs adj*a* νήπιος *as a child*, *with childlike understanding* 1C 13.11; **niuklahei* f*n* *lack of understanding*, *faintheartedness*, only dat sg *-hein* Sk 7.7 / VIIa.25; cf **niujis**.

No exact cognates; various explanations proposed: (1) *niu-klahs* where *-ahs* is abstract suffix, *-kl-* as in Lat *dē-licus* from **dē-lac-os*, **dē-(g)lac-os*, Lat *lac*, Gk γάλα, gen γάλακτος *milk*, νεογλαγής *newborn* Froehde 1883 BKIS 7:123, J Schmidt 1889:179; but not if one agrees with Chantraine 1968-80:207 that we do not know the PIE word for 'milk'; cf also ***miluks**. (2) *niu-kla-ha-* where *-kla-* ← PIE *gelə-* : *glə-*, Go ***kilþei** *womb*, ***kalkjo** *harlot*, orig 'woman, mother'; OI *nýklakinn* *newly born*, cf *klekja* *hatch* Mezger 1938 Archiv 174: 78-79; but see Vries 1962:315-16. (3) *niu-klaha-* with dissimilation of *n* to *l*, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:303; Brugmann 1906 IF 19:378 fn1, **niwi-kna-ha*, Gk νεο-γνός *new-born*, PIE *genə-* : *gnə-*; Av *ā-zna-* *innate*, *inborn*; Lat *beni-gnus* *kind* Brugmann 1901 IF 12:184. (4) *niu-klahs*, **klaha-* *little*, *childish*, *child* + **niujis** *new*; cf MHG *kluoc* *fine*, *delicate* Wood 1908 MLN 23: 148. (5) More likely *niukl-ahs*, cmpd with **aha** *mind whose understanding is still young*; whether *niukli* *small child* + **aha**, Grienberger 1900:167, or *niu-* *new* + suffix *-kl(a)-*, (cf ***ainakls** *alone*) and **aha**, Trutmann 1972:124-25, semantically comparable to Gk νηπιόφρων; cf also **in-ahs* *prudent*.

N25. niun indecl cardinal numeral L 17.17 (but gen pl *niune* L 15.7) ἐννέα *nine*; **niunda* ordinal, ἔνατος *ninth*, only acc sg f *-don* M 27.45,46, Mk 15.33,34; *niuntehund* cardinal numeral ἐνενήκοντα *ninety* N 7.21, but gen *-dis* L 15.7; formation like **sibun-tehund** *seventy*.

CrimGo *nyne*, Stearns 1978:148; Run *niu* (Stentoften) dubious; probably *niuhA* *new* Krause 1966 I:210-11, 1971:164-65, or *nî* *not* Antonsen 1975:85-87; OI *nīu*, OE *nigun*, OFris, OS *nigun*, OHG *niun* *nine*†; on orig disyllabic character of Gmc form, W Schulze 1966:496; OI *niundi*, OE *nigoþa*, OFris *nigunda*, OS *nigundo*, OHG *niunto* *ninth*†; cf also OI *niund* f *unit of nine*. Gmc final *-n* (cf **sibun**, **taihun**) rather than *-m* from a PGmc *niuni* beside Go *niun*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:18,20, or because of influence from ordinals, Kieckers 1928:84.

PIE *newn̥* (or *newm̥* analogical with *dekm̥*, Szemerényi 1960:171-73); Skt *náva*; Av *nava*; Gk ἐννέα ← **εννέϝα* beside ἐνϝα-, **ἐνεϝα*, Szemerényi 1964:108-13, *nine*; Myc *e-ne-wo-pe-za* *nine-footed*[?], Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 340; Lat *novem*; OIr *noí* *n-*, Wel, Corn *naw*, Bret *nao*; Lith *devyni*, Latvian *deviņi*; OSl *devętь* (where nasal dissimilation and analogy with 'ten' has remade the form, W Schulze 1966:58, Fraenkel 1950:30); Arm *inn*; TochAB *ñu* *nine*; PIE ordinal *ninth* with *-no-*, *-to-*, Szemerényi 1960:89-90,94,172, 1964:114-18; Indo-Iran in NHitt texts, *na-wartanna* haplology ← **nawa-wartanna* *ninth* *lap* Kammenhuber 1961:294; Gk ἔνατος, Lat *nōnus*, OIr *nōmad*, Lith *deviñtas*, Latvian *devîtais*; OPruss *newīnts* *ninth*; Alb *nëndë* *unit of nine*; TochB *ñunte* *ninth*.

PIE *enwn̥* or *ʔen-w-*, *ʔn-ew-*: Gk ἐννέα,

Arm *inn* probably PIE *newn̥* with dialectal innovation, Szemerényi 1964:107-18; Gk dialectal ἐννέα in Heraclean series ἕξ, ἑπτά, ὀκτώ, ἐννέα *6-9*, all with rough breathing on analogy with ἕξ, Lat *sex*; ἑπτά, Lat *septem*, Ward 1948 Lg 24:51-54 suggests dialectal innovation in subsets of numerals, which would argue against a PIE *newn̥ nine*; cf Burrow 1973:260 on possible relation of Skt *náva nine* and PIE *néwos new*; proposed also earlier, J Wackernagel and Debrunner 1896-1954 III:360. P 1959:318-19, *e-newen, newn̥, enwn̥*; P 1959:769, *newos new*.

N26. niutan stvII τυχεῖν *attain* L 20. 35, 1sg prs opt *-tau* Phil 20, ὀνίνασθαι *enjoy*; *ga-niutan* συλλαμβάνειν, ἀγρεύειν *obtain, catch*, 3pl prt *-nutun* L 5.9, 3pl prt opt *-nuteina* M 12.13. **nuta* mn ζωγρῶν *catcher*, ἁλιεύς *fisherman*, only acc pl *-tans* L 5.10, Mk 1.17. **un-nuts* adj ἀνόητος *foolish, useless*, only acc pl m *-tjans* 1T 6.9.

OI *njōta*, OE *nēotan*, OFris *niāta*, OS *niotan use, enjoy*, OHG *niozan* stv *make use of*, Seebold 1970:361. OI *nyt profit, advantage*, OE *nytt* f *use, profit, duty*, OHG *nuz* stm *profit, advantage*; with other vocalism, OI *naut work animal, ox, nautr wealth*, OFris *note produce, yield*, OE *notu profit, use, nēat work animal, ox*, cf NE *neat's (foot oil)*, OHG *nōz* m *cattle*; OI *nȳtr*; OE *nytt*, OFris *nette*, OS *nutti*, OHG *nuzzi* adj *useful*; OE *un-nytt*, OHG *un-nuzzi useless*.

Only in Gmc and Balt; Lith *naudà use, property*, Latvian *naûda money*; OSl *nuta ox, cow*, ORuss *nuta horned animal* borrowed from Gmc, Fraenkel 1962-65:487. Celt PeN doubtful, such as OIr *Nuado*; see P 1959:768, who lists *neu-d- attain*, following Brugmann 1916-17 IF 37:239; Froehde 1896 BKIS 21:194.

N27. noicz name of the *n*-rune in Sal, corresponding to OI *nauð*, OE *nȳd*, *nāed* = *nēad* f = **nauþs** *need* Arntz 1944:172-73,204-05. Probably a garbled form of the usual name, Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:207-08; Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:154 interprets it as designating a goddess corresponding to Gk Ἀνάγκη.

N28. *nota m[?] πρύμνη *stern (of a ship)*, only dat sg *-tin* Mk 4.38.

Uncertain etymology; various conjectures: (1) to OI *nōr*, Skt *náus*, Gk ναῦς, Lat *nāvis*, OIr *nau*, Arm *naw boat* Grienberger 1900:167-68. (2) to OI *nōt net*, cf **nati** *fishing net* Neckel 1934 ZDA 71:187 fn2; the net lay in the stern of the boat. (3) to OHG *nuosc trough, channel*; *ge-nuscen* wkv *bind*; *nusta* stf *joint, seam*; cf ***bnauan** *pulverize* Meringer 1904-05 IF 17: 151ff. (4) to Gk νῶτον *back* Torp and Falk, eds 1909:298 though its source is unclear, Chantraine 1968-80:762.

N29. nu adv, conj νῦν *now, then* (interj) M 27.42, *now* (temporal) L 1.48, ἄρτι *just now* M 9.18, οὖν *therefore* M 6.22; *nuh* (*nu* + **uh**), γάρ *then, therefore* 1C 7.16; *nunu* οὖν *now then* M 10.26.

OI *nū*, OE *nū*, OFris, OS, OHG *nŭ* adv, conj *now†, therefore*; cf also **nauh**. On the relation *-ŭ* : *ū* see J Schmidt 1889:219, Kretschmer 1892 ZVS 31:337, Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:168-69.

PIE *nŭ, nŭ-no-*; *new-os new*; cf **niujis**; Skt *nú now, now then, certainly, nūn-am now, at present, probably, certainly*, OPers *nūram*; Gk νύ, νῦν *now*; Lat *num then, now, nunc now, nū-dius tertius (it is now the third day =) day before yesterday*; OIr *nu, nū* adv *now*; *no, nu* verbal ptc; Lith *nū̃ now, today, nùgi(s) now then*; OSl *nz but*; *nynĕ now, today*; TochA *nu, nū*, B *no then, now* (paratactic conjunction); Hitt *nu, n-* (*n-as, n-at* sentence initial ptc with encl pronominals), *ki-nun now*; on cognate syntactic character of OIr *no*, Hitt *nu*, Dillon 1948 TPS 1947:15-24; on topic deixis of Hitt *nu*, Raman 1973:126ff,137-40.

P 1959:770.

O

O1. o interj ὦ *oh!* L 9.41, οὐὰ *aha!* Mk 15.29.

OI *ō*, NHG *oh! oh!*.

PIE *ō*, *ā*, *ē* or independent onomatopoeic creations; Gk ὤ, ὦ, ὠή, Lat *ō*, *ōh* exclamation of emotion, voc ptc, OIr *ā*, *a* voc ptc, Lith *õ* exclamation of emotion; Loewe 1927 ZVS 54: 141-42 relates to Skt *ā*, Gk ἆ, Lat *ā*.

P 1959:772,1,281.

O2. oeghene CrimGo 'oculi' *eyes*; probably = Go *augona* nom pl n, with *gh* after MFlem *oeghen*; *-oe-* from *-au-* also in **broe**, *hoef*, cf **augo**, Stearns 1978:148-49.

O3. *ogan prt-prs φοβεῖσθαι *fear* L 18. 4, prt *ohta* (replacing **ahta*, Sverdrup 1929 NTS 2:19) J 19.8, 2sg imp *ogs* φοβοῦ *fear!* R 13.4, elsewhere *(ni) ogs þus* μὴ φοβοῦ *do not fear!* orig PIE subj *ōgiz*, J Schmidt 1870 ZVS 19:290; Jacobsohn 1913 ZVS 45:342ff, Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:484, Streitberg 1920:157; B/E 1981:128 PIE *ne āghes*; Go *ogjan* wkvI φοβεῖσθαι *frighten* Neh 6.19.

OI *ōast* wkv *be afraid*, though see Vries 1962:415, *ægja* wkv *frighten*, *ōgn* f *fright*, OE *ōga* m *fright*, *on-ægan* wkv *fear*; *ōht*, MLG *achte*, OHG *āhta* stf *persecution* ← **aŋχtō*. Cf **agis**, ***agls**.

PIE *agh- fear*: Gk ἄχυμαι, ἄχομαι *be sad, mourn*; OIr *ad-āgor I fear*, *ni āgor* (= Go *ni og*), verbal noun *aigthiu*, Vendryès 1959-:A-23, Chantraine 1968-80:151.

P 1959:7-8.

O4. Oium in Jordanes 60,15 (also 61, 1): "pervenit [*Filimer*] ad Scythiae terras quae lingua eorum Oium vocabantur" '[Filimer] reached the lands of Scythia which in their tongue are called Oium'; 4.28 "in terras Oium" 'to the lands Oium'.

Taken as Go dat pl **aujom*, a *ja*-derivative of **alva**, referring to the area of the Pripet swamps ("is locus, ut fertur, tremulis paludibus voragine circumiecta concluditur" 'it is reported that this place is enclosed by unsteady swamps, with a gulf surrounding it'); E Schwarz 1956:87.

O5. Optarit PeN of elder (**papa**) in DeN. Gk form (translation) of Go *Ufitahari*, cf Procopius Ὄπταριν [..] ἄνδρα γότθον, Scardigli 1973:281; or faulty Go by the notary, Deusdedit, who spoke no Go, F 1939:381.

O6. osanna based on Gk ὡσαννά *hosanna*, a loanword from Aram-Heb *hōshá'nā save, we pray!* cf E Klein 1966-67:745.

O7. Ostrogothae EN *East Goths* N Wagner 1967:161-63, Schönfeld 1911:38-39; Jordanes 78,5-7 "pars eorum (ie Gothorum) qui orientalem plagam tenebant ... dicti sunt Ostrogothae" 'the part of them (ie of the Goths) who held the eastern region ... are called Ostrogoths'; the name also in 17 other places, cf also PeN's *Ostrogotho*, *Ostrogotha* [epithet of Theoderic's daughter, Arevagni]; OE *Eastgotha* of the Widsith (= *Ostrogotha*), Hachmann 1970:48-50; **Ostrogothae** first used by Cassiodorus; earlier forms, *Austrogoti*, *Ostrogothi*, Hachmann 1970:58,125,118 fn; on homeland, neighboring tribes, and formally similar Va-goths, Gauthi-goths, N Wagner 1967:155-61,207,210-15; on relations with the *Greotingi* in the Black Sea region, N Wagner 1967:182-83,171-72.

Ostro- of disputed etymology. Probably not ← **austra- east* with **-tro-*; possibly ← **aus(t)ro-* where *-t-* a Gmc development; full grade corresponding to Skt zero grade *usrá- bright*, *uṣáḥ dawn*; cf also Hom ἠώς *dawn*; Lat *aurōra daybreak*; Lith *aušrà rosy dawn*; OI *austr east*; OE *ēaster*, NE *Easter*; basis for **Ostrogothae** *shining Goths*, not 'East Goths'; also on meaning of EN's, Wrede 1891:44-48; Wehrle 1906-07 ZDW 8:334-44 for thorough review of the data; probably of unknown origin with early folk etymology, F 1939:381, B/E 1981:1-2.

P

P1. paida fō χιτών *tunic, shirt* M 5.40; **ga-paidon* wkvII, only nom pl m papl *-dōdai* ἐνδυσάμενοι *clothed* E 6.14.

OE *pād coat*, OS *pēda*, OHG *pheit*, OBavarian *pfeit* f *garment*; on Gmc dial distribution and spread, G Müller and Frings 1968:114-16; generally agreed to be a loan into Gmc via Go; early to Go from Gk βαίτη of Anatolian origin, Thumb 1905-06 ZDW 7:261-67; but Bonfante 1935 BSLP 36:[art]151-52 prefers Illyrian origin because of Alb *petkë* ← **paitākā clothes, garment, cloak*. On relation to first sound shift, Gutenbrunner 1936-38 APS 11:167 refers to Go *Kreks*, Lat *Graecus*, taking Gk βαίτη and **paida** from a SE neighbor. Probably a cross-cultural term, as for Karsten 1928:195 and F 1939:381-82; Finn *paita* from Gmc, Kylstra 1961:33-34,59,71.

P 1959:92-93.

P2. *paintekuste = πευτηκοστή *Pentecost*, only acc sg *-ten* 1C 16.8.

OE *pentecosten*, OFris *pinkostra* gen pl, *pinxster*, OS *te pinkoston*, OHG *fimfchusti*, MHG *pfingsten* dat pl f, Bavarian *Pfinztag*.

9th century Benedictine Rule *fona fimfchustim* possibly a learned modification of Go *paintekusten*, Frings 1966:32; Gk source for Lat *pentecoste 50th day (after Easter)*; cf also Church Lat *quinquagesima*, calque on Gk, either as Romanizing innovation in 3rd-5th centuries or as earlier Lat form; in E replaced by *Whitsunday*, from *dominica in albis est Sunday in whites* G Müller and Frings 1968: 378-79, Onions 1966:1004. OSl *pętikostij* also borrowed from Gk.

P3. papa παπᾶς *elder, cleric*, only twice, nom sg *ik Ufitahari papa* DeN 1.1, acc sg *bi Werekan papan* Cal 1.7.

Borrowed from Gk παπᾶς *minor cleric*, while πάπας meant *bishop*, later *pope* (borrowed in OE *pāpa*, OS *pāvos*, OHG *bābes* through Lat *pāpa*). All 5th century Christian bishops called *papa Father*; in the west Gregory VII legally designated only the Pope as *papa*, Raumer 1845:295-96: OI, OSw *papi ecclesiastic*, Shetland *pobi priest* from OIr or SoGmc; OFris *pāpa Pope, ecclesiastic*, OHG *phafo, pfaffo cleric, ecclesiastic*, from Gk or Go, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:126; or through Lombard mediation, G Müller and Frings 1968: 355-56, OIr *pāpa pope, monk, ascetic*, colloq also *popa*, Vendryès 1959-:P-4; Bret *pab* ← Fr, Corn *pap*, Onions 1966:696.

P4. paracletus mu = Gk παράκλητος *comforter*, only of Holy Spirit, as in J 14.26.

P5. paraskaiwe παρασκεύη *preparation*, only nom sg Mk 15.4, acc sg *-wein* M 27.62.

Taken from spoken Go into OHG (Bavarian) *pherintag Friday*; this meaning also for the Gk word from the 3rd century AD on; 9th century Samanunga, Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds, 1879-1922:I,225,5, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:139-40; on OBavarian form, G Müller and Frings 1968:358-59.

P6. paska πάσχα *Easter* L 2.41, *pasxa* J 18.28.

OI *pāskar* m pl, OFris *pāscha*, OS, OHG *pascha* stn *Easter*; but OE *ēaster*, usually pl *ēastron*, OHG *ōstra* wkf, more often pl *ōst(a)run Easter*†. *Easter* is OE church use, like OHG *ostargauma, aostortaga*; OHG *pascha*, Lat use, Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:409; NE *Pascal pertaining to Easter*, from ME *paschal, pasche* ← OFr *pasque*. Late Gmc isogloss, OE, SouthG, Mainz, Trier, Alemannic, Bavarian *ōstra* versus NGmc, Fris, Cologne *paschen*; on OHG attestation and dial use, G Müller and Frings 1968:361-65.

Gk πάσχα from Aram *pasḥā*, Heb *happésaḥ Passover* E Klein 1966-67:1135. *Easter*, related by Bede to spring goddess *Ēastre*, see **Ostrogothae**.

P7. *paurpura also **-paura* πορφύρα

purple garment; loan from Lat *purpura purple, purple garment*, itself a borrowing from Gk, W Schulze 1966:509,511 fn2; Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:2-3; **paurpuron* wkvII (only papl **-roþs*, dat sg f *-rodai* J 19.2, acc sg f *-rodon* J 19.5) πορφυροῦν *purple-colored*.

OI *purpura*, OE *purpuro* (later dissimilated to *purple*), OHG *purpura* wkf *purple† (garment)*.

P8. *peika-bagms m*a palm tree*, only gen pl *-me* J 12.13; cf also **bagms**.

Etymology obscure; may be related to OI *pīk* f *spike*, OE *pīc*, OFris *pīc* m *spike, pike†*, possibly ← VLat *pīcu-s* though its origin is unclear, Meyer-Lübke 1935:6495; (cf linear leaves of the palm, K Johansson 1900 ZVS 36: 383); probably not from Lat *fīcus fig* (confusing fig and palm trees where neither grows) via Celt, where *f* for initial *p* in Lat loans, Much 1893 BGDSL 17:33-34; cf Go **smakka-bagms** *fig tree*; Ebbinghaus 1974 GL 14:35-37 tentatively suggests Gmc onomatopoeic origin for a plant or tree with spines.

P9. pertra name of the *p*-rune in Sal; OE *peorþ, peord*, Northumbrian *pert*, Grienberger 1899 ANF 15:33.

Etymology disputed. M Hammarström 1930 SNF 20:23-24 probably correct in considering it a rhyming creation to **qertra**, in view of the lack of PIE *b-* and the unlikelihood of borrowing a rune-name; yet Arntz 1944:208-09 rejects the priority of **qertra**. Bugge 1905-13:60,143ff discussed the name at length, seeing its source in Georgian *par*, name of *p*, transmitted by way of Arm from *parel dance*; highly unlikely. Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:139 suggested a Gaulish source, assuming a vegetation goddess *Perta* on the basis of a votive inscription, after whom the name was given; cf Wel *perth bush*; as argument he cited OIr *qert*, the name of *q* in ogam, similar to OE *cweorþ*, name of the *q*-rune; from PCelt *kw-*, *p* would have developed in *p*-Celtic, *q* in *q*-Celtic. Arntz 1944: 209 with references, objects on the grounds that the *p*-Celts did not have ogam and that early Gaulish culture was pre-literate. The attempt of Arntz 1935 BGDSL 59:358 to account for **pertra** and **qertra** was rejected by Thurneysen 1937 BGDSL 61:206. Other proposals cited in F 1939:383 carry little conviction, though Birkhan 1970:175-77 with detailed review of the bibliography returns to the early comparison of OE *peorþ* with *peord vulva*; relating *peord* to Gk πόσθη *penis* (though not in P 1959:485 or 824). Birkhan suggests a taboo or children language form maintaining PIE *p-* in Gmc; while his suggestion is dubious, he deserves credit for concluding his discussion with the reminder that the Go and OE names for the *p*-rune differ phonologically; cf Frisk 1960-72 II:584.

P10. *pistikeins adj *pure, undiluted*, only gen sg f *nardaus -nis* νάρδου πιστικῆς *pure spikenard* J 12.3; W Schulze 1966:509 fn2, emends the text to *pistikeins*, as closer to Gk πιστική on analogy with *apaustauleins*, Gk ἀποστολῆς; but Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:486 objects, while recognizing the emendation in 1919-28 II:105.

P11. *plapja f*ō* πλατεῖα *street*, only gen pl *-jo* M 6.5; borrowed from the Gk, or from Lat *platea*, itself a borrowing from Gk πλατεῖα (ὁδός) *broad (road)*.

Explanation of *-p-* unclear; possibly assimilation at a distance. Gabelentz and Loebe 1848:502, proposed a scribal error; so also Grienberger 1900:170 with Gk TT read as Π. Rejecting both approaches E Schröder 1927 ZVS 54:310-11 suggested that an Ostrogothic scribe confused the Visigothic word which he did not know with an adj **plapjo chattering*, formed like *piubjo secretly*; scarcely credible. -- If the assumption of Mikkola 1924 MSNH 7: 269-70 is correct, that the late Lat form was **platsja* (cf OE *plætse place* and the loanword OSl *ploča marketplace*), the Go source would scarcely be this; cf also It *piazza*, Sp *plaza*, Fr *place*; NHG *Platz* m is attested only from the 13th century. Survey of problems in Corazza

1969:57-59.

P12. plat n (or m-*s*) ἐπίβλημα *patch*, only acc sg L 5.36, Mk 2.21, dat sg *-ta* M 9.16.

MDu, MLG *plet*, NLG *plette rag*; also Sw *palta*, Dan *pjalt*, Fris *palt*, LG *palt(e) rag, patch* K Johansson 1900 ZVS 36:372-73. Probably a borrowing from Sl, as suggested by unshifted NHG *blez* stm, *blezza* stf *small piece (of cloth)*. Not here NE *plat, plot piece of land*.

Sl source unclear. Vasmer 1953-58 II:366, 397-98 keeps separate ORuss *platz piece of cloth* and OSl *polotьno linen cloth*, which themselves are unclear in origin, but not related to Skt *paṭas woven cloth*, which is probably a borrowing, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:190. Comparing Ir *lontā linen* ← **plotnā*, Stokes 1894:255 suggests a cross-cultural term.

P13. *plinsjan wkvI ὀρχήσασθαι *dance* M 11.17.

MLG *plansen dance*; exception to the rule that words common to Gmc and Sl were borrowed from Gmc, Lottner 1862 ZVS 11:173, Vasmer 1927 ZSP 4:359-60, Corazza 1969:49; based on a Sl verb attested in OSl *plęsti, plęsati dance*; cf also Russ *ples-k-atь splash, applaud* Stender-Petersen 1927:530, which Vasmer 1953-58 II:370 considers of onomatopoeic origin; Lith *plęšti dance* beside isolated Gmc instances also suggests eastern origin, Specht 1930 ZVS 57:158-59, Fraenkel 1962-65:619-20. According to Scardigli 1973:233,67 such words support the hypothesis that Cyril's OSl Bible translation was inspired by Wulfila's; for him **plinsjan* reflects an older shamanistic ritual dance. The two views are not necessarily contradictory, since the word is non-IE and its origin is unknown.

P14. plut CrimGo 'sanguis' *blood*; cf **bloþ**. Aberrant initial *p-*, cf CrimGo *bruder*, taken as misprint by Uhlenbeck 1900:30, as a voiceless lenis before *l* misheard as *p-* by Busbecq, Stearns 1978:149.

P15. praitoriaun J 18.28, Mk 15.16, *praitoria* J 18.28, *praitauria* J 18.35, 19.9, from Gk πραιτώριον or Lat *praetōrium governor's headquarters*. According to W Schulze 1966:509 simply a Gk term incorporated in the Go text, not a borrowing into Go; the variation reflects Wulfila's use of everyday language, W Schulze 1966:509,514; and since Wulfila's *o* of *praitoria* would have been pronounced *u* in Italy, a scribe there introduced the spelling *au*, W Schulze 1966:514 fn3. Others, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:3, Luft 1897-98 ZVS 35:295-96, assume the word was adopted from Lat; Corazza 1969:91 fn25 takes Gk as source.

P16. *praizbwtairei f*n* πρεσβύτερος *elder, presbyter*, only *-rein* acc sg with collective meaning *(group of) elders* Tit 1.5, dat sg 1T 5.19; **praizbwtairi* n*ia*, only gen sg *-reis* πρεσβυτερίου *presbytery, council of elders* 1T 4. 14. Based on spoken rather than written Gk form, W Schulze 1966:516, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:43.

P17. praufetes, *praufetus* m προφήτης *prophet*, reformation of Gk with *u*-stem inflection, W Schulze 1966:511,513; form suggests recent loan, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:72; *praufeteis* f προφῆτις *prophetess*, only nom sg L 2.36; on Wulfila's adaptation of religious terms, Scardigli 1973:122. See also **ga-liuga-praufetus* L 6.26, Mk 13.22, and **liugna-praufetus* M 7.15, both calques ψευδοπροφήτης *false prophet*.

P18. praufetja m or npl προφητεία *prophecy* 1C 14.22, an early borrowing from Lat *prophetia* f, as indicated by the replacement of Lat *i* by Go *j*; on gender difference, cf Go **drakma** m from Lat *drachma* f. Based on it, **praufetjan* wkvI προφητεύειν *prophesy* 1C 14.9, Corazza 1969:92-93.

MHG *prophētīe* f also borrowed from Lat while ME *prophecie* was taken from OFr *prophecie*; subsequently verbs were derived from these, such as MHG *prophētīen*, ME *prophecien*; also MHG *prophētieren* (from Lat) and *-zieren* (from Fr), but both with *-ieren*-ending from Fr.

P19. psalmo ψαλμός *psalm* E 4.8A;

loan from Gk with Go case endings; perhaps from dat sg ψαλμῷ, cf marginal gloss **psalmo** nom sg[?] E 4.8A, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II: 106, M Jellinek 1926:188; acc sg *psalmon* 1C 14.26, gen pl *psalmo* L 20.42, dat pl *psalmom* E 5.19, B/E 1981:80, Corazza 1969:86 fn2.

OE *(p)sealm*, OHG *(p)salmo* wkm *psalm*†, *song of praise*; also *psalma*, *psalmo* f, all based on LLat *psalmus*, itself from Gk noun derivative from Gk ψάλλω *pluck, sing to the harp*.

P20. *puggs m βαλάντιον *purse*, only acc sg *pugg* L 10.9.

OI *pungr*, OE *pung*, OFris *pung*, MLG *punge* m *purse, bag*; OHG *scaz-fung moneybag*, Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds, 1879-1922:I,284,10; cf also without *n* OI *poki*, OE *pocca, pohha*, MDu *poke* m *bag*; NE *poke, pocket*, MHG *phoch bag*.

A general Gmc borrowing from an unknown source, the Go word probably from MLat *punga purse* in the 3rd century, Corazza 1969:66,77; see also MGk πουγγα, Rum *pungă bolster* Loewe ZVS 39:323-24; Meyer-Lübke 1935:6849; not from OSl *pǫgy tassle*, as by Uhlenbeck 1895 BGDSL 20:44, since it diverges semantically, Knutsson 1929:43-44, Persson 1912:263 fn3; VLat **pungus* probably from Lat *pugnus fist* Grienberger 1900:170-71, not, as *punga*, a romanized Gmc word, Gamillscheg 1970:28-29. Not from PIE as Gmc **puh, *pug inflate, blow up*; Skt *búkkati bark*, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:219, which is probably onomatopoeic in origin like Skt *baka- kind of crane, bakura- wind instrument* though from **bn̥kəló-*; LG *pungel little sack*, proposed by K Johansson 1900 ZVS 36:367, in defense of PIE *b*; rejected by Persson 1912:263-64 fn3; see also Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:400-01,436-37. P 1959: 100 in need of emendation.

P21. pund n λίτρα *pound*, only acc sg J 12.3.

OI, OE, OFris, OS *pund*, MDu *pond*, OHG *phunt, funt* stn *pound*†; NHG *Pfund*.

Economic trade word very early at home in Gmc, possibly in Go during 1st or 2nd century, Corazza 1969:10, Scardigli 1973:84, when final vowels were lost, M Jellinek 1926:185. From Lat *pondō* (indecl) *pound*; also in Ir *pond* with contamination from E; cf also Wel *pwn load, pyn-farch workhorse*; Lat *pondō* replaced in Romance by *lībra*, Fr *livre*, Frings 1966:57; Gmc loan into Finn *punta* Thomsen 1870:163.

Q

Q1. qainon wkvII κόπτεσθαι, πενθεῖν *mourn, sorrow* intrans M 11.17, 9.15, trans *mourn for* 2C 12.21.

Late OI *kveina*, OE *cwānian* wkv *lament, sorrow*. Without initial *k*, OI *veina*, OE *wānian*, OFris *wēnia, weinia*, OHG *weinōn* wkv *cry, lament, mourn*, from interj, cf **wai**. Both sets are probably of onomatopoeic origin.

No clear cognates outside Gmc. Not ὠδίνω *have birth pains*, as by Fick 1884 BKIS 8:331; cf Chantraine 1968-80:1298. Nor to Lith *giedóti begin to sing* Thumb 1900 ZVS 36:196-98, which may be related to Skt *gā́yati sings*, Latvian *gailis sing mournful songs*, though little credence can be given to Osten-Sacken 1909 IF 24:240 or to the reconstructions in P 1959:355, 467. Still other speculation cited in F 1939:386.

Q2. qairrus adj*u* ἥπιος *friendly, gentle* 1T 3.3; *qairrei* f*n* πραότης *gentleness* G 5.23.

OI *kvirr, kyrr quiet*, MLG *querre*, MHG *kürre tame*.

May be from PIE *g^{w}erH- heavy*, though rejected by F 1939:386, possibly because ***kaurus** heavy* and **asilu-qairnus** *mill* are derived from that IE base; but see Lith *gùrti subside (of the wind)*, Latvian *gurt slacken*, related by Siebs 1904 ZVS 37:317, Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:302. Taking it however from PIE *g^{w}erH- praise, welcome* Lühr 1976 MSzS 35:73-92 ascribes the lengthening of *r* to the following laryngeal, as in **-waddjus**; so also **fairra**, and *-nn-* in ***af-linnan**, **rinnan**, **spinnan**, and **winnan**; further, *-mm-* in ***stamms**. Supported with a Finnish borrowing by R-P Ritter 1984 MSzS 43:183-86. Other suggestions cited in F 1939:386, such as relation by Grienberger 1900:171-72 to Gk γῆρυς *voice* less credible. P 1959:476-77, in need of revision; ibid:478-79.

Q3. qairu n*u* (only 2C 12.7, marginal gloss in Cod A to **hnuþo**) σκόλοψ *thorn, spike*. Not to be read as *gairu*, Streitberg 1909 IF 24:174, though *q* is a scribal error according to Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:322. Ebbinghaus 1979 GL 19:188-89 reads **pairu**, which would eliminate the item.

For *qairu*, the following etymology was proposed, which now is obsolete. PIE *g^{w}erustake, spear*: Lat *verū*, Umbr *berva spit, javelin*; OIr *bir*, Wel *ber spear, spit*; with zero grade in root Av *grava- staff*; (cf Lat *genū* : Go ***kniu** knee*), Lidén 1906 IF 19:325. Italic and Celtic innovation for 'spear', which elsewhere differs among dialects in designation, Gk ἄκων, Lith *kasulas*, OSl *sulica*, OE *spere*, Porzig 1954: 100.

Cognate with **pairu** are OI *prjōnn*, OE *prēon*, MLG *prēme*, MHG *pfriemie* m *knitting needle*, NE *preen pin*, as cited by Bugge 1906 ANF 22:128-29. These may be from a pre-Gmc source, so treated by Hamp 1982-83 ZVS 96:95-100, with argumentation based on initial labial and *u*-stem. Vries 1962:428 cites possible IE origins.

P 1959:479, requires emendation.

Q4. qens f*i* γυνή *wife* L 20.33; ***un-qeniþs** wk papl ἄγαμος *unmarried, without wife*, only dat pl m *-idam* 1C 7.8; cf also **qino** *woman*.

Gmc ***k^{w}ēn-i-***: OI *kvān, kvæn*, OE *cwēn* (also *king's wife*), OS *quān* stf *wife*, NE *queen*; OI *kvæna* wkv *make one marry, ū-kvæntr unmarried*.

PIE *g^{w}ĕnā*, gen *g^{w}n-ās woman, wife*, also *g^{w}enə-* (viewed as *g^{w}(w)-en- n*-stem related to *g^{w}ous cow*, by Szemerényi 1977:76-78); on declension, Brugmann 1908 IF 22:171-93. Old socially undifferentiated term for biological female, woman; formal innovations for 'woman' often leave the old form with 'wife' as its meaning, A Ramat 1969 AGI 54:145. Lengthened grade: Skt *jāni- wife*, Av *jąni- woman* as in **qens**, Streitberg 1894 IF 3:330; full grade as in **qino**: Skt *jáni- wife, woman*,

Av *jaini-* **woman**, OIr *ben*, gen *mnā*, dat *mnaī*, archaic *bein* ← **g^{w}en-ei*, **g^{w}en-i-*, Meid 1966 ZVS 80:271-72; OPruss *genno* ← **g^{w}enā* **woman** A Ramat 1969 AGI 54:129-30, Toporov 1975- II:207-10; OSl *žena* **woman, wife**, Russ *ženà* **wife**; Arm *kin*, nom pl *kanai-k'* (suffix possibly as in Gk nom pl γυναῖκες **women**) **woman, wife**; zero grade: Skt *jñā-* **goddess, divine female**, Av *gənā* **woman, wife**, Gk γυνή, (Boeotian) βανά; probably not Alb *zonjë* **wife, lady** Hamp 1962 IF 67:145, Huld 1984:136-37; TochA *śäm*, B *śana* **wife** (beside A *kuli*, B *klyiye, kliye* **woman**); Luw *unatti-*, *wanatti-* **woman**, according to Starke 1980 ZVS 94:82-85; but cf retraction by E Sturtevant 1935 Lg 11:38-39 of PIE *g^{w}*, *ghw*, Hitt *w* correspondence, E Sturtevant 1930 Lg 6:213-28,220-21 following Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art]136-43,137; Sturtevant's earlier position relates Skt *vanóti* **strives for**, Go **wens** **hope**, Hitt *wenzi* **has (sexual) relations with**, PIE *g^{w}en-* **woman**. Aside from Benveniste's formal objections, there may be semantic difficulties in relating the word for 'woman' to the verbal root, difficulties parallel to relation of Gk μυλλάς **prostitute**, μύλη **mill** A Ramat 1969 AGI 54: 110-11 fn8,146 fn75,76.

P 1959:473-74.

Q5. qertra name of the *q*-rune in Sal: OE *cweorþ* in the rune-poem.

According to Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21: 200,222 equivalent to OIr *ceirt* (*queirt*) **apple tree**. Vendryès 1927 RevCelt 44:313ff derives OIr *ceirt*, Wel *perth* **bush** from PIE *perk^{w}o-*, Italo-Celtic *k^{w}erk^{w}o-* as in Lat *quercus* **oak**; cf W/H 1938-56 II:402-03 and **fairguni**. Celt form then taken over in Gmc, Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:139-40. Cf **pertra** for reference to the widely divergent views.

Q6. qiman stvIV, 1sg prt *qam* M 5.17, 3pl *qemum* J 11.33, nom sg m papl *qumans* Mk 9.33, ἔρχεσθαι **come** M 6.10, γίνεσθαι **become** J 6.19, καταβῆναι **arrive** J 6.51; **ana-qiman* only 3sg prt *-qam* *ins* ἐπέστη αὐτοῖς **approached them** L 2.9; **bi-qiman* only 3sg prs *ins -miþ* αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται **suddenly attacks them** 1Th 5.3, assumed by G Schmidt 1962:244 to be a folk etymological equivalent of **bi-setjan*, OE *bi-settan* **assail**; **faura-qiman* only 3sg prs *-mid in andwairþja is* προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ **goes before him, precedes** L 1. 17; **miþ-qiman*, only 3sg prt neg *miþ-ni-qam* *siponjam seinaim* οὐ συνεισῆλθεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ **did not accompany his disciples** J 6.22; **fra-qiman*, 1sg prs *-qima* δαπανήσω, 1sg prs pass *-mada* ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι 2C 12.15, 3sg prt *-qam* προσαναλώσασα L 8.43 **spend, rise up, consume**; **ga-qiman*, 3sg prs *-miþ* ἀνῆκεν **it is fitting** Col 3.18, συνέρχεσθαι **come together, meet** J 18.20; **miþ-qiman* συνέρχεσθαι go along with J 6.22; *us-qiman* ἀποκτεῖναι **kill, destroy** J 7.1; cf also **qums**, ***ga-qumþs**, Götti 1974:62-72.

OHG *queman* stv **come**, normal grade (thematic) as in Go (forms in Schatz 1927:281-82); CrimGo *kommen* 'venire' **come** Stearns 1978:142-43; OI *koma*, OE *cuman*, OFris *kuma*, *koma*, OS *cuman* stv **come**, OHG *coman* stv, NHG *kommen* **come**†; see Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:89, Prokosch 1939:150,171 on thematic and athematic forms. Orig athematic, Meillet 1916 BSLP 20:[art]25, but became thematic in all the dialects.

PIE *g^{w}em-* ~ *g^{w}m̥-*; *g^{w}ex-* ~ *gwəx-* where *-m-* and *-x-* are enlargements on a root *Heg^{w}-*, Benveniste 1935a:156. Same base as Go in Lith *giñti*, Latvian *dzìmt* **come into the world, be born**, OPruss *gemton* **bear**, *gemmons* **born** Fraenkel 1962-65:151, Bechtel 1913 ZVS 45: 230, Toporov 1975- II:204-05; semantically similar, Hsch ἐβάθη· ἐγεννήθη **be born** Flensburg 1914 *F* Windisch:207. PIE *g^{w}em* in Skt *gámati* **go**, perf *jagáma*, cf Go *qemun*; Av *jamaiti* **go**, TochAB *käm-* **come** Krause and W Thomas 1960-64 II:92,181; PIE *(e-)g^{w}em-t-*: Ved *á-gan* **went**; Arm *e-kn* **came**; PIE *g^{w}m̥-tó-*: Skt *gatá-* **gone**; Gk βατός **passable, accessible**; Lat *in-ventus* **invention**; PIE *g^{w}em-yo-*: Skt 3sg opt *gamyắt*, Av *jamyāţ*, OPers *jamiya* **goes**, PIE

gʷm̥-yō: Gk βαίνω *go*, Lat *veniō come*; PIE *gʷā-*: Skt *agām*, Gk ἔβην *went*, Latvian *gāju* *came*; with reduplication, Skt *jigāti*, Gk βίβημι *go*. PIE *gʷm̥-sḱo*: Skt *gácchati*, Av *jasaiti*, Gk βάσκω *go*; TochB *kumnäs comes*, 3pl *kä-n-m-askeṃ*. Semantic alignment in dialects: Skt, Gk, Arm *go, step, stride*; Ital, Gmc, Toch *come, arrive*; Balt *come, be born* Porzig 1954: 209. Hitt *uwa- come, wemiya- find*, not here, nor Alb *nga run* Huld 1984:151.

P 1959:463-65, W/H 1938-56 II:747-49, Chantraine 1968-80:156-58, Watkins 1985:24.

Q7. qino f*n* γυνή *woman, female* M 9. 20; **qina-kunds* adj*a* θῆλυς *female*, only nom sg n *-kund* G 3.28; cf also *-kunds* in ***airþa-kunds** *earthly*, ***himina-kunds** *heavenly* Scardigli 1973:224-25; **qineins* adj*a* θῆλυς *female*, γυναικάριον *female (in a morally weak sense)*, only acc sg n *-nein* Mk 10.6, acc pl n *-neina* 2T 3.6; on colloquial status of **qineins female*: **qino**, *gumeins male*: **guma** *man* beside more formal **qina-kunds female*, **guma-kunds male*, cf Cahen 1925:82; on dim status of *gumein*, *qinein*, Scardigli 1973:72.

PGmc **kʷen-ōn-*: OI *kona* f *woman, wife*, OE *cwene woman, wife, servant, harlot*, OS, OHG *quena* stf *wife, woman*, NE *quean impudent woman, hussy* (archaic); replaced as biological term for *female* by OHG *wīb* stn; NHG *Frau*; OE *wīf*; NE *woman* ← OE *wīf-mann*, A Ramat 1969 AGI 54:118-27.

For forms in other dialects, such as Skt *jáni-*, cf **qens**. OSl *ženinz pertaining to woman* = *qinein*; cf also Darms 1978:74-77. Not here Alb *grua woman, wife* Huld 1984:66.

P 1959:474, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 92,413,758.

Q8. qistjan wkvI, only inf L 9.56 ἀπολέσαι *destroy, subject to torment* Lloyd 1979:310; *fra-qistjan* ἀπολέσαι M 10.28, *us-qistjan* ἀπολέσαι L 19.47, ἀποκτεῖναι *destroy, subject to torment* (object usually the soul); **fra-qistnan* wkvIV, 3sg prs opt *-tnai* ἀπόληται *perish, be destroyed* M 5.29; **qisteins* f*ō*, only dat sg *-nai* ὄλεθρος 1C 5.5 *destruction*; possibly also **qisteins* or **(fraqis)teins* ἀπώλεια *ruin* Mk 14.4.

MLG, OHG *quist* stf *torment*; Dan dial *quista press*, MDu *quisten rub, fir-quisten, ir-quisten* wkv *destroy*; not here OI *kvistr* m *branch*, *kvista* wkv *mutilate*, as by Brugmann 1896 IF 6:103 and Sperber 1914-15 WuS 6:31-32, but not Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:304 and Vries 1962:339; nor OI *kveita* wkv *make an end to, destroy*; *kviðri* m *fear, pain*; OE *ā-cwencan extinguish, quench*, as by Wood 1913 ZVS 45: 64.

No secure etymology; possibly an *s*-enlargement of PIE *gʷeyə- press, compel, force*: Skt *jināti overpower, grow old, jyā́ force*; Gk βιάω, βιάζω *force, compel*, βίᾱ *strength*; Lith *gaĩšti perish, disappear*, as by Fick 1881 BKIS 6:211; Wood 1913 ZVS 45:64; but Fraenkel 1962-65:129 rejects the Lith, and only the nouns are equivalent in Skt and Gk, Frisk 1960-72 I:235. Scarcely with Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:352 to PIE *gʷes- extinguish, be extinguished*: Skt *jásate be exhausted*; Gk σβέννυμι *extinguish*; Lith *gèsti*, Latvian *dziẽstu go out, be extinguished, expire*; OSl *u-gasiti put out, žasiti be terrified* Fraenkel 1962-65: 149; less likely, TochA *käss-*, B *kset- go out*; A *kast- put out, extinguish*; Hitt *kistari go out, perish*, because of phonological difficulties; Hitt and Toch are from PIE *ges-*, not *gʷes-*, Tischler 1983- I:593-94 with references.

P 1959:470 PIE *gʷeyə-*,479-80 *gʷes-*.

Q9. qiþan stvV λέγειν *say* M 5.21, 3sg prt *qaþ* M 8.4, 3pl prt *qeþun* M 9.3; **af-qiþan* ἀποτάσσεσθαι *renounce*, only 3sg prs *-þiþ* L 14. 33; **ana-qiþan* βλασφημεῖν *blaspheme*, only 1sg opt prs *-þaidau* 1C 10.30; *and-qiþan* ἀποτάξασθαι *say farewell* L 9.61, συντυχεῖν τινι *speak with someone* L 8.19; *faur-qiþan* παραιτεῖσθαι *excuse oneself* L 14.18, ἀθετεῖν *nullify* G 2.21; **faura-qiþan* προλέγειν *prophesy* M 11.13; **fra-qiþan* καταρᾶσθαι *curse* M 25.41; **ga-qiþan* συντίθεσθαι *decide*, only 3pl prt *-qeþun* + *sis* J 9.22; **miþ-qiþan* *agree*, only 3pl opt prs *-þaina* Sk 5.6 / Va.23

(clarified by W Bennett 1960:127-28 as calque of Gk σύμ-φημι); *us-qiþan* διαφημίζειν *spread the news*, only Mk 1.45; *us-qiss fi*, cf **ana-qiss**, *ga-qiss*, adj*a* *agreeing* R 7.16, also calque of σύμ-φημι, Velten 1930 JEGP 29:345; **un-qeþs* ἄρρητος *not to be told* 2C 12.14.

OI *kveða*, OE *cweþan*, OFris *quetha*, OS *queðan*, OHG *quedan* stv *speak*, cf NE archaic *quoth said*; caus in OI *kveðja*, OS *queddian*, OHG *quetten* wkv *greet*; OE *ge-cweþan*, OS *gi-queðan*, OHG *gi-quedan speak*; OI *kviðr*, OE *cwide*, OS *quiti*, OHG *quiti* stm/n *statement*; OI *ū-kvæði*, OE *un-cwisse speechless*; OI *sam-kvæðr agreeing*.

Possibly from PIE *g^{w}et- speak*, attested primarily in Gmc; elsewhere only Skt *gádati say*, if from **gatati*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:319-20, Sogdian *žāyem, zām say*, according to Gauthiot 1916 MSLP 19:157, Morgenstierne 1934 NTS 7:116ff; Arm *koč̣em* ← **g^{w}ot-i- call, koč̣ invitation* Lidén 1906:69. Not here Lat *vetō forbid* W/H 1938-56 II:776 nor OIr *bél lip* Vendryès 1959-:B-29, in spite of older references cited in F 1939:389-90.

P 1959:480-81.

Q10. *qiþus mu στόμαχος *stomach* 1T 5.23, κοιλία L 1.41, μήτρα *womb* L 2.23; **qiþu-hafto* f*n*, only acc sg *-ton* ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα 1Th 5.3, dat pl *þaim -tom* ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις Mk 13.17 *pregnant woman*; cf also ***laus-qiþrs**, **laus-qiþrei*.

Gmc **kveþu*, **kveþra* m *stomach, belly, womb* Schwentner 1954 IF 61:234-36; OI *kviðr belly, body*; OSw *kviþer belly, womb*; OE *cwiþ(a)* m *belly, womb, body*; OI *koddi pillow; scrotum*; OE *codd husk, hull, cod*†; *cēod(a)* m *sack, pocket*, OHG *quadilla* f *blister on skin*; OI *kviðugr pregnant*. OE *cwidu* f *contents of stomach*, MLG *queden peritoneum*, OHG *quiti vulva*.

PIE *g^{w}eyH$_{2}$- live*, *g^{w}i(ə)-tu-/-tro- womb, stomach*; etymology now conclusively given by Meid 1985 *F* Knobloch:253-54, following Pedersen 1909-13 I:41 on equation with Gaul *bitu- world* (from 'life'); both suffixes designate processes or phenomena outside human influence, with potential connotation, Benveniste 1948:65-112, Meid 1967:151-52,157-58, hence 'organs contributing to life'. Cf **qius* for related forms.

P 1959:467-69.

Q11. qius adj*wa* ζῶν *alive* R 7.9, stem in oblique cases, acc st *qiwana* R 12.1; *ana-qiujan* wkvI ἀναζωπυρεῖν 2T 1.6, **ga-qiujan* ζωοποιεῖν *make alive* 1T 6.13; **miþ-ga-qiujan* συζωοποιῆσαι *make alive together* E 2.5; **ga-qiunan* ζωοποιεῖσθαι *become alive* L 15.24 (cf OI *kvikna become alive*).

PIE *g^{w}ey-*, *g^{w}eyə- live* (ə = γ), *g^{w}ĭwo-s* ← *g^{w}iγwo-s alive*; with long vowel: Skt *jīvá-*, OPers *jīva-*; Lat *vīvus*; Lith *gývas*; OSl *živъ alive*; with short, OIr *bēo*, *bēu*, Wel *byw alive*; length of vowel in Gk βίος *life* disputed, with Frisk 1960-72 I:237-39 seeing no evidence for short vowel while Vendryès 1959-:B-37 insists on it, both with references; Go *-i-* assumed to be short by F 1939:390-91 and others, with no compelling evidence. Hitt *huisu- alive* not here, though its etymology is obscure, Tischler 1983-I:264-68. Go verbs denom in Gmc, as elsewhere from the varied nominal forms; Skt *jívati*, Av *jvaiti*; Lat *vīvō*; OPruss *gīwa-*; TochA *śo-*, B *śau- live*. Many other developments from the root, among them Gk βέομαι *live*, as thematic form beside athematic Arm *keam live*, both based on PIE *g^{w}eyγ-*, see Hamp 1976 *F* L Palmer:90; based on PIE *g^{w}iγ-*, Lith *gýti*, Latvian *dzît*, OSl *žiti live*; with loss of γ, OIr *bith world*, Gaul PeN *Bitu-rīges world ruler*, as in ***qiþus**; Gk ζώω *live* based on PIE *g^{w}yō-* as is Av *jyā-tu life*, although the formation is disputed.

Gmc forms in *-k-* long obscure: OI *kvikr*, OE *cwic(u)*, OFris, OS *quik*, MDu *quic*, OHG *quec alive*, cf NE *the quick*; *-k-* a reflex of PIE *-γ^{w}-*, from same sequence as Skt *jīvás*, though with PIE *-γw-* yielding *-k-* in a process requiring further attention; cf Austin 1946, WP Lehmann 1952:50, as well as Hamp 1976 *F* L Palmer:89 for an attempt to account for develop-

ments of the root.

P 1959:467-69.

Q12. qrammiþa fō ἰκμάς *moisture*, only acc sg L 8.6. If not misspelling for **krammiþa*, *qr* presupposes an otherwise unattested PIE cluster *k^{w}r-* or *kwr-*, Moulton 1972:147,167; cf also E Zupitza 1896:149.

OI *krammr* adj *damp, sticky wet, partly thawed (snow)*. Lat *gramiae viscous humor that collects in corner of the eye*, cf gloss *oculi grammōsi rheumy eyes*; also OSl *grъměždь* (same), Ernout and Meillet 1967:280; W/H 1938-56 II:617. Lith *gérti drink, griñsti sink under (water)*; OSl *gręza dung* Grienberger 1900:174; Berneker 1908-14:350; but see Fraenkel 1962-65:148-49,169, without Go reference; overtly rejected, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:304-05.

P 1959:405

Q13. qums m(i) ἐπιφάνεια *arrival* 1T 6.14, παρουσία *presence* 1C 16.17, *arrival* 2C 7. 6, *Second Coming* 1Th 4.15.

OE *cyme*, OFris *keme arrival*, OS *kumi advent*, OHG *ūf-chumi* m *origin*; OI *kvama* f, OHG *c(h)umft* stf *arrival*; cf also ***ga-qumþs**, **qiman**.

R

R1. rabbei = ῥαββεί *teacher, rabbi* J 6.25; from Heb title of respect, *rabb-î my master, teacher*; *rabbaunei* ῥαββουνί *teacher, rabbi*, only Mk 10.51; from Heb title for religious leaders, *rabbūnī our teacher* E Klein 1966-67: 1293.

R2. ragin *na* γνώμη *opinion* (before a decision, F Kauffmann 1923 ZDP 49:48) 1C 7. 25, δόγμα *law, decree* Col 2.14, οἰκονομία *task, responsibility* Col 1.25; *ragineis* m*ja* σύμβουλος *counselor* R 11.34, βουλευτής *council member (of the Sanhedrin)* Mk 15.43, ἐπίτροπος *steward, guardian* G 4.2; **fidur-ragini* n*ja* τετραρχοῦντος *being tetrarch*, only dat sg *-nja* L 3.1; **raginon* wkvII ἡγεμονεύειν *govern, counsel*, only dat sg m papl *-inondin* L 2.2,3.1; **ga-raginon* συμβουλεύειν *advise*, only 3sg prt *-inoda* J 18.14. See also **ga-rehsns**, ***rahnjan**; ***raihts**.

Run *ragina-ku(n)do* (Noleby, Krause 1966 I:148-51, Antonsen 1975:55) *stemming from the (divine) advisers* Krause 1971:41,132. OI *regin* n pl *gods, the advising ones*; *ragnarǫk fate, death of the gods, end of the world*; OE *regn-* *very great*, as in *regn-weard mighty guard*; OS *regan(o)-giskapu* n pl *divine destiny*; OHG only in proper names. PeN's Go *Ragnaris, Ragnahilda*, OE *Reginald*, OHG *Reginhart*, MHG *Reinhart, Reinhold*, Ven [?] *Raginevios*, Rhaetic tablet from Magrè *Raginna*, Kretschmer 1951 ZVS 69:17,19,24; OHG *Reginmund*, Förstemann 1900:1236. See also OI *ragna* wkv *practice magic, conjure*; OE *regnian* wkv *prepare, determine*.

PIE *rēk-* *arrange*: Skt *racanam institution, order*; OSl *roks set time*, Russ *rok destiny, fate*; TochA *rake*, B *reki word*.

P 1959:863.

R3. *rahnjan wkvI ψηφίζειν *reckon, calculate* L 14.28, ἡγεῖσθαι *think, consider* Ph 2.6, λογίζεσθαι *count, look upon, evaluate* R 8. 36; **faura-rahnjan* προηγεῖσθαι *lead the way, outdo*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* R 12.10; **ga-rahnjan* τιμᾶν *set a price on, value at*, only 3pl prt *-nidedun* M 27.9.

Only forms with *-k-* in the other Gmc dialects: OE *recenian*, OFris *rek(e)nia*, MLG *rekenen reckon*†; OHG *rehhenon* wkv *order, direct, prepare*; also OI *rǫk* n pl *exposition, course, fate*, OE *racu*, OS *raka*, OHG *rahha* stf *situation, talk*; OHG *ruohha* st/wkf *care*, with denom verb OI *røkja*, OE *rēcan*, OS *rōkian*, OHG *ruohhen* wkv *care about*.

Alternate PIE *-k* : *-g* from suffix to a root *ger-* as in Gk ὀρέγω *reach* Benveniste 1935a: 152. Forms with *-k* in Skt *racáyati produces*, OSl *rešti say, račiti want*; TochA *rake*, B *reki*, pl *rekauna word*; on semantic connection between 'say' and 'reckon', cf OHG *zalōn reckon, count, tell*, NE *tell* as in 'tell time'.

Forms with PIE *reĝ-* *extend, guide*: Skt *ṛjyati, ṛñjáti stretch, hasten*, Av *rāzayeiti direct*; Gk ὀρέγω *reach*; Lat *regō direct, rule*; MIr *rigim stretch out*; Lith *rėžti stretch*; also Skt *rāj-* under **reiks**, ***rikan**, ***raihts**.

P 1959:863,854-57.

R4. *raidjan wkvI ὀρθοτομεῖν *establish, correctly determine, interpret*, only 3sg prt *-dida* Sk 3.14 / IIIc.1, acc sg m prpl *-djandan* 2T 2.15; **ga-raidjan* διατάσσειν *arrange, decree, order*, only 3sg prt *-dida* 1C 16.1, Tit 1.5, marginal gloss on *faura-galeikaida* προέθετο *preordained* E 1.9A; **ga-raiþs* adj*a* only nom sg n *garaid sijai* διατεταγμένον L 3.13, wkf *garaidon* Sk 1.19 / Ic.15 *arranged, commanded*; *ga-raideins fi/ō* διαταγή *ordinance* R 13.2, δόγμα *rule, decree* E 2.15, κανών *limits, sphere* 2C 10.15; *witodis garaideins* νομοθεσία *giving of the law* R 9.4.

OI *reiða weigh, pay, prepare*; *g-reiða* *arrange, prepare, make*, OE *ge-rādian reckon with, arrange, dispose, ge-rædan*, OFris *bi-rēda*, MLG *rēden*, MHG *ge-reiten* wkv *prepare*; OI *reiðr ready, finished*, OE *ge-rād wise, clever*,

ready; OE *rǣde*, OFris *rēde*, MLG *(ge)rēd(e)*, OHG *reiti*, NHG *bereit ready*†. See also ***ga-redan** aim at.*

PIE *rēy-dh-*, an extension of PIE *(a)re-*, *rēy fit together*; reflexes of the extended form only in Latvian *riedu*, *rist put in order*. Possibly also OIr *rēid level, easy*, Wel *rhwydd easy* Vendryès 1959-:R-16-17, who suggests further relation to PIE *reydh- ride, go by vehicle*, as in OIr *rīad* n *travel by vehicle or by horse*, OIr *riadait they travel*, Gaul (-Lat) *rēda wagon*, *rēdarius driver of a wagon*, *parave-rēdus additional horse* (→ NHG *Pferd*, Fr *palefroi palfrey*†); also OI *reiδ*, OE *rād* f *traveling*, OHG *reita* stf *wagon*; OI *rīda*, OE *rīdan*, OHG *rītan* stv *ride*†, *travel* Vendryès 1959-:R-26; problematic, though bases with long diphthongs such as *-ēy-* may have these reduced to *-ey-*.

P 1959:60,861.

R5. *raihts adj*a* εὐθύς *straight*, only dat sg *-tamma* L 3.5, acc pl f *-tos* L 3.4, Mk 1. 3; *raihtaba* adv ὀρθῶς *rightly, correctly* L 7.43; *raihtis* adv (gen of ***raihts**) γάρ *indeed, to be sure* L 14.28; *raihtis ... iþ* μέν ... δέ *on the one hand ... on the other hand* M 9.37; cf *allis to be sure*, gen of **alls**. *ga-raihts* adj*a* δίκαιος *just, righteous* M 5.45; *ga-raihtaba* adv δικαίως *justly, with right* 1C 15.34; *ga-raihtei* f*n* δικαιοσύνη *justice, righteousness* 2T 4.8B, M 5. 20, δικαίωμα *order, command* L 1.6; ***un-garaihtei*** only dat sg *-tein* 2C 6.14 ἀνομία *lawless, unjust*; *ga-raihtiþa* f*ō* δικαιοσύνη *justice, righteousness* J 16.8; ***ga-raihteins** f*i/ō* ἐπανόρθωσις *correcting of faults*, only dat sg *-nai* 2T 3.16; *ga-raihtjan* wkvI δικαιοῦν *prove right* 2C 4.4, κατευθύναι *make straight, direct* 1Th 3.11, 2Th 3.5; ***at-garaihtjan** ἐπιδιορθῶσαι *set in order*, only 2sg opt *-tjais* Tit 1.5; cf also **raidjan**.

OI *rēttr* (*u*-stem); elsewhere *-a-*; OE, OFris *riucht*, OS, OHG *reht* adj *good, true, right*†; OS, OHG *rehto* adv *rightly*; *rehtes* adv *by all means*. OI *rēttr* m *law, legal claim*; *rētti* f *direction*; OE *riht*, OFris *riucht* OS *reht*; OHG *reht* stn *right, justice*; OI *rētta*, OE *rihtan*, OFris *riuchta*, OS *rihtian* wkv *direct, rule, lead*.

PIE *reĝ-*, *reĝ-to/u-*: Av *rašta-*, OPers *rāsta straight (way)*; Lat *rēctus straight, upright*; OIr *recht law, authority*; PeN *Rectu-genus*, Vendryès 1959-:R-12-13; cf Lat *rēx king, priest who traced out the line for cities*, *regiō region (point reached in a straight line)*, *regō direct*; Gk ὀρέγω *reach after, stretch (out) in a straight line* Benveniste 1973:307-12; see also ***rikan**.

P 1959:854-57, Watkins 1985:54.

R6. raka ῥακά *fool*, only M 5.22; term of reproach from Aram *rēqā*, *rēq empty, frivolous* E Klein 1966-67:1294.

R7. Ranja PeN (*Router*), on Dahmsdorf spearhead; assumed to be East Germanic, though not necessarily Go; cf *urrannjan cause to run* Antonsen 1975:31-32; Krause 1966 I:77; designation of spear, like Run *Raunijaz* PeN (*Tester*), on Övre Stabu spearhead; cf OI *reynir tester*, *reyna test, try*; OI *raun*, OFris *rān investigation* Antonsen 1975:29, Krause 1966 I:76; cognate in PeN ***Rani-mir***, Grienberger 1898 ANF 14:116, OI *rani boar's snout* R Henning, ed 1889:4 with references in F 1939:393-94.

R8. rasta f*ō* μίλιον *stretch of the way, mile*, only acc sg M 5.41; equivalent of two leagues, Gaul *leugas*, one being equal to 1500 Roman paces.

OI *rǫst rest, mile*, OE *ræst*, *rest*, OS *rasta*, *resta*, OHG *resta* stf *rest*†, *peace*; cf also OI *rō*, OE *rōw*, MDu, MLG *rouwe*, OHG *ruowa*, NHG *Ruhe* stf *rest, peace*.

Etymology obscure; scarcely to OIr *āros*, *ārus residence*, itself obscure in origin, Vendryès 1959-:A-90; nor to Gk ἐ-ρωή *rest* Frisk 1960-72 I:573, Chantraine 1968-80:378. Entry in P 1959:338-39 needs revision. See also **razn**.

R9. raþjo f*n* λόγος *account, explanation* L 16.2, ἀριθμός *number, count* J 6. 10, R 9.27; ***ga-raþjan**, only nom pl n papl *-þana* ἀριθμεῖν *count* M 10.30.

OFris *rethe*, OS *reðia*, OHG *reda* stf

speech, word, account, redina stf ***account, explanation***; OS ***reðion***, OHG ***redinōn*** wkv ***speak, say***, OS ***reðinon give account***. Cf also PGmc ***raða number***; OI ***-raðr*** in ***hundraðr***, ME ***hundred hundred***, Lat ***ratum calculated*** Skeat 1910:282,500, Polomé 1972:62; ablaut variant, OI ***-rœðr*** in ***ald-rœðr old***, ***ātt-rœðr eighty-year-old*** Vries 1962:457; cf also Torp and Falk, eds 1909:336.

PIE ***ar-, rē-, rə-, rǐ- fit together***: Lat ***reor think, calculate, count***, papl ***ratus counted, ratiō account, rītus rite, use, custom***; OIr ***rīm number, rīmid counts***, Wel ***rhif number, rhifo count, cyf-rif count, recount, narrate***; Lith ***rindà row, line***, Latvian ***rīdā, rīdams in rows***; PGmc ***-reim-a-***, Seebold 1970:370, OI ***rīm calculation, calendar***, OE ***rīm***, OHG ***rīm*** stm ***number, calculation***; OE ***rīman***, OHG ***rīmen*** wkv ***count, number***. See also ****raidjan***, ****ga-redan***, ***rodjan***. Taken as loan from Lat ***ratiō account, calculation*** by Bréal 1892 MSLP 7: 137-38, rejected by F 1939:394 on grounds of derivative ****ga-raþjan***; W Schulze 1966:511 fn2 ambivalent.

P 1959:555-61,192.

R10. *raþs ***easy***, only comp n ***raþizo*** εὐκοπώτερου L 18.25.

OE ***ræd, ræþ*** adj ***quick, lively, clever***; ***rade, raðe***, OHG ***rado*** adv ***quick, dexterous***; ***gi-rado suddenly***; cf parallel OI ***hraðr*** adj ***fast, hraða*** wkv ***drive, hurry***; OE ***hræd, hrade*** adj ***quick, hurried*** Vries 1962:250. Not here OI ***rǫskr*** adj ***able, clever, brave***; related rather to Skt ***vardhate grow***; Gk ὀρθός ***straight*** Vries 1962: 458; cf ****ga-wrisqan***.

Etymology unclear. F 1939:394 skeptical of the relation by Torp and Falk, eds 1909:336 to PIE ***reth- roll, run***; Skt ***ráthas***, Av ***raþō carriage, cart***; Lat ***rota wheel***; Lith ***rãtas wheel***, pl ***rãtai cart***; Ir ***roth***, OHG ***rad***, NHG ***Rad wheel***; OIr ***rethim run***, which Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:293 questioned, Vendryès 1959-:R-23 puts with PIE ***reth-***. Although no comparable adjectives are made from the root, the semantic development is plausible and admitted by P 1959:866.

R11. raupjan wkvI only inf M 2.23, 3pl prt ***raupidedun*** L 6.1 τίλλειν ***pluck, pick (ears of grain to eat)***.

Gmc ****reup-***: OE ***rīepan pluck***, OS ***rōpian***, OHG ***roufen*** wkv ***reap†, pluck, pull out***; also with gemination, OI ***ruppa*** wkv ***pluck out, plunder, pillage***; ME ***ryppen***, NHG ***rupfen***, NE ***rip pluck, pull up***.

PIE ***rew- tear up, tear out***: Skt ***rutá-broken***; Lat ***ruō fall down***; MIr ***rūam spade***; with numerous suffixes: ***-b-***, Lat ***rubus bramble-bush*** (on which one is torn), ***rūbidus raw***; ***-p-*** , Specht 1944 ZVS 68:125; Skt ***rúpyati have severe abdominal pain***; Lat ***rumpō break***; see ****bi-raubon***. Older speculation cited in F 1939: 395.

P 1959:868-71.

R12. raus na κάλαμος ***reed*** M 11.7.

OI ***reyrr*** m, MLG, OHG ***rōr*** stn ***reed, rōra*** st/wkf ***reed, cane***; probably also Sw ***rysja***, Dan ***ruse***, MLG ***rüse***, OHG ***riusa reed***. Compare OE ***ryse***, MDu, MLG ***rusc***, MHG ***rusch(e)*** f ***rush†***; these possibly from PIE ***resg- plait, wind***, as in Skt ***rájjus***, Lat ***restis rope***, Lith ***rèzgti plait, rẽzgė wicker basket***, Fraenkel 1962-65: 713, W/H 1938-56 II:431, P 1959:874. Etymology unclear; may be taken over from non-IE source.

R13. *rauþs adj*a* ***red***, only dat sg ***raudai*** Sk 3.16 / IIIc.8-9.

OI ***rauðr*** (→ ME ***rauþ***, NE GN and PeN ***Rawcliffe, Roecliffe***, Vries 1962:435); OE ***rēad***, OFris ***rād***, OS ***rōd***, OHG ***rōt*** adj ***red†***; also OI ***rjōðr***, OE ***rēod reddish***; OI ***roð(i)*** m, OE ***rudu*** f ***redness***; OI ***roðra*** f ***blood***; OE ***ā-reodigen, ā-ryderian*** 'erubescere' ***redden***; OI ***ryðr*** m ***rust***.

PIE ***rowdho-***: Lat dial ***rūfus, rōbus***; Umbr acc pl ***rofu***, OIr ***ruad***, Wel ***rhudd***, Gaul PeN ***Roudus***, Lith ***raũdas***, OSl ***rudz red***; PIE ***rudhro-***: Skt ***rudhirás***; Gk ἐρυθρός ***red***, ἐρεύθω ***redden***; Lat ***ruber***, Umbr acc pl ***rufru***; OSl ***rzdrz***; TochA ***rtärye, rätraṃ***, B ***rätre red***.

Only color word attested in nearly all the

IE languages; **rudhró-* common IE, **rowdho-* later formation takes over in Gmc, Celt, Balt, but coexists with old form in Ital, Sl, Porzig 1954:194-95.

P 1959:872-73, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:422,711.

R14. razda *fō* γλώσσα R 14.11, 1C 14. 23, λαλία M 26.73 *tongue, speech, language, dialect.*

OI *rǫdd voice, speech,* OE *reord voice, language, speech,* OHG *rarta* stf *sound, voice, harmony.*

Etymology obscure. Older suggestions now doubted or rejected; Skt *rásati roar* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:47-48; Lith *rieti scold loudly, bite, rojóti crow at the wrong time* Fraenkel 1962-65:732-33; comparing **huzd**, F 1939:396 tentatively relates to **rodjan** *speak*, with PIE *redh-tā* → *rəd-dhā* → **rəz-dhā* → Go *razda.*

R15. razn *na* οἶκος, οἰκία *house* Mk 11.17, M 7.24; **ga-razna mn* J 9.8, **ga-razno fn* γείτων *neighbor* L 15.9. Orig 'lodging, inn', and related to **rasta**, according to Meringer 1904 IF 16:142.

OI *rann*, OE *ærn, ræn, ren* n *house, dwelling* Weyhe 1905 BGDSL 30:55ff; OFris *fia-ern animal barn*; cf also OE *ræsn* n *board, beam* Wood 1914 MLN 29:72. OI *granni* m, *granna* f *neighbor.* Finn *rahna lath* is possibly a loan from Gmc, Karsten 1928:182.

Etymology unclear; possibly from PIE *erə-, rē- rest.*

P 1959:339.

R16. reda name of the *r*-rune in Sal; = Go **raida*, OI *reið ride, vehicle*, OE *rād riding, travel* (NE *road, raid*), OFris *rēd*, OS *rēda*, OHG *reita* stf *vehicle, battle wagon*; cf ***raidjan**, Bugge 1905-13:46; Arntz 1944:195-96 interprets PGmc *raiðō* to mean *journey of death, to the underworld*, for which there is little evidence, Lieber 1982:111-119 takes it as *wagon of the gods.*

R17. *reiki *nia* ἀρχή *realm, authority* 1C 15.24, L 20.20; may be derived from **reiks** with *-ja-*; derived verb *reikinon* wkvII, only inf Mk 10.42, 3sg prs *-inoþ* J 14.30, R 15.12 ἄρχειν *rule*; cf also *fraujinon, þiudanon*, **waldan**, Lloyd 1979:285.

OI *rīki*, OE *rīce*, OFris *rīke*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rīh(h)i* stn *power, kingdom*, cf NHG *Reich*, NE *(bishop)-ric.* OI *rīkja*, OE *rīcsian*, OHG *rīh(h)isōn* wkv *be powerful, rule.* Possibly borrowed from Celt **rīgiom*, as in the Gaul GN *Ico-rigiom*; cf OIr *rīge* = Skt *rājyam royalty*, Lat *rēgius royal* Vendryès 1959-:R-25, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:751.

R18. reiks *mcons* ἄρχων *ruler* M 9.18, *ma* gen sg *-kis* M 9.23, Trutmann 1972:20,27, B/E 1981:83; **reikeis* adj *ia* τῶν ἐντίμων *the nobles*, only gen pl m *-kjane* Neh 6.17; superl **-kists* m ἄρχων, ἀρχιερεύς *noblest, highest*, only dat sg *-kistin* Mk 3.22, J 18.22; cf also ***reiki**, ***Friþa-reikeis.**

OI *rīkr mighty, powerful*; PeN's *Alrīkr, Gunnrīkr, Heiðrīkr*, Vries 1962:446; *ja*-extension as in **reikeis*, OE *rīce*, OFris *rīke*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rīh(h)i*, NHG *reich* adj *rich†, powerful*, OE *rīca ruler.*

Lith *rỹkis ruler*, loan from OPruss *rikijs lord*, itself a loan from Gmc, Fraenkel 1962-65: 733; on borrowed status of Go *reiks*, ***reiki**, *andbahti*, Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7: 288-90, Evans 1981 BBCS 29:230-55, WP Lehmann 1986 *F* Gimbutas; loan from Celt *-rīx*, cf Gaul PeN *Dumno-rīx, Vercingeto-rīx*, Gmc *Ermana-rīcus*; on root stem origin, Ross and Thomson 1976 IF 81:176-79.

PIE *rēĝ-s ruler*: Skt *rā́t, rāja*, Lat *rēx*, OIr *rī king* Benveniste 1973:307-12 as a religious leader; on IE words for 'leader', Meillet 1932 *F* Glotz:587-89; cf also ***raihts**, ***rikan.**

P 1959:854-57.

R19. *reiran wkvIII τρέμειν *tremble, shake*, only nom sg f prpl *-ndei* L 8.47, Mk 5. 33; **in-reiran*, only 3sg prt *-reiraida* M 27.51 σείεσθαι *fall to quaking* Lloyd 1979:87; *reiro fn* σεισμός *earthquake*, τρόμος *trembling* Mk 16.8.

F 1939:397 accepted no Gmc cognates; but Flasdieck 1935 Anglia 59:139,182 placed **reiran* from **rei-rēi-* beside OE *rārian*, OHG

rēren roar† ← **roy-rēy-*; also, OI *rōmr* m *voice*; *rāmr* adj *hoarse*; *remja* wkv *roar* Vries 1962: 433.

PIE *rey- roar, howl*, an onomatopoeic root: Skt *rāyati bark*; Lith *rieti shout, bark at*; lengthened grade *rojóti unorderly, crowing (of the rooster) at the wrong time*; Latvian *riêt bark at, bite*; OSl *rarь*, Russ *raj sound, noise*; *rajatь resound, ring* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:55; Fraenkel 1962-65:732-33; similarly onomatopoeic, with iconic reduplication, Skt *lelāyati move to and fro, tremble* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:112 not from PIE; yet possible older 3sg form *lelāya* taken as evidence for inherited character of this Go wkvIII class verb from a perfect rather than **-ē-* with active endings, Jasanoff 1978:71-72 fn27. Parallel reduplicated forms with similar semantic motivation in Gmc: OI *titra*, OHG *zittern tremble*; OI *bifa*, OE *beofian*, OS *bibōn*, OHG *bibēn*, *bibōn* wkv *quake*, beside Skt *bhāyate*; OSl *bojǫ sę be afraid* (cf J Wackernagel 1907 ZVS 41:305-09 on the innovating character of Skt prs reduplication); supporting PIE *-ī* as redupl vowel, W Schulze 1966:332 compared Gk *πίπτω fall*; Narten 1981 Sprache 27:10-12 nevertheless rejects **reiran* as evidence for **rei-r(ei)-* (P 1959:862) rather than secondary root **reir-(ei)-* (W/P 1927-32 II:349). Neither etymology solves the question how original onomatopoeic forms respond to systematic dialect changes and renewed onomatopoeic formation at later stages.

P 1959:862; W/P 1927-32 II:342,349.

R20. rign na βροχή *rain*, only nom sg M 7.25,27; **rignjan* wkvI βρέχειν *to rain*, only 3sg prs *rigneiþ* M 5.45, 3sg prt *rignida* L 17. 29.

CrimGo *reghen* 'pluvia' *rain* Stearns 1978: 149 (spelling may reflect MDu *reghen*); OI *regn* n, OE *regn*, OFris *rein*, OS *regin*, OHG *regan* stm; OI *rigna*, OE *rignan*, OFris *reinia*, OHG *reganōn* wkv *rain*†, *beregenōn rain upon*; cf also OI *raki* m *dampness, moisture* Vries 1962:432, 437. Question whether gender difference supports East-West Gmc dialect division, W Schulze 1966:476, or what criteria other than phonological bear on questions of dialect division, Kufner 1972:75.

Etymology uncertain. PIE *reĝ/ḱ-nó-*, Lith *rõkė drizzling rain, rõkti rain following a heavy fog*; ablaut variants *rūkas fog, rūkti become smoky, dusty* Fraenkel 1962-65:742; W/H 1938-56 II:435 relate Lat *rigāre moisten, irrigate*, yet rejected as without etymology by Ernout and Meillet 1967:573-74; Gk βρέχω, βροχή *rain* Chantraine 1968-80:195; possibly Alb *rrjedh flow* G Meyer 1889 BKIS 14:55, Huld 1984:110.

P 1959:857.

R21. *rikan stvV σωρεύειν *heap up*, only 2sg prs *rikis* R 12.20; caus **uf-rakjan* wkvI ἐκτείνειν *reach out, extend*, ἐπισπάσθαι *stretch (the skin) back over, remove the marks of circumcision* 1C 7.18, nom sg m prpl *-jands* M 8.3, 2sg imp *-kei* L 5.13; **rahton* wkvI *offer, present*, denom from **rahta*, only 3sg pass *rahtoda* 2C 9.1.

ME *reken*, OFris *reka*, MLG *reken*, MHG *rechen stoke (rake) a fire*; OI, OS *reka* f, MLG *reke*, OHG *rehho* m *rake*; with ablaut, OE *raca* m, MDu, MLG *rake*, OS *raka* f *rake*†; OI *raka*, MLG *raken* wkv *sweep together*. Also OE *recan* stv *go, move, bring*, *recen* adj *ready, quick*; *racu* f *explanation, report*; *racian* wkv *rule, hurry*. OI *rekja stretch, extend*, OE *reccan stretch out, rule*, OFris *rēka*, *rētza reach*†, *give*, OS *rekkian explain*, MDu *recken reach, guide*, OHG *re(c)chan* wkv *stretch out, explain* Gonda 1956 ZVS 73:162-62. Ablaut variants, OI *rækja*, OS *rōkian*, OHG *ruohhen* wkv *care for*; OE *reahtian* wkv *discuss, thrash out*; cf also **raihts*.

PIE *reĝ- extend, stretch out*, with many derivatives, Gonda 1956 ZVS 73:151-67: Skt *ṛjyati*, *ṛñjáti*, *ṛñj- stretch out (in a projecting sense), direct, ráji line*, *ṛjrá- quick*; Gk ὀρέγω *stretch*; Lat *regere direct in a straight way, rule*; OIr *rigim stretch out*; Lith *réžti stretch*, intensive *rąžýti*, Latvian *riêzt stretch upward*, *ruôzît stretch, extend* Fraenkel 1962-65:726;

TochAB *räk- cover*. On identity of PIE *reg- heap up, reg- arrange* Meringer 1904-05 IF 17: 145; combined in P 1959. Cf **reiks**. P 1959:854-57; Seebold 1970:373-74.

R22. *rimis (na) ἡσυχία *rest*, only dat sg *-sa* 2Th 3.12.

No Gmc cognates according to F 1939: 398, who rejects Torp and Falk, eds 1909:339, OI *ramr garret (room)*, MLG *rame chimney*, OHG *rama* f *stand, frame*, tentatively accepted by Vries 1962:432-33.

PIE *rem- rest, support*: Skt *rámate rest*, Av *rāmayeiti calm, rāman- peace, rest*; Gk ἠρεμέστερος, *s*-stem comp of ἥρεμος *peaceful* Chantraine 1968-80:416; on prefixed ἠ- Čop 1956 ZVS 74:228; OIr *fo-rimim put, place*, cf Vendryès 1959-:R-31; Zimmer 1879 ZVS 24: 212; Lith *rãmas rest, peace, rẽmti support* Fraenkel 1962-65:695.

P 1959:864.

R23. rinck CrimGo **ringo** 'annulus' *ring*.

Not attested in Biblical Go; OI *hringr*, OE *hring*, OFris, OS *hring*, OHG *(h)ring* stm *ring*†; Stearns 1978:149; initial *h-* lost before cons, as in **lachen**.

Derived from PIE *(s)ker- turn, bend*, as in Lat *curvus curved*, with PIE *-gh-* and nasal infix, *(s)krengh-*: Umbr *krenkatrum, cringatro* 'cingulum' *shoulder-band* W/H 1938-56 I:233-34; OSl *krǫgz circle, krugls round* Berneker 1908-14:626.

Borrowed as Finn *rengas*, gen *renkaan* f *ring* Thomsen 1870:165, Karsten 1915:18.

R24. *rinnan stvV τρέχειν *run, walk, go*, 3sg prt *rann* Mk 5.6, 2pl prt *runnuþ* G 5.7; **and-rinnan* διαλέγεσθαι *discuss, debate, dispute*, only 3pl prt *-runnun* Mk 9.34, Sk 3.6 / IIIa.20-21; **at-rinnan* ἔρχεσθαι *run, come up*, only nom pl m prpl *-rinnandans* L 16.21; **bi-rinnan* κυκλοῦν *gather around, surround*, only 3pl prt *-runnun* J 10.24, nom pl m prpl *-ndans* Mk 6.55; **du-rinnan* προστρέχειν, προσέρχεσθαι *run up, approach*, only nom sg m prpl *-rinnands* M 8.2, nom pl m prpl *-rinnandans* Mk 9.15; **du-at-rinnan* προσδραμεῖν aor of προστρέχειν *run up*, only nom sg m prpl *-ands* Mk 10.17; **fair-rinnan* ἀφικέσθαι *reach, extend to*, only prpl E 5.4, 2C 10.13,14; **faur-rinnan precede, go before*, only dat sg m prpl *-rinnandin* Sk 3.11 / IIIb.15-16; **fra-rinnan* περιπίπτειν *meet up with (robbers)*, only 3sg prt *-rann* L 10.30; **ga-rinnan* συνέρχεσθαι *come together, meet* L 5. 15, καταντᾶν *come to, reach, attain* E 4.13, καταλαβεῖν *obtain, win* 1C 9.24, Lloyd 1979: 269, ἐπισυναγαγεῖν *gather* Mk 1.33, ὑπάγειν *go away, go one's way* J 12.11; **und-rinnan* ἐπιβάλλειν *fall to (by inheritance)*, only 3sg prs opt *-rinnai* L 15.12; **ur-rinnan* ἐξελθεῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι *come from / out of (God)* J 8.42, 15.26, ἀνατέλλειν *rise* Mk 4.6, ἀναβαίνειν *come up* L 2.4, ἥκειν *come* R 11.26, 3sg prs *-rinniþ* J 15.26, 3sg prt *-rann* J 11.44, 3pl *-runnun* J 12. 13; *bloþa-rinnands* nom sg m prpl Ver 7.13 (Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:489), f *-rinnandei* αἱμορροεῖν *suffer chronic bleeding* M 9.20, cf *runs bloþis flow of blood*, **runs**, **bloþ**; **ufar-ranneins* fi/ō *sprinkling*, only dat pl *-ranneinim* Sk 3.10 / IIIb.10; **ga-runjo* fn πλημμύρα *flood*, only dat sg *-jon* L 6.48 ; **ga-runs* fi ἀγορά *market*, ῥύμη *street* L 7.32; **rinno* fn χείμαρρος *torrent*, only acc sg *-on* J 18.1; see **ur-runs**.

PGmc *renn-a-* ← **ri-nw-*: OI *rinna*, OE *iernan, iornan*, seldom without metathesis, *rinnan*, OFris *rinna*, OS, OHG *rinnan* stv *runt, flow*; also caus OI, OFris *renna*, OE *ærnan*, OS *rennian*, OHG *rennan*, wkv *cause to run*; OI *runi*, OE *ryne*, OFris *run*, OHG, NE *run* m *stream*, *runs* stm *tide, runsa* stf *stream*. **ur-rannjan* wkvI Gk ἀνατέλλειν *make (the sun) rise*, only 3sg prs *-neiþ* M 5.45.

PIE *er- : or- : ṛ* with various suffixes, among them *-nu-*; Skt *ṛṇóti, ṛṇváti arises, moves*; Gk ὄρνυμαι *begin*, ὄρνῡμι *excite, set in motion*, but see Chantraine 1968-80:824 on difficulties of Gk vocalism; OIr *renn rapid* Vendryès 1959-:R-20; Arm *y-arnem get up, rise*; Alb *jerm* ← **er-no- delirium*; Hitt *arnu-*

set in motion, bring; on relation of forms with *-i-*: Gk ὀρίνω *stir* Frisk 1960-72 II:417-18, hesitant; Lat *orior rise, get up*, Arm *ari arise*; Hitt *arai- arise, rouse, check* Kammenhuber 1973:218-19, Puhvel 1982 JAOS 102:178, 1984-:127, Chantraine 1968-80:820. Gmc forms reflect PIE *rey-* or *re-nu-*: Skt *rṇvati cause to flow* Prokosch 1939:85, or possibly *raṇvati* old prs subj of *ṛṇóti*, Kuiper 1937:94; see also Skt *rināti cause to flow*; citing this, Lühr 1976 MSzS 35:73-92 ascribes Go *-nn-* to PIE *-nH-*. OSl *rinǫti thrust, iz-ronitь pour out*, Russ *ronitь let fall* Persson 1912:768-72,772 fn1. Forms without *-n-*: Skt *ríyate begin to flow, rayas flood*; Lat *rivus*; OE, OS *rīð* m *brook*; OIr *rían sea*, Gaul *Rēnos Rhine river*, see Vendryès 1959-:R-27; not Gk ῥαίνω *sprinkle* Chantraine 1968-80:965.

P 1959:326-32, Seebold 1970:375-77.

R25. rintsch CrimGo 'mons' *mountain* Stearns 1978:150.

Nor dial *rind(e) ridge, crest of hill*, and with different ablaut vowel OI *rǫnd*, OE *rand*, OHG *rant* m *edge, rim, shield rim*. Possibly from PGmc *ram- support*, + dental suffix, Vries 1962:458; cf OI *rimi ridge*, OE *rima* m *rim†, coast*, thus ultimately to PIE *rem- support*; cf ***rimis**.

R26. riqis (gen *riqizis*) na σκότος, σκοτία *darkness* M 8.12; ***riqizjan*** wkvI σκοτισθῆναι *grow dark*, only 3sg prs *-zeiþ* Mk 13.24; ***riqizeins*** adja σκοτεινός *dark* M 6.23.

OI *røkkr* n *darkness*; *røkkva* wkv *become dark*; *Deo Reqna-livahano* dat sg *to the god living in darkness* (inscription CIL XIII 8512 on the Blatzheim votive altar), Holthausen 1892 BGDSL 16:342-45, F Kauffmann 1894 BGDSL 18:190ff and Grienberger 1894 BGDSL 19:527ff as cmpd of cognates of *riqis* and **liban**, with slight variants, Schönfeld 1911:188.

PIE *reg^{w}-os* n *darkness*, *erg^{w}-*: Skt *rájas* n *fog, dust, rajasyáti darken*; Gk ἔρεβος *darkness of the underworld*, Hom ἐ-ρεβεννός (← *-σν-*), poetic ἐ-ρεμνός (μ ← β) *dark*; Arm *e-rek evening*; see Harl 1936 ZVS 63:17ff on the prothetic vowel in Gk; also Austin 1941 Lg 17: 83-92, Beekes 1969:36-37. Possibly related as well Gk ὄρφνη, TochA *orkäṃ darkness*; Frisk 1960-72 II:431-32 ambivalent.

P 1959:857, also 334.

R27. *riurs adj*i/ja* or ***riureis*** adj*ja* φθαρτός *destructible, perishable*, acc sg *-rjana* 1C 9.25, πρόσκαιρος *temporary* 2C 4.18, θνητός *mortal* 2C 4.11, φθειρόμενος *perishing* E 4.22; ***un-riurs*** ἄφθαρτος *imperishable, eternal, indestructible -rjana* 1C 9.25; ***riurei*** fn φθορά *destruction* G 6.8; ***un-riurei*** ἀφθαρσία *imperishability, immortality* 1C 15.50, *eternity* E 6.24; ***riurjan*** wkvI φθείρω *destroy*, only 3pl prs *-jand* 1C 15.33. On *-ri-*suffix see Kluge 1926:97.

OI *rýrr* adj *small, poor*; *rýra* wkv *diminish, degrade*; *rýrð* f *loss*; without *-r-*, OI *rý*, OE *rȳhe* f *rough wool coat, blanket*, OS *rūwi rough skin*, MHG *rūhe pelts, furs*; OE *rūh rough†, hairy*, MLG *rūwe*, OHG *rūh rough*. OI *rýja* wkv *pluck wool* Falk 1919:1, *rǫgg* f, *rǫggr* m *raw wool* ← PGmc *rawwō*, WP Lehmann 1952:43; NE *rag*.

PIE *rew- pull out, root out*: Gk ἐρυσί-χθων *digging up the earth*; Lat *ruō tear up, rŭtrum*, MIr *rūam spade*; Lith *ráuti tear out*, OSl *ryti dig*; also with suffixes, as in **raupjan**.

P 1959:868-71.

R28. rodjan wkvI λαλεῖν *talk, speak* M 9.18, J 7.18, λέγειν *talk, say* J 8.45, 1T 1.7; ***bi-rodjan*** (δια)γογγύζειν *mutter, complain*, 3 pl prt *-rodidedun* J 6.41; ***miþ-rodjan*** συλλαλεῖν *talk, converse with*, only 3pl prt *-didedun* L 9.30; ***un-rodjands*** prpl ἄλαλος *unable to speak, dumb* Mk 9.25; ***bi-rodeins*** *fi/ō* γογγυσμός *complaining* J 7.12; cf also ***ga-redan***; **raþjo**; other verbs of speaking, **qiþan**, ***maþljan**.

OI *ræða* wkv *talk*, *reða* f *conversation*, *radd-aðr talented at speaking*; NHG *reden talk*, formally with ***(ga-)raþjan** count*, semantically influenced by *rodjan*, Scardigli 1973:227; cf also the East-West Gmc dial division based on word choices such as this: **raþjo** cognates in

West meaning 'say, speak' expressed in Go and OI with *rodjan* cognates, W Schulze 1966:476; Scardigli 1973:226.

PIE *rē- : rō- : rə : rē-dh-(eyo-) prepare, give warning*: Skt *rādhnóti prepare, achieve, obtain*; *rā́dhyate is successful*; OIr *rād- say, speak*, MWel *ad-rawdd, ymad-rawdd narrate, describe*, Gaul *amraud thought* Vendryès 1959-:R-3; on semantic reanalysis of the caus (*-eyo-*) form, Porzig 1954:122, as in Lith *ródyti*, Latvian *rādît show, point to*; OSl *raditi take care, care for* Fraenkel 1962-65:741-42 prefers a different source.

P 1959:59-60; W/P 1927-32 I:73-75.

R29. *rohsns f*i* αὐλή *courtyard* J 18.15.

Etymology obscure. Based on Go **rok(j)an protect*, and cognate with Gk ἀρήγω *assist* (itself obscure, Frisk 1960-72 I:137) according to Grienberger 1900:176-77; hardly credible, as well as further relation to OI *rækja*, OS *rōkian*, OHG *ruohhen* wkv *bother about* Vries 1962:457. Nor to OE *reced* n, OS *rakud* m *house*, which has been connected with problematic Gk ῥογός *shed* and Skt *argala- bolt* Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:129-30, P 1959:64. F 1939:400 rejected relation with **ga-rehsns**. Little likelihood of a solution, in view of lack of Gmc cognates.

R30. *rum (m/n*a*) τόπος *room, space*, only gen sg *-mis* L 2.7; *rums* adj εὐρύχωρος *spacious, roomy*, only nom sg M 7.13; **ur-rumnan* wkvIV πλατύνειν *enlarge, widen, open wide*, only 2pl imp *-mnaiþ* 2C 6.13, 1sg prt *-mnoda*, variant with *us-* 2C 6.11.

OI *rūm*, OE *rūm* n, OS *rūm*, OHG *rūm* stm *room*†, *space*; OI *rūmr*, OE *rūm*, OFris, MLG, MHG *rūm spacious*; OHG *rūmi* adj *far, distant*; OI *rȳma make room, flee*, OE *rȳman*, OFris *rēma*, OS *rumian*, OHG *(h)rūmen, ruomen* wkv *leave, make room, go away*; NHG *räumen*.

PIE *rewə-, rū- open*; with Gmc *-ma- wide, roomy*: Av *ravō open space, ravas-čarāt- animals that roam (on foot)* as opposed to *fraptərəjāt- animals that move on the wing* Kellens 1974:253ff; Lat *rūs*, gen *rūris countryside*; OIr *rōe field, open land*; OPruss *arwis certain* Toporov 1975- I:111-12; OSl *ravьnь level*; TochAB *ru- open*. Not to Skt *urú-*, Av *vouruš*; Gk εὐρύς *wide, broad*, nor to Gk ἄρουρα *tilled land*, which belongs with ἀρόω *work*, Go **arjan plow* Chantraine 1968-80: 112-13.

P 1959:874.

R31. *Ruma GN = Lat *Rōma Rome*, only dat sg *Rumai*, variant *Romai* 2T 1.17; from Lat rather than Gk Ῥώμη, W Schulze 1966:528 fn14,533,534 fn2; **Rumoneis* EN nom pl = Lat *Rōmānī Romans*, only dat pl *Rumonim* as *i*-stem; signature to Letter to the Romans in Cod A. On date of loan and loan sound correspondances, E Schwarz 1951:21-22; M Jellinek 1926:182-83,185; Stender-Petersen 1927:484-85. Belongs to oldest layer of borrowings, Corazza 1969:39-40, with thorough discussion of Gmc *-ū-* from Lat *-ō-*, and proposed date of borrowing in first or second century.

OI *Rūma-borg Rome*, OHG *Rūm-liuti Romans*. Ven PeN *ruma.n.na* f, preserving **-nā-*form, Polomé 1957 *F* Kretschmer II:89 fn5 with reference to opposing views.

R32. runa f*ō* μυστήριον *mystery, secret* L 8.10, 1C 13.2, βουλή *plan* L 7.30, συμβούλιον *counsel* M 27.1; *ga-runi* n*ja* συμβούλιον *counsel, consultation*, acc sg Mk 3. 6.

Run *runaz* (Istaby), *-ronoz* (Stentoften), *runo* (Eikeland) f*ō* acc pl, *runono* (Stentoften), *runo* gen pl = OI *rūna* (Björketorp), Antonsen 1975:84,86,87; Krause 1971:117-18,164-65, 1966 I:47-48,209-19; Antonsen 1975:58-59 takes *runo* (Eikeland) as acc sg; Krause 1966 I:145 assumes *runoz*.

OI *rūn secret, magic sign, rune*, OE *rūn secret, advice, rune*†, *writing*; OS, OHG *rūna* stf *confidential talk, advice*; OHG *gi-runi* stn *secret*; cf also OI *rūni* m *trusted friend*; OE *gerūna* m *adviser*; OI *rȳna* wkv *hold a confidential conversation, carry out a rune spell*; OE

rūnian whisper; NE *round* (archaic); OS, OHG *rūnōn* wkv *whisper*. *Runilo* [woman's name], Weisweiler 1940 IF 57:41 fn1; cf also Sieberer 1950-52 Sprache 2:111-18 on *-l*-diminutives. OIr *rūn secret, mystery*, Wel *rhin secret, mystery, charm*, Bret *rin secret, wisdom*; vocabulary of Germano-Celt religious sphere, Vendryès 1959-:R-53-54; Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:175ff assumes Gmc borrowing from Celt; linguistic evidence unavailable for solution.

PIE problematic; cf Vries 1962:453-54 for proposals. F 1939:401 tentatively suggested relationship with Hom ἐρέω, ἐρέομαι *question*, ἐρεννάω *investigate*, for which Frisk 1960-72 I: 467-68 sees no cognates, with the possible exception of OI *raun* (Old West Norse) *attempt, investigation*, which Vries 1962:435,453 accepts as a possible cognate of *runa*; F 1939:401 also compared Lat *rūmor murmur, report*, which P 1959:867 derives from PIE *rĕw-, rū- bellow*, as in Skt *rāuti bellow*, placing *rūna* here as well; Vries 1962:453 objects, on semantic grounds. Vries also rejects Weber 1941 Archiv 178:1-6, who related WGmc *rūn castrated horse* and saw the origin in 'sign cut in wood'. For earlier proposals see Arntz 1944:294-96. Polomé 1972: 65, accepting etymology of Dumézil 1939:24 after Torbiörnsson 1904 *F* Noreen:255-57 (Gk Οὖρανος, Skt *Váruṇas*, PIE *wrunā*) and noting Gmc use of runes in divination to 'bind' magically, derives the word from PIE *ɣw-er- bind*, comparing Hitt *hurtaliya- chant a magical formula* and taking Gmc rather than Celt as source. Tischler 1983- I:308-12, however, takes Hitt *hurt-, huɣart curse* as cognate with **waurd** ← PIE *wer- speak*.

Other words having to do with writing in Go are **boka** *letter, script sign*; **meljan** *write*; ***stafs** *letter*; ***writs** *line, stroke*. **boka** refers to the substance. **meljan**, NHG *malen paint, Mal spot, stain, sign, mark* reflects the practice of coloring or marking with black to write, and, Go ***writs**, NHG *ritzen scratch*, NE *write*, reflects carving or cutting (into wood). Lith *piẽšti*, OSl *pьsati write*, with cognates in Lith *paĩšas spot of dirt, rust*, Skt *péśas form, color, ornamentation*, Gk ποικίλος, Go ***filu-faihs** *many-colored*, suggest a relation between writing and coloring or painting; cf Bezzenberger 1902 BKIS 27:176, H Kuhn 1938:54-73, Arntz 1944:280-97. Borrowed into Finnish as *runo (magical) poem*, today Finn *loitsoruno*, Thomsen 1870:167.

P 1959:867.

R33. runs m(i) δρόμος *race, course* 2T 4.7, ῥύσις *flow (of blood)* L 8.44,43; ***ga-runs** *fi* ἀγορά *market place*, ῥύμη *street*, only dat sg *garunsai* L 7.32, dat pl *garunsim* M 6.2, M 11. 16; ***ga-runjo** *fn* πλήμμυρα *flood*, only dat sg *-jon* L 6.48; cf also ***ga-rinnan** *come together, meet, obtain* Lloyd 1979:269; cf **ur-runs**.

OE *ryne*, OFris *rene* m *course, river, run*†; OHG *runs* stm *flowing water, flood*; OI *run*, OHG *run* n *water between two seas*; OI *runi* m *run, river*; *runr* m in *af-runr injury*. Zero grade of PIE *re-n(u)-*, see ***rinnan**.

S

S1. sa m dem οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος M 5.25, αὐτός, 20th most frequent word, *so* f, *þata* n; also translates Gk def art; + *-ei* in rel use, cf Delbrück 1893-1900 III:347-78; + *-h*, *-uh* = *and*; *sa-ƕaz-uh* *whoever* M 10.32, *þata-ƕah* *whatever* J 15.7.

Run *sa* (possibly Lindholm, Krause 1966 I: 69-70), *saz* (Björketorp, ibid:214-18); see also Noreen 1923:314-15, for late Run *sa-si*, *su-si*, *þat-si*; OI *sā*, *sū*, *þat*; OE *sē*, *þæt*, OFris *thet*, OS *that*, OHG *daz*, *that*†; also OI *þes-se*, OE *þes*, OHG *de-se*, *this*†, see Prokosch 1939:267-72 for other forms.

PIE *so*, *sā*, *tod*: Skt *sá sá-ḥ*, *sā́*, *tád*; Av *hā ho-*, *hā*, *taṯ*; Gk ὁ, Dor ὰ, Att ἡ, τό; OLat *sa-psa* 'ipsa' *that one*, acc *sum*, *sam*, *sōs*, *sās* 'eum' *him*, 'eam' *her*, 'eos', 'eas' *them*, cf W/H 1938-56 I:716-17; also Lat *topper* *quickly* ← **tod* + *per* *just then* W/H 1938-56 II:692; Celt *so-* in Gaul *so-sin nemeton* 'hoc sacellum' *this chapel*, OIr *no-sn-guid* *he asks her*, *imp-u* ← **imb-su* *around her* Pedersen 1909-13 II:171, 186ff; with modification, as in Gmc dialects, Lith *tàs* m, *tà* f, OSl *ts*, *ta*, *to*; Arm *-d*; cf Alb *ai* *he*, *ajo* she, *këto* f *this* Huld 1984:37,84-85; TochA *sä-m*, *sā-m* f, B *se*, *sā-u* f. Hitt has sentence introducing particles *su*, *ta-* to which the encl dem is added, *s-as*, *t-as*, *t-at*, J Friedrich 1960:63-64, Carruba 1969:56-63,106-108.

On the basis of Hitt E Sturtevant 1942:23-27 proposed origin in ptc *so*, *to* + encl dem; since the non-Hitt dialects all show conflation, he concluded it had occurred in PIE and that Hitt was a sister language to PIE, in this way proposing his Indo-Hittite hypothesis. Subsequent identification of such particles in other dialects, Skt *sa*, and of cmpds, Run *sa-si*, reduced the force of Sturtevant's proposal, so that few today adhere to it. On the syntactic use of the ptc, see WP Lehmann 1974:118-20 and Ivanov 1979:75-76, with references.

For the forms see Brugmann 1904b:20-32, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:313-21, Szemerényi 1980: 187-89. There has been considerable speculation on the reason for the two stems *s-* : *t-*, much of it with little substantiation, such as origin in an earlier ergative stage of PIE, Vaillant 1936 BSLP 37:[art]103.

P 1959:978-79,1086-87.

S2. *saban σινδών *fine linen*, only dat sg *-na*, M 27.59. Borrowed from Romans in older period, W Schulze 1966:509-11, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:2, M Jellinek 1926:181,185; also Corazza 1969:60-61; Lat *sabanum* ← Gk σάβανον, orig 'cloth from Saban, near Baghdad' H Lewy 1895:127, though Chantraine 1968-80: 983 opposes this origin on both historical and chronological grounds, without however proposing another source.

OHG *saban* stm *(linen) cloth, cotton garment.*

S3. sabbato foreign word, undeclined nom and dat, standing alone, J 9.14; with addition of **dags** also for other cases; also as *mi-* and *u*-stem, gen sg *sabbataus* L 18.12, dat pl *-tum* Col 2.16, *-tim* L 4.31, gen pl *-te* J 9.16; once, L 18.12, following the Gk in the meaning 'week', *fasta twaim sinþam sabbataus* νηστεύω δὶς τοῦ σαββάτου *I fast twice a week.*

Borrowed from the Gk dat sg σαββάτῳ, W Schulze 1966:514-16, of σάββατον (σάββατ), based on Aram-Heb *shabbāth* *day of rest* E Klein 1966-67:1369.

Go *sabbato dags*: OHG *sambaz-tac* *Saturday*, like OSl *sǫbota*, Rum *sămbătă*, Hung *szombat*, Pers *šamba* ← VulgarGk σάμβατον and VLat *sambatum*; G Meyer 1894 IF 4:326-33, W Schulze 1966:294, Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:137ff, Streitberg 1912-13 IF 31:323ff, on the meaning 'week', 1936:94-95,108-09; M Jellinek 1926:191 among others. VLat *sambatī diēs* → OFr *sambe-di*, Fr *samedi*.

In northwest Europe the designation cor-

responding to Lat *Saturni diēs* was maintained: OE *sæter(n(es)) dæg*, OFris *sāterdei*, Du *zaterdag*, LG *sōterdach*; Ir *dia Sathairn*, Wel *dydd Sadwrn Saturday*†.

S4. sada CrimGo 'centum' *100*, like OSl *sto*, Finno-Ugric *sada*, Finn *sata*, Jacobsohn 1922:203 fn2, Stearns 1978:150, borrowed from an Iran dialect; cf Oss *sædæ*, NPers *sad*, Av *satəm*, Skt *śatám 100*; cognate of ***hund**.

P 1959:192.

S5. sai adv ἴδε, ἰδού *behold* M 8.2, *sai nu* ἄρα οὖν *so then* E 2.19.

OHG *sēnu*, *see* = Gk ἰδού, like Go *sai*, *sēnu*, *sī-nu behold*; NHG *sę here, take* (Swabian; not to *sēn see*).

According to Grimm 1893:93, apocopated imp of **saihvan**; also W Horn 1923:35. W Schulze 1966:101 compares NI *sko* for ***skoda** *see*, and other parallels, as does Endzelin 1924 ZVS 52:117-18 from Balt, Öhmann 1924 NM 25:29 in Finn *kas* from ***katsvi***; Lith *vėi*, Latvian *vèi see*, to Lith *veizdėti see* Fraenkel 1962-65:1212.

According to L Meyer 1869:155,692, W/P 1927-32 II:509, a cmpd of **sa** + PIE deictic ptc ἴ in Gk οὑτοσ-ί *this*, νυν-ί *now*, Osc *iz-i-c* 'is' *he*, *idi-k* 'id' *that*, Umbr *po-ei* 'qui' *who*; OIr *-ī* to strengthen rel prn, W/P 1927-32 I:100; cf **ei**, W/P 1927-32 I:99, **ja** P 1959:285. Short vowel in Skt *iva* **as**; Hom ἰ-δέ beside ἠ-δέ *and*. Grienberger 1900:177-78 takes Go *sai* as loc to PIE *sa-* prn, as does Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:328 fn1. Opposed by Kieckers 1928:288, who like Grimm 1893:43-44 and Streitberg 1920:70, assumes two words *saí* and *sái*, the second being unexplained. See also Porterfield 1934 JEGP 33:212-13, M Johannessohn 1944 ZVS 68:1-32.

Osthoff 1882 BGDSL 8:311-12 compares *sai* to Skt *sēd* ← ***sá-id**; *id* = Lat *id* n, of PIE *ey-y-* prn, as in **is**.

S6. saian stvVII, reduplicating with ablaut, σπείρειν *sow, plant* L 8.5, 1sg prt *saiso*, nom pl m papl *saianans* Mk 4.16,18; ***in-saian** σπείρειν only nom sg n prpl *-no sown* in Mk 4. 15; **mana-seþs** (*seed of men*) κόσμος *world*; see B/E 1981:31 on phonological interpretation, 111,117 on forms. The stem vowel of *saian* was interpreted as *-ē-* by Möller 1880 BGDSL 7:469, Bremer 1886 BGDSL 11:51ff, with references, Gdr 1897-1916 I:284; as a diphthong *-ai-* by Jacobsohn 1916 ZVS 47:92-94, Streitberg 1920:75-76. On the problems of Class VII verbs see Coetsem 1964, Bech 1969, reviewed by Lindeman 1971 NTS 24:329-35, and also Lindeman 1968 NTS 22:48-71.

OI *sā*, prt *sera* = Go *saiso*, OE *sāwan*, OFris papl *sēn*, OS *sāian*, OHG *sā(w)en*, *sāhen* stv *sow*†.

PIE *sē(y)-* ← *se?-, *sī-*, *sei-* *cast, sow*: normal grade in Lith, Latvian *sėti*, OSl *sěti sow*; Lat *sēmen seed*, Lith *sėmens*, *sėmenys* pl *flax seed*; OPruss *semen*, OSl *sěmę*, OS, OHG *sāmo* wkm *seed*; OIr *sīl seed*, Lith *sėlena husk of a seed*; OI *sāś*, OS *sād*, OFris *sēd* stn *seed*†; zero grade in Lat *serō* ← ***sisō sow***, but perf *sēvī*, and papl *satum* : Wel *had seed*. Possibly also Ved *sīram plow* (*with an attachment for sowing*; see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:476).

Dubious, relationship with Gk ἵημι *throw, send*, Lat *iaciō throw* (like Gk τίθημι *set* : Lat *faciō make*), proposed by Curtius 1853 ZVS 2: 400, Osthoff 1901:198, Persson 1912:361,698, Petersen 1931 Lg 7:127-28 (Go *sai-so* = Dor ἀφ-έω-κα); rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:521-22, I:666-68, Chantraine 1968-80:458-59; Fraenkel 1962-65:778-79. See also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:688-89, who relate Hitt *sai-, saiya press down, sow*.

P 1959:889-92 relates ***sainjan**, ***seiþus**, Watkins 1985:56.

S7. saihs numeral ἕξ *six* L 4.25; *saihsta* ordinal numeral ἕκτος *sixth* L 1.36; ***saihs-tigjus** ἑξήκοντα *sixty*, only dat pl *-gum* 1T 5.9, cf ***fidwor-tigjus**.

CrimGo *seis*, Stearns 1978:152; OI *sex*, OE *si(e)x*, OFris *sex*, OS, OHG *sehs*, *six*†; OI *sētti*, OE *siexta*, OFris *sexta*, OS *sehsto*, OHG *seh(s)to*, *sixth*†; OI *sex tiger*, OE *siextig*, OS *sextig*, OHG *sehzug*, *sixty*†.

PIE *sweḱs*, *seḱs*, *ks(w)eks*, *weks*: Skt *ṣáṭ*,

ṣáṣ-, Av *xšvaš*; Gk ἕξ, Dor *ϝέξ*; Lat *sex*; OIr *sé*, Wel *chwech*; Lith *šeš-i*, OSl *šestь*; Arm *vec*; Alb *gjashtë*, Huld 1984:68; TochA *ṣäk*, B *ṣkas* *six*. Skt *ṣaṣṭhás*, Av *xštva-*; Gk ἕκτος; Lat *sextus*; OIr *sessed*, Wel *chweched*; Lith *šẽštas*, OPruss *uschts*; OSl *šests*; TochA *ṣkäṣt*, B *ṣkaste* *sixth*. Skt *ṣaṣṭí-*, Av *xšvašti-*; Gk ἑξήκοντα; Lat *sexāgintā*; MIr *sesca*; Arm *vatsun* *sixty*.

P 1959:1044, Watkins 1985:68.

S8. saihvan stvV βλέπειν, ὁρᾶν *see* M 6.1, 3sg prt *sahv*, 3pl *sehvun*, papl *(ga)saihvans*; **and-saihvan* σκοπεῖν *examine, note* G 6.1; **at-saihvan* προσέχειν *note* G 6.1, **bi-saihvan* περιβλέπεσθαι *look at, look around* L 20.23; **ga-saihvan* βλέπειν, ἰδεῖν *get to see* J 12.21; *in-saihvan* ἐπιβλέψαι *look upon* L 9.38; **þairh-saihvan* κατοπτρίζεσθαι *behold*, only nom pl m prpl *-hvandans* 2C 3.18; *us-saihvan* ἀναβλέπειν *look at/about* M 8.25; **un-saihvands* μὴ βλέπων *blind*, only nom pl prpl, used as adj *-hvandans* J 9.39; papl **un-ga-saihvans* ἀόρατος *invisible* 1T 1.17; cf **siuns**, ***ana-siuns**.

OI *sjā*, OE *sēon*, OFris *siā*, OS, OHG *sehan* stv *see*†.

No close parallels. Alb *shoh* *see* may be a borrowing from a Gmc language in the Balkans, such as Go, Loewe 1906 ZVS 39:312; but Thumb 1905-06 ZDW 7:266 fn5 takes it as from PIE *sek^{w}-sḱō*, Huld 1984:114-15 from **sok^{w}éésḱoA?*; cf W/H 1938-56 I:702-03. OIr *in-coissig* ← **ind-com-sech-* ← PIE *sek^{w}-* *indicates*, OIr *tāsc* *notification* have somewhat similar meanings; *rosc* *eye* may belong here, P 1959:898, hesitantly Vendryès 1959-:S-64, etymology declared unknown, R-44. Hitt *sakuwa* n pl *eyes* is probably related, and also *sakuwai-* *observe* Kammenhuber 1961 ZVS 77:62, though in contrast with E Sturtevant 1927 Lg 3:162-63, 1928 Lg 4:123, 1930 Lg 6:219,225-26 not to Hitt *sak(k)-* *know*; so also Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art] 140-41.

The Gmc verb has long been derived from PIE *sek^{w}-* *follow* (then 'track', as in Latvian *sekt* *pursue with the eyes* Osten-Sacken 1913-14 IF 33:257-58), though the meaning 'see' is restricted to Gmc and Alb; change of meaning ascribed to hunters' language; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:696-97. Kammenhuber 1961 ZVS 77:31-75 takes 'see' as primary meaning, basing her conclusion on Hitt *sakuwa*; the meaning 'follow' is then secondary, as in Skt *sácate*, Av *hacaiti*; Gk ἕπομαι, aor ἑ-σπ-όμην; Lat *sequor*; OIr *sechitir* *follow*; Lith *sèkti*, Latvian *sekt* *follow the track of*; possibly also OSl *sočiti* *point out* Fraenkel 1962-65:773; also TochA *šotre*, B *šotr* *sign*. Another shift in meaning may have given rise to the parallel root, PIE *sek^{w}-* *say*: Gk ἐνέπω, Lat *īnsece* *tell*; OWel *hepp* *said*; Lith *sèkti* *tell*, *sakýti* *say* (which may be parallel to OSl *sočiti* *point out*); OI *segja*, OE *secgan*, OS *seggian*, OHG *sagen* wkv *say*†, W/H 1938-56 I:702-03: 'follow' becoming 'track', then 'see', 'note', and 'say'. Scarcely related to Lat *oculus* *eye*, with loss of *s-*, W/H II:100-02, cf **augo**; nor to PIE *(s)kew-* *note* as in ***skauns** *beautiful*.

Seebold 1970:387-88; P 1959:896-98,587-88,775-77; Watkins 1985:57.

S9. *sainjan wkvI βραδύνειν *delay*, only 1sg opt prs *-jau* 1T 3.15.

OI *seina* *delay*, OE *ā-sānian* *become careless*, MHG *seinen* wkv *procrastinate*; derivation of PGmc *saina-*: OI *seinn*, OE *sæne*, MHG *seine* *slow, dilatory*. With zero grade Sw-Nor dial *sina* *cease, be exhausted* Karsten 1902 MSNH 3:412, MHG *senen* ← PGmc *si-nēn* wkv *yearn*. With *-m-*, OE *siomian* *delay*; possibly OE *sæmra* *poorer, more useless*, superl *sæmest*; prefix *sām-*, OS, OHG *sāmi-* *half*, OHG *lang-seimi* adj, *lang-seimo* adv *slow*.

Possibly from PIE *sēy-* *throw* becoming 'release', 'delay', 'slow': Skt *sāyám* *evening* (though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:460); with zero grade and *-n-*, Lat *sinō*, perf *sīvī* *leave*, *dē-sinō* *desist*; *sērus* *late*, *sētius* *less* Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:106-07; OIr *sīr* *long-lasting, eternal*, comp *sía*, superl *síam*, Wel, Corn, Bret *hīr* *long*; OLith *at-sainùs* *careless*; Skt *sāmi*,

Gk ἡμί-, Lat *sēmi- half*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:459, P 1959:905-06.

P 1959:889-91; see also ***seiþus**.

S10. sair na ὀδύνη *pain* 1Th 5.3.

Run *s/a/ira-widaz* (Rö) *one with gaping wounds* Krause 1966 I:168-69, with references also to superseded interpretations, OI *sār wound*, OE *sār wound, sorrow, pain*, OFris *sār*, OS, OHG *sēr* stn *pain, suffering*; OI *sārr wounded, painful*, OE, OFris *sār*, OS, OHG *sēr painful, sore*†; OE *sāre bitterly*, OS *sēro very*, OHG *sēro painfully, very*. Borrowed from Gmc, Finn *sairas sick* Thomsen 1870:168.

PIE *sāy- pain*: + *wo-*, Lat *saevus fierce*; Latvian *sīvs, sievs* ← PIE *saywo- sharp, biting*; possibly also Gk αἰᾱνής ← *σαι̯ϝ- *frightful* Chantraine 1968-80:29, and Lith *šaižùs sharp, rough* Fraenkel 1962-65:957. + *-t-*, OIr *sāeth pain, sickness, saethar pain, difficulty* Vendryès 1959-:S-6-7. Grienberger 1900:178-79 related OI *seiðr charm, sorcery*, though derivation from PIE *sēy- bind* is more likely, Vries 1962:467-68; on this root see Puhvel 1984-:402. P 1959:891-92.

S11. saiwala fō ψυχή *soul* M 6.25; ***sama-saiwals** adja σύμψυχος *of the same mind*, only n pl Ph 2.2.

OE *sāwol, sāul*, OFris *sēle*, OS *sēola*, OHG *sē(u)la* st/wkf, *soul*†, *life, spirit* (Helten 1895 BGDSL 20:508ff; Neckel 1913:49, orig 'breath', 'life'); OI *sāl* f is borrowed from OE, Vries 1962:460; OE *sāwlian* wkv *die*. According to Walde 1901 IF 12:382, excrescent medial vowel; ← PGmc *saiwlō*.

Etymology unknown. In an attempt to support relationship to Gk αἰόλος *rapid* F 1939:406 reviewed numerous proposals concerning representation of the soul by early Gmc peoples. Among these he favored development from 'air', as in Skt *ātmā́ breath, spirit* = OE *æþm*, OHG *ātum* stm *breath*; Gk θῡμός *soul, breath* = Skt *dhūmás*, Lat *fūmus vapor, smoke*, OHG *toum* m *vapor*; Gk ἄνεμος *wind* = Lat *animus soul*. But Gk αἰόλος is no longer derived from *σαι̯ολο-, Chantraine 1968-80:37, Frisk 1960-72 I:42. As a result the additional statements on views of the soul as a rapidly moving animal or bird need not be noted here.

The relationship to ***saiws*** by Grimm 1878:99 fn1 may then still be the best solution, though ***saiws*** in turn has no assured etymology. Weisweiler 1940 IF 57:25-55 takes PGmc *saiwa-lō* as a derivation from PGmc *saiwa-z sacred lake*, on the assumption that Gmc peoples believed souls to arise from such lakes and also to return to them. Mezger 1968 ZVS 82:285-87 proposed PGmc *swai-walō one's own wish or choice*, comparing Skt cmpds like *svecchā one's own will*. Grienberger 1900:179 saw it as related to Lat *saevus raging*, with a meaning 'psychic excitement'. Other proposals cited in F 1939:406 are even less cogent.

S12. *saiws m λίμνη *sea*, only dat sg *-wa* L 5.1,2, *marshland*, only gen pl *-we*, DeN; ***marisaiws** λίμνη *sea*, only acc sg L 8.22,23, 33.

OI *sær, sjōr*, OE *sǣ, sā-*, OFris *sē*, OS, OHG *sē(o)* stm, *sea*†; OS dat sg *sēwa*, OHG gen sg *sēwes*, PGmc *saiwi-*, Schatz 1927:209.

No accepted etymology. Weisweiler 1940 IF 57:25-55 takes it as a borrowing from a non-IE, pre-Gmc people, following Feist 1924:26-27, Schrader 1935:37. Ebbinghaus 1971 GL 11:15-16, rejecting P 1959:871 with its tentative approval of relationship to Lat *saevus raging*, prefers Grienberger 1900:179 with relationship to OE *sīgan*, OFris *sīga*, OS, OHG *sīgan* stv *flow down* from 'sink'; also OI *sīa*, OE *sēon*, OHG *sīhan* wkv *filter, strain*, cf P 1959:893-94, and Meid 1982 *F* Kronasser:91-93: PIE *seik^{w}-*; *soik^{w}is* → PGmc *-γẃ-* → *-w-*. In view of the absence of an IE word for 'sea', the assumption of borrowing is more likely. F 1939:406-07 lists other proposals.

S13. sakan stvVI μάχεσθαι *quarrel* 2T 2.24, ἐπιτιμᾶν *scold*, 2sg imp *sak* L 19.39, 3pl prt *sokun* J 6.52; ***and-sakan** ἀντιλέγειν *speak against*, only dat sg f papl *-kanai* L 2.34; *ga-sakan* ἐπιτιμῆσαι *scold*, ἐλέγχειν *rebuke*, 3sg

prt *ga-sok* M 8.26, papl *ga-sakans* L 3.19; **in-sakan* ὑποτίθεσθαι *put before* 1T 4.6, *designate* Sk 4.15 / IVc.1; **ana-in-sakan* προσαυατίθεσθαι *add to*, only 3pl prt *-sokun* G 2.6; **us-sakan* ἀνατίθεσθαι *lay before*, only 1sg prt G 2.2; **un-and-sakans* papl *undisputed* Sk 6.15 / VIc.1; **ga-sahts* fi ἔλεγχος *reproach*; *in-sahts* fi διήγησις *story, statement, witness* Sk 6.1 / VIa.3-4; **un-sahtaba* (conjecture for *un-sahþaba*) adv ὁμολογουμένως *undisputed* 1T 3.16; **un-and-soks* adj*i/ja incontestable* Sk 6. 13 / VIb.19; **sakjo* fn μάχη *quarrel* 2T 2.23; **sakuls** adj*a* (*ni sakuls* ἄμαχος) *quarrelsome* 1T 3.3; **sokns* fi ζήτησις *controversy* 1T 1.4. Cf **sokjan** *seek*.

OI *saka accuse, quarrel*, OE *sacan quarrel*, OFris *seka*, OS *sakan scold*, OHG *sahhan* stv *quarrel, reprove*; OI *sǫk*, OE *sacu*, OFris *seke*, OS *saka*, OHG *sahha* st/wkf *legal procedure, cause, thing*, NE *sake*; OHG *secchia* f *quarrel*, OE *sac guilty*; OI *sāttr reconciled*, though see Vries 1962:463-64 and also Mincoff 1934 AinZDA 53:231-32; OE *in-saht* stf *story*; OI *sōkn*, OE *sōcn* stf *attack, prosecution*; OI *rann-saka* wkv *search, ransack*†; *rann-sōkn* stf *ransacking*.

From same PIE root *sāg-* as in **sokjan**: Gk ἡγέομαι *lead*, (in Homer also) *show (the way)*; Lat *sāgiō perceive keenly*, *sagāx sagacious*, OIr *saigid seek, approach, attack, sue* Vendryès 1959-:S-9-12. Not to Skt *sájati fasten on* as in Schweizer 1852 ZVS 1:566.

P 1959:876-77, Watkins 1985:55.

S14. *sakkus mu σάκκος *sack, bag* M 11.21.

OI *sekkr*, OE *sæcc*, OHG *sac*, pl *seccī* stm *sack*†.

From Lat *saccus sack* Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:3, a borrowing from Gk σάκκος *sack, sackcloth*, which is from Semitic, probably Phoenician; cf Akkad *šaqqu*, Heb *śaq sackcloth, bag* Chantraine 1968-80:984-85, Corazza 1969: 21-22,43.

S15. sakuls adj*a quarrelsome*, only in *ni sakuls* ἄμαχος 1T 3.3; derived from verbal stem in **sakan** with PGmc *-ula-*, a suffix indicating 'a tendency to', as also in OI *þǫgull silent*, cf ***þahan**, OE *flugol fleet, fleeting*, cf ***fugls**, OHG *forhtal fearful*, cf ***faurhts**; also PGmc *-ala-* as in OI *þagall quiet*; base has zero grade and voiced fricative, though not in Go **skaþuls harmful*, cf **skaþis** and *slahals quarrelsome*, cf ***slahan**; Kluge 1926:95. Based on PIE *-lo-* as in Gk τροχαλός *swift*, cf τρέχω *run*, Lat *credulus credulous*, cf *crēdō believe*.

S16. salbon Mk 14.8, **ga-salbon* wkvII ἀλείφειν J 12.3, χρίειν *anoint*; **salbons* fi μύρον *ointment*, only gen sg *-nais* J 12.3.

OE *sealfian*, OFris *salvia*, OS *salbōn*, OHG *salbōn* wkv *anoint*; OE *sealf*, OS, OHG *salba* st/wkf, OHG *salb* stn *ointment, salve*†.

PIE *selp- fat, butter, lard*: Skt *sarpíṣ melted butter, sṛprás fatty, smooth*; Hsch ἔλπος· ἔλαιον, στέαρ *oil, fat*, ὄλπις, ὄλπη *flask for oil*; Alb *gjalpë butter*; TochA *ṣälyp*, B *ṣalype fat, butter, oil*.

P 1959:901; Chantraine 1968-80:342-43.

S17. saldra fō εὐτραπελία *silly talk*, only E 5.4.

No cognates in Gmc.

Possibly from PIE *sel- jump*: Skt *ucchalati races out* ← **ud-salati*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:99; Gk ἅλλομαι, Lat *salīre, saltāre jump*, cf Lat *salāx salacious*; OIr *saltraid trample on* Vendryès 1959-:S-19; possibly also Lith *sálti flow, salà island, salpà bay* Fraenkel 1962-65:760-61,758, OPruss *salus brook*, also Lith *selėti creep* Fraenkel 1962-65:774. Older conjectures then to be rejected, such as borrowing from Arm *całr joke* Bugge 1895 IF 5: 170 and relation to Lat *sales* pl *jokes, sāl salt water* Grienberger 1900:180.

P 1959:899.

S18. 1. saljan wkvI μένειν, ξενίζεσθαι *stay, be a guest of* 1C 16.7; *us-saljan* καταλῦσαι *take up quarters, lodge*, only L 19. 7; *saliþwos* fō pl ξενία, μονή *inn, dwelling* J 14. 2.

OE *sælþ* n *seat, hall*; OS *seliðа*, OHG *selida* stf *dwelling, house*; pl in OS *te seliðun*,

OHG *zi selidon towards home* Carr 1936 JEGP 35:215. Derived from PGmc *sal-* with *-þwa-* as in Go *fijaþwa*; see also Run *Saligastiz* PeN (Berga), OI *salr* m, OE *salor, sæl* n, *sele* m, OS *seli* m, OHG *sal* stn *building, room (single-room house)*; Lang *sala court, house*; OS, OHG *seli-hūs* stn *dwelling*.

With the same suffix, PIE *-twā-*, OSl *selitva dwelling*, to *sele field, village* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:449-50. Also Lith *salà village* Fraenkel 1962-65:758. Scarcely related to Lat *solum floor, soleō am accustomed to* W/H 1938-56 II:555,557, in spite of Grienberger 1900:180. P 1959:898 gives a PIE root *sel- dwelling*, with reflexes primarily in Gmc, and then Sl and Balt as noted here; scarcely supportable.

S19. 2. saljan wkvI L 1.9, **ga-saljan* 1C 8.10, *and-saljan*, only Sk 5.21 / Vc.24-25, θύειν, λατρείαν προσφέρειν *sacrifice*.

OI *selja*, OE *sellan*, OFris *sella*, OS *sellian*, OHG *sellen* wkv *hand over, deliver*, NE *sell*; factitive of PGmc *sala-* in OI *sal* n *payment, sala*, OE *salu sale*†, OHG *sala* stf *transmission*, MHG *sal* stm *property (to transmit)*.

PIE *sel- take*: Gk ἑλεῖν *take*, ἕλ-ωρ, ἑλώριον *booty*; + *-wo-*, OIr *selb*, Wel *helw, possession*, cf Gaul PeN *Lugu-selva possession of Lugus*, Vendryès 1959-:S-79-80. Dubious conjectures listed in F 1939:408-09. Benveniste 1973:108-09 is ingenious but probably wrong in taking the Go meaning as early, and deriving from it the meanings 'deliver, sell' from 'sale of a man'; more likely a change from 'give, deliver, offer' to 'offering, sacrifice', with a shift like that in Gk *νέμω distribute* to *νόμος law*; cf **niman**. Vries 1962:469,461 proposes a reduction in posited PIE roots *sel-*, deriving the meaning 'take, sacrifice' from PIE *sel- dwelling* as in *1. saljan*, and in OI *salr room* from 'fenced space', linking this to the words related to the 'circle of men' or 'retinue', following Trier 1947 BGDSL 69:421; also ingenious, but scarcely convincing.

P 1959:899.

S20. salt na ἅλς *salt* L 14.34; **saltan* stvVII ἁλίζειν *salt*, only 3sg prs pass *-tada*; **un-saltans* papl, only nom sg n Mk 9.50, ἄναλος *unsalted*.

CrimGo, OI *salt*, OE *sealt*, OFris, OS *salt*, OHG *salz* stn *salt*†; OI *salta*, OE *sealtan*, papl *sealten*, MLG *solten salted*†, OHG *salzan* stv *salt*; OE *sieltan, sæltan* wkv, *salt*†; OI *saltr*, OE *sealt*, OFris *salt*, MLG *solt salty*.

PIE *sal- salt*: extended with *-d-* in Gmc, and in Lat *sallō* ← *-ld- salt*; Lith *saldùs*, OSl *sladzkz sweet*, cf Fraenkel 1962-65:759-60 on shift of meaning; OIr *saillid he salts*, however, secondary, Vendryès 1959-:S-14. Without *-d-*, Skt *salilám ocean, salilá- salty*; Gk ἅλς, Lat *sāl*, gen *salis*, Umbr acc *salu*; OIr *salann*, Wel *halen*, OCorn *haloin*; Latvian *sāls*; OSl *solь*; Arm *ał*; TochA *sāle*, B *sālyiye salt*. Also with *-i-*, as in Gk ἁλι-πόρφυρος *of sea-purple*, Arm *ałi salty*; with *-u-* in Gk ἁλυκός *salty*; "Αλυς [?] *Halys* [river name of Asia Minor], though see Frisk 1960-72 I:78-79. OSl *slanz salty*. Zero grade forms, Nor *sylt*, OS *sulta*, OHG *sulza* st/wkf *salt water, brine*.

J Schmidt 1889:182-83,253 posited PIE nom n *sā́l-d*, gen *sal-n-és* with alternate nom *sāl-i*, accounting also for the meaning 'sweet' by comparing Fr *sauce* ← Lat *salsus salted*.

P 1959:878-79 posits a second root *sal- grey*, as in OI *sǫlr dirty*; possibly the two should be merged. See also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:703.

S21. sama wk prn ὁ αὐτός *the same one*. Also used as prefix, **sama-fraþjis* adj*ja* (only nom pl m *-þjai* Ph 2.2) τὸ ἓν φρονοῦντες *of the same mind*, cf **fraþi**; **sama-kuns* adj*i/ja* (only acc pl m *-njans* R 9.3) συγγενής *related*, cf **alja-kuns**; **sama-laups* adj*a as much*, only acc sg n *-laud* τὰ ἴσα L 6.34, cf **hve-laups*; **sama-leiks* adj*a* ἴσος *equal* Mk 14. 59; *sama-leiko* adv ὁμοίως *similarly, likewise* J 6.11, cf **alja-leiko**; **sama-qiss* f*i* calque of Gk συμφώνησις *agreement*, only gen pl *-se* 2C 6.15, 16, cf **ana-qiss** and **qiþan**; **sama-saiwals*

adja σύμψυχος *in full accord*, only nom pl m *-lai* Ph 2.2, cf **saiwala**.

OI *samr, sami*, OHG *samo the same*; adv OI *sem*, Sw *som just as*; OE *same*, OS *sama, samo*, OHG *sama likewise, same*†; also OI *sama-kynja of the same origin*; OI *sam-līkr*, OHG *sama-līh, samo-līh like*; OE adv *sam-līce at the same time*; OI *sam-kvæði agreement, sam-kvæðr agreeing*.

PIE *somo-* same: Skt *samás*, Av *hama-*; Gk ὁμός *the same*; OIr *-som that one*; OPers *hama-pitar*, Gk ὁμο-πάτωρ, ὁμο-πάτριος, Arm *hama-hair*, TochA *ṣoma-pācär of the same father*, cf OI *sam-feðra*. Zero grade PIE *sm̥-*: Gk ἅ-παξ *once*; Skt *sa(m)-*, OPruss *sen-*, OSl *sǫ- with*; Gk ἀ-δελφός (: Skt *sá-garbhyas of the same womb*) *brother*. With *-lo-*, Gk ὁμαλός *like*; Lat *similis* ← **sem-ili- similar*, OLat n (adv) *semul, semol*, Lat *simul*, Umbr *sumel at once*; OIr *samail comparable thing*, Wel *hafal similar*; cf Gk ὁμό-γνιος *of the same race*.

Based on PIE *sem- one, together*: Gk εἷς ← **sems one*; Lat *sem-per always*; TochA *sas*, B *ṣe one*; cf **simle**, ***sinteins**; zero grade in **sums**; lengthened grade in Av *hāma- like*, OSl *samъ same*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 436-37; OIr *sām calm* Vendryès 1959-:S-20; OI *sœmr*, OS *sōmi fitting*, MHG *suome pleasant* Möller 1880 BGDSL 7:509 fn.

P 1959:902-05, Watkins 1985:57, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:842-43.

S22. samana adv ἅμα *together, in common* L 15.13.

OI *saman*, OE *-samne*, OFris *samin, semin*, OS, OHG *saman*, OHG *zi samane together*.

Skt *samanā́ together* (from PIE, J Wackernagel and Debrunner 1896-1954 II.2:205, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:435); OIr *samain festival of Tara, on Nov 1* = *assembly at end of summer*; also *bechsamain swarm of bech bees* Vendryès 1959-:S-22-23, *bethamain swarms* idem:B-45, which is there related to Lith *bìtė, bitìs*, Latvian *bite*, OPruss *bitte bee*; OE *bēo*, OHG *bini bee*†; moreover *bethamain* is viewed as a pl of OIr **betham* = Wel *bydaf swarm of bees*, as proposed by Pokorny 1963 ZRP 79:526 rejecting his etymology of P 1959: 905.

Derived from *sama* with PIE *-no-* as in **aftana, hindana**.

P 1959:905.

S23. samaþ adv indicating 'to the same place', translates Gk συν- in cmpds = *together* Mk 9.25; from **sama** with reflex of PIE *-te towards*, as in **aljaþ**.

OE *samod*, OS *samad*, OHG *samant, same(n)t together*.

PIE *sem- one, together*: possibly Skt *s(u)mát together* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:548; Gk ὁμόσε ← PIE *somo-te together* Brugmann 1904a:455, though not accepted by G Schmidt 1962:155-56; OIr *samud* ← **samatu- assembly* Vendryès 1959-:S-23-24.

P 1959:902-05.

S24. *samjan wkvI *seek to please*, in nom pl m prpl *mannam samjandans* ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι Col 3.22; with *sis* εὐπροσωπῆσαι *make a good showing* G 6.12.

OI *semja*, prt *samda arrange, agree on, sama*, prt *-di befit, sōma*, prt *-da befit, sœma honor*, OE *sēman* wkv *reconcile*; derived from OI *sōmi* m *honor*, OE *sōm* f *agreement*; OI *sœmr befitting*, OE *ge-sōm harmonious*; OS *sōmi fitting*.

PIE *sem- one, together*: Skt *sāma friendliness* (not **samayati arrange* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:436, following K Hoffmann 1968 MSzS 23:38 fn 13), Av *hāmō*, OSl *samъ self*. Not, as by Wood 1904-05 MP 2:475, to Gk ἥμερος *gentle*, which itself is unexplained, Chantraine 1968-80:412-13.

P 1959:904.

S25. sandjan wkvI πέμπειν, ἀποστέλλειν *send* L 20.11; **faura-ga-sandjan* πέμπειν *send ahead*, only 1sg prt *-dida* 2C 12. 18; *ga-sandjan* προπέμψαι *accompany* 1C 16.6; *in-sandjan* πέμψαι, ἀποστέλλειν *send to* M 11. 2; **miþ-in-sandjan* συναποστέλλειν *send along*, only 1sg prt *-dida* 2C 12.18; **us-*

sandjan ἐκβαλεῖν *send out* M 9.38.

OI *senda*, OE *sendan*, OFris *senda*, OS *sendian*, OHG *senten* wkv *sendt*. Caus of **sinþan go*; cf **sinþs*.

PIE *sent- set out; perceive*: Av *hant-arrive*; Lat *sentiō perceive*, Lith *sintėti think*; with zero grade, Lith *siųsti*, Latvian *sùtît send* Fraenkel 1962-65:789.

P 1959:908.

S26. sarwa n pl ὅπλα, πανοπλία *weapons, armor* E 6.13.

OE *searo*, gen *searwes weapons, armor, skill, treachery*, OHG *saro*, gen *sarawes* stn *weapons, armor*; OI *sœrvi* n *necklace, armor*; m *group of men*; also OE *sierwan arm, wait for, plan*, OFris *sera* wkv *arm, arrange*.

Probably from PIE *ser- arrange*: Gk εἴρω *join*, ἐν-είρω *entwine*, ἔρμα *earrings*, ὅρμος *necklace*; Lat *serō arrange, join, seriēs series, sors lot*; probably not OIr *sern- extend, join* as in *nī sernat they do not join* Vendryès 1959-:S-93-95, in spite of P 1959:911; see Bugge 1872 ZVS 20:32, H Schröder 1904-05 IF 17:464-65.

Others derive it from PIE *ser- guard, protect*: Av *haraiti protect, harətar-watchman, -haurva* in *pasuš-haurvō spā sheep-guarding dog*; possibly Gk Ἥρα *Hera, 'protectress'*, ἥρως *hero*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:415-16; Lat *servō save, preserve*, Umbr *seritu preserve*; OSl *chraniti preserve* Berneker 1908-14:397-98; opposed by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:306. -- Lith *šárvas*, OPruss *sarwis armor, weapons* do not belong here, but probably to Gk κόρυς *helmet* Fraenkel 1962-65:965-66.

S27. *satjan wkvI τιθέναι *set, place, determine*; *af-satjan* ἀπολῦσαι *divorce* Mk 10.2; *at-satjan* παραστῆσαι *present* L 2.22; **bi-satjan* περιτιθέναι *set around*, only 3sg prt *-tida* Mk 12.1; **faura-ga-satjan* παριστάναι *bring to*, only 3sg prs *-tjiþ* 2C 4.14; *ga-satjan* θεῖναι, τάσσειν *place, establish* Sk 1.23 / Id.8; **miþ-satjan* μεθιστάνειν *remove*, only 1sg opt prs *-tjau*; **us-satjan* ἐκβάλλειν *set out*, φυτύειν *plant, establish* L 20.9; **af-sateins fi/ō* ἀπόστασις *divorce* Mk 10.4; **ga-sateins fi/ō* καταβολή *foundation* E 1.4; **us-sateins fi/ō origin* E 2.3.

Run *satido* (Rö) 1sg prt, OI *setja*, OE *settan*, OFris *setta*, OS *settian*, OHG *sezzen* wkv *setzt*; OE *seten* f *shoot, cultivated land*, OFris *seten negotiation, assertion*.

PIE *sod- ← sed- sit*: Skt *sādáyati set*, Av *ni-šāδayeiti set down*; OPers *niu-ā-šādayam I set back*; OIr *suid-* as in *suidigir place* Vendryès 1959-:S-200,S-8-9; Lith *sodìnti*, OSl *saditi set, plant*; not Gk ὁδεῖν *sell* Chantraine 1968-80:774.

P 1959:884-87.

S28. *saþs adja (*sads* Ph 4.12; PGmc *saδa-*) ἐμπεπλησμένος *full, satisfied* L 6.25; *saþs wairþan* χορτασθῆναι *be satisfied, eat one's fill*; PIE *-to-* on *sā/ə-*; with normal grade *soþa* dat sg πλησμονή *satisfaction* Col 3.23; *ga-soþjan* wkvI χορτάσαι *make satisfied* M 8.4.

OI *saðr*, OE *sæd*, OS *sad*, OHG *sat satisfied*; OI *seðja*, MHG *setten* wkv ← PGmc *saδ-jan satisfy*, cf NE *sate*; OE *sadian* wkv *become satisfied, ge-sēdan*, OHG *satōn* wkv *satisfy*; OFris *sēde satisfaction*; NE *sad*, Onions 1966:781.

PIE *sā-, sə- satisfy*: Skt *a-si-n-vás insatiable*; Gk ἄ-ατος ← PIE *n̥-sə-to- insatiable*, Hsch ἄεται *become satisfied*, Hom ἄμεναι *satisfy*, ἄδην *enough*; Lat *satur* (*-r*-extension of *u*-stem) *satisfied, sat, satis enough, satiāre satisfy*; OIr *sāithech satisfied, sāith ← *sāti- satisfaction*; Lith *sótus satisfied, sótis satisfaction*, Latvian *sāts satisfying* : OSl *sytz satisfied* (with unclear *-y-*; Vasmer 1953-58 III:59-60 admits possible influence from another root or relationship to Skt *śū́ras strong*, but not derivation of PIE *swat-* nor borrowing from Go); Arm *y-ag ← *sā-u- abundantly* Meillet 1921 BSLP 22:[art]20.

P 1959:876.

S29. *sauhts fi νόσος, ἀσθένεια *sickness* M 9.35, used only in pl, W Schulze 1966:546-47.

PGmc *suh-ti-*: OI *sōtt*, OE *suht* (only Gen

472, and probably from OS), OFris *sechte*, OS, OHG *suht*, stf *sickness*; + *-sla-* as in **hunsl**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:371-72; also in OE *sūsl* n *torment*, OI *sȳsl*, *sȳsla* f *work* adj *zealous*, *sȳsla* wkv *work* (with disputed semantic development; cf Vries 1962:562-63 under *sūt* f *sickness*, ibid:574-75,479 *sjūkr*); OE *sēos-lig* ← **seuh-sla- tormented*. Derived from base of **siuks** with PIE *-ti-*.

P 1959:915.

S30. sauil *na* ἥλιος *sun*, only Mk 1.32, 13.24; *au* probably [ɔ:], B/E 1981:34-35, with reference to copious earlier bibliography.

Run *solu* (Eggja, dat-inst sg, Krause 1966 I:227-35), OI *sōl* f *sun* ← PGmc *sōwilō*; see **sugil** and **sunno**.

PIE *sexwel-* → *sāwel-* *sun*: Dor ἀέλιος, Hsch (Cretan) ἀβέλιος · ἥλιος· Κρῆτες, Hom ἠέλιος, Att ἥλιος; Lat *sōl* ← **sy̯ōl*, possibly Umbr *Zal*; Wel *haul* ← **sāy̯el*; Lith *sáulė*, Latvian *saũle*, OPruss *saule sun* Fraenkel 1962-65: 765-66. Zero grade of initial syllable with alternate form *sūl-* in Skt *svàr-*, *súvar*, gen *sū́ras*, Av *hvarə*, gen *hūrō sun* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II: 566-67; OIr *sūil eye* ← **sūli-*; Alb *yll star*, ← **sūli-* or **sūlo-*, Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36:277, *diell sun* ← **sy̯el-*, ibid:286-87, Huld 1984:50-51.

An *-l/n*-stem, B/E 1981:80, as illustrated in Av *χvə̄ñg* gen *sun*, *ẖvan-vant sunny* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:567, also Benveniste 1935a:11-12, with *-n-* generalized in **sunno**; OSl *slъnice sun* merged the several stems, W/H 1938-56 II: 553-54, with further comment.

P 1959:881-82, A Scherer 1953:45-51, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:684.

S31. sauls *fi* στῦλος *pillar* 1T 3.15; **ga-suljan* wkvI θεμελιοῦν *found* M 7.25.

With *ū* also in OI *sūl(a)* f, OE *sȳl*, OFris *sēle*, MLG *sūle*, OS, OHG *sūl* stf, pl *sūli pillar*.

Etymology uncertain; related with little evidence to words which are themselves of dubious origin, such as OI, OE *syll* f, LG *sūll* n, OHG *swella* f, *swelli* n *threshold*, *sill*†, ← PIE *sel-*, *swel-* *board*, *beam* P 1959:898-99, with possible cognates only in Gk σελίς *plank*, σέλμα *beam*, themselves unclear, Chantraine 1968-80:995-96. Gk ξύλον *wood*, ὕλη *woods*, related by others, also lack an IE etymology. Lith *šùlas post*, *šelmuõ gable* also have no accepted etymology, Fraenkel 1962-65:971,1032. Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:563 hesitantly relates Skt *svárus post* to OE *swer post*, Lat *surus twig*, and doubtfully to NHG *Säule*; with some difference, P 1959:1050.

S32. saurga *fō* μέριμνα, λύπη *care, sorrow* J 16.20; *saurgan* wkvIII μεριμνᾶν, λυπηθῆναι *be worried, care*, 2pl opt prs *-gaiþ* 2C 2.4, 2pl prt *-gaideduþ* 2C 7.9.

OI, OE *sorg*, OS, OHG *sorga* st/wkf *care* (also OHG *sworga*); OI *syrgja*, OS *sorgian*, OFris *sorgia*, OS *sorgōn*, OHG *s(w)orgēn* wkv *be worried, care, sorrow*.

Etymology problematic; possibly from PIE *swergh-* *worry, be sick*: Skt *sūrkṣati take care of*; Lith *siřgti be sick*; OIr *serg sickness*; Latvian *sę̃rga sickness*; OSl *sragъ threatening*; TochA *särk*, B *sark sickness* Fraenkel 1962-65: 787, though see also Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:295, who prefers relationship with Lith *sérgėti protect*, *sárgas watchman* (not Fraenkel 1962-65:776-77); older references in F 1939:413.

P 1959:1050.

S33. *sauþa *fō*, only dat sg *in ho sauþo τίνι λόγῳ in which manner* 1C 15.2.

Unclear and without etymology. C Hofmann 1863 Germania 8:3ff emended to **sanþa*, as in OI *sannr true*; cf ***sunjis**. Grienberger 1900:182-83 proposed a noun based on prn stem *sŭ-* as in OHG *sus thus*, **sau-þa* = Lat *quāli-tās manner*; see also Wood 1898 JEGP 2: 218. Frantzen 1921 Neophil 6:44-45 proposed **lauþo* for *sauþo* and **lauda form*, to ***laudi**, with *-þ-* for *-d-*. All speculative.

S34. *sauþs *mi* θυσία *sacrifice* E 5.2.

OI *sauðr* m *sheep*. Also OGutn *sauþr spring*, OE *sēaþ cave, spring, sea*, OFris *sāth spring*; MLG *sōd*, MHG *sōt* stm *seething, spring*; OI *sjóðа*, OE *sēoþan*, OFris *siātha*, MLG *sēden*, OHG *siodan* stv, *seethe*†, *boil*.

Further, from PIE *swe-t-*, OHG *swedan* **burn slowly with much smoke**, *sweda* f, MHG *swadem*, *swaden* m **vapor.**

Etymology uncertain. Probably PIE *sew-t-* **seethe, move vigorously** Charpentier 1907 ZVS 40:427; simple root in Av *hāvayeiti* 3sg, *hāvayąn* 3pl **stew**; PIE *-t-* in Lith *šùsti*, *šuntù* **stew, brew** Fraenkel 1962-65:1036-37, who however prefers derivation from PIE *k̂sewt-*, following Petersson 1920:44; similarly, Gdr 1897-1916 I:700,790, PIE *k̂pewe-t-*, though rejected by W/P 1927-32 II:471-72,520, who also relate ***suþjan**, following K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:237.

P 1959:914. An interesting Gmc set, esp for its special use in NGmc, where the noun came to mean the sacrificed or boiled animal.

S35. scapia, in the Go epigram De conviviis barbaris, Scardigli 1973:172,200,260; cf **mats**. Interpreted by Helten 1904 BGDSL 29:339ff as voc of an agent noun to ***ga-skapjan** : ***skapi steward** + *jah*; cf OS *skap-ward* m **chamberlain.**

S36. scaptos (Visigothic[?]) in Isidore, Etymolog XVIII.8:2: "spicula sunt sagittae vel lanceae breves, ab spicarum specie nuncupatae" *'spicula* (missiles) are arrows or short lances, so-called after a kind of spikes'.

If Gmc, to OI *skapt* n, OE *sceaft* **pole, shaft†, spear**, OFris *skaft*, OS *skaft* **spear**, OF *scaft* **arrow**, OHG *scaft* stm **spear, lance.**

PIE *skap-* + *-t-* **cut with a sharp tool, split**: Gk σκᾶπτον **staff** (Pindar), Hom σκηπτοῦχος **carrying a staff**, Att σκῆπτρον **staff**, Hsch σκᾶπος· κλάδος **twig**; Lat *scāpus* **shaft**; Lith *skõpti* **hollow out with knife**, Latvian *šķẽpe* **spear.**

P 1959:930-33; considerable variation in PIE base.

S37. schediit CrimGo 'lux' **light.**

Obscure; Stearns 1978:150-151 suggests a possible misprint, as in **cadariou**. Earlier proposals dubious.

Assumed to be a cmpd, with *-iit (-īt)* = OE *ād*, OS *ēd*, OHG *eit* stm **firebrand**: Skt *édhas* **firewood**, Gk αἶθος **firebrand**, Lat *aedēs* **house** ← 'domestic site for fire', W/H 1938-56 I:15-16, OIr *āed* **fire** P 1959:11-12; first element may be an Iran loanword, cf Av *χšaēta-*, NPers *šēd* **gleam, brightness** Loewe 1902-03 IF 13:12, preferred by F 1939:414; or cognate with OI *skīδ*, OE *scīd*, OFris *skīd*, OHG *scīt* n **slab of (fire-) wood** Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:129. Grienberger also proposes as had Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:363 that *schediit* might be related with *-eþs* as in **faheþs** to OHG *scheter*, NHG *schütter* **thin**, MHG *schit* stm **separation**, ie **time of separation between night and day, dawn**; also MHG *schiet* **decision, judgement.** According to Tomaschek 1881:64 *sch(ediit)* may correspond to *sw-*, and then be related to OE *sweotol* **clear**; but Stearns points to retention of *-w-* in *schuuester.*

S38. schieten CrimGo 'mittere sagittam' **shoot an arrow.**

OI *skjōta*, OE *scēotan*, OFris *sciāta*, OS *sciotan*, OHG *skiozzan* stv **shoot†.**

PIE *(s)kewd-* **throw, shoot**: possibly Skt *códati* **incite**, *skúndate* **leap** (dubious, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:508, I:400-01); Lith *skudrùs* **quick**; OSl *is-kydati* **throw out.** PIE *(s)kew-* suffixed also by *-bh-* as in ***af-skiuban** **push away**, with simplex, though *sk̂ew-* in Lith *šáuti*, Latvian *šaũt* **shoot**, OSl *sujǫ* **push.**

P 1959:954-55; Seebold 1970:417-18 for Gmc forms.

S39. schuos CrimGo 'sponsa' **betrothed.**

Misprint for ***schnos**, Holthausen 1898 AinZDA 24:33 and others, including Stearns 1978:151-52; Go ***snuzo** or ***snuzus**, OI *snor*, *snør*, OE *snoru*, OFris, MLG *snore*, OHG *snur(a)* stf **daughter-in-law** Vries 1962:528.

PIE *snusós* *o*-stem **daughter-in-law** Meillet 1905-06 MSLP 13:211, though *o*-stems opposed by Brugmann 1904a:356 fn1, Skt *snuṣā́*; Gk νυός; Lat *nurus* (remodeled after *socrus* **father-in-law**); OSl *snъcha*; Arm *nu*, gen *nuoy* **daughter-in-law**; cf Delbrück 1889:534-35. Brugmann 1907 IF 21:317ff and others derive

PIE *snusós* from *sněw- twist threads together, join*, as in ***sniwan**, **sniumjan**, also **snorjo**, in keeping with Delbrück's demonstration that the bride joined the son's family; Specht 1944:90-91, less plausibly, proposed a source as cognate of Skt *sanóti gain*; Kluge 1905-06 ZDW 7:168-69 related it to **sunus**, comparing NHG *Sohnsfrau, Söhn(er)in* (dial).

Tomaschek 1881:63 and Solmsen 1897-98 ZVS 35:483 assume **schwōs* as cognate of **swes**, comparing OSl *svats relative-in-law*, Russ *svat suitor*, cf Vasmer 1953-58 II:586-87. Even more dubiously Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:125-26 assumes confusion with **šwōts* to **sūts sweet*, like NE *sweetheart*.

P 1959:978.

S40. schuualth CrimGo 'mors' *death*, with *o*-grade as compared with zero grade in Go **swulta-wairþja** and *e*-grade in ***swiltan** : OE *sweltan*, MDu *swelten languish, swelte sickly girl*, Flem *zwelton die*. Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:128 assumes *-a-* on pattern of other verbal abstracts; also Loewe 1902-03 IF 13:8. Scardigli 1973:257 sees in the maintenance of *schuualth* a further indication of the continued presence of Gothic in the Crimea, noting the OI cognates *svelta die, grow hungry* and *sultr hunger* in contrast with MHG *swelzen* stv *burn*.

S41. *seins refl prn ὁ ἑαυτοῦ, ἴδιος *his, her*, always with reference to the subject and therefore only in oblique cases M 9.1; gen pl *seina (miseo)* for reciprocal prn ἀλλήλοις *one another*, only L 7.32; also **seina-gairns* (only as marginal gloss *seinai-gairnai* nom pl 2T 3.2A to Gk φίλαυτοι, translated in the text as *sik fri(j)ondans*; emended to *seina-*... Streitberg 1920:163) *selfish*; cf **(faihu-)gairns*.

Run *sin* (Sölvesborg, Krause 1966 I:220), OI *sinn*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *sīn his*; OI, OHG *sīn* gen *his own*; OI *sin-gjarn covetous, greedy*.

Formed with *-no-* from PIE loc (→ gen) *sei* (cf ablaut variant Gk σοί) of the prn root PIE *se-*, cf **sik**, like **meins** to prn root PIE *me-*, cf **mik**, Kieckers 1928:138; cf P 1959:882-84, PIE *se-, s(e)we-* (orig *separate, for oneself*). Krahe 1936a *F* Hirt II:565-66 compares Ven *veina-* ← **sṷeino- one's own* as parallel in formation to *meina-, þeina-, seina-*.

S42. *seiþus adju ὄψιος *late*, only nom sg n *seiþu* ὀψία *evening* M 27.57, J 6.16; *þana-seiþs* adv in comp, *still* Col 2.20, elsewhere with neg *ni* ... οὐκέτι *no more* J 6.66 (a frozen OV comp phrase 'not than-that more', as in *ni* **þana-mais**; cf also *ni þe* **haldis**).

Go *-seiþs*: OI *sīðr less, scarcely, so that not, sīðan* ← **sīþiz þana then, thereupon*, OE *sīþ-þan, sīþ-þa later, thereupon, sīð* adv *late*; OS *sīð*, OHG *sīd* comp adv *later*; OI *sīð-kveld late in the evening*, comp *sīdri*, superl *sīzt not at all* : OE *sīdra* comp adj *later*, superl *sīðe(me)st latest*. New formations are OFris *sether*, OS *sīðor*, OHG *sīdor* adv (Otfrid) *later*, OHG *sīdero* adj (Notker) *latest*. On nasalized MHG *sint since*, see Franck 1902 ZDA 46: 168ff; on NE *since*, see Onions 1966:828.

PIE *sēy- throw, neglect, late*: Lat *sētius less* Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:106-07; MIr *sith- long, lasting* (with *-t-* as in Gmc); with *-r-*, Lat *sērus late*; OIr *sīr*, Wel *hir long*; (without *-r-*), OIr *sīa*, Wel *hwy longer* (comp ← *sē-is*), superl OIr *sīam*, Wel *hwyaf longest*; see also **saian** and ***sainjan**.

P 1959:889-91.

S43. sels adj*i/ja* ἀγαθός, χρηστός *good, kind, useful* Ochs 1921 BGDSL 45:105ff; *selei fn* χρηστότης *goodness, usefulness* G 5.22; **un-sels* πονηρός *evil* M 6.23; **un-selei* πονηρία *wickedness*, κακία *evil* L 20.23.

OI *sæll lucky, sæla* f *luck, sæla* wkv *bless*; OE *sēlra better* (comp), *sēl* adv (← **sōliz*), *sǣl* m/f in *tō sǣles at the right time*, dat pl *sǣlum situation, luck, un-sǣle evil*; MHG adv *sālliche in a manner bringing good luck*; with *-ig*, OE *ge-sǣlig, sǣllic lucky*, OFris *sēlich*, OS, OHG *sālig lucky*; OI *sæld*, OE *sǣlþ*, OS *sālða*, OHG *sālida* wkf *luck, blessing*; OE *sǣlan* wkv *take place*. On NE *silly*, see Onions 1966:827.

Etymology disputed. Possibly to PIE *sel-, sl-ex-* → *slā- favorable, comfort*: Lat *sōlor comfort*; from *slā-*, Gk ἵ-λη-μι *am gracious*, Hom ἵληθι imp *be favorable!* Froehde 1885 BKIS 9:119, P 1959:900.

Also related to PIE *solo-, sol-wo- well-preserved, whole*, which may be derived from *sel-*, P 1959:979-80: Skt *sárvas all*; Av *haurvo*, OPers *haruva-*; Hom οὖλος ← **solu̯os*, Att ὅλος *whole*; OLat *sollus* ← **sol-nos* 'totus et solidus' *whole and entire*, Lat *solidus firm, salvus hale*; Wel *holl all, whole*, also OIr *slān* (if from **səl-ā-no-*) *hale, healthy*, cf Vendryès 1959-:S-126-27; Arm *olj complete, healthy*; Alb *gjállë living, alive*; TochA *salu entire, full*, B *solme complete*. Brugmann 1894:43ff derives these from PIE *sĕ/ŏ- one* together with various suffixes.

According to Wood 1903 AJP 24:40-41 PGmc *sēla-* is from *sēy- sow*, as in **saian**, formed like OIr *sīl seed* and with meaning 'time for seeding' becoming 'proper time' as in OE *sǣl*, and then 'timely, fitting' (cf Lat *satiō sowing* → Ital *stagione*, Fr *saison season*), like Gk ὡραῖος *timely, ripe* to ὥρα *hour, time*. Other speculation in Vries 1962:575. See also Mezger 1969 ZVS 83:124-49.

S44. si anaphoric prn αὐτή, ἐκείνη *she* L 1.29.

OHG *si, sī she*†, OFris encl *-se* based on PIE 3rd person f *sī*; OE *sēo the*, OS, OHG *siu* ← PIE *syo-* (in Skt *syā́ she*), unless *-u* was not based on f noun ending.

PIE *sī*: Skt encl *sīm*, Av *him* (J Wackernagel 1879 ZVS 24:605-06), OPers *šim* acc without gender and number; Gk ἵ ← ἵ *she* (Sophocles; Ahrens 1859 ZVS 8:344); OIr *sī she*; Lith *-si*, J Schmidt 1900 ZVS 36:395-96, OPruss *-sin* in *waidinna-sin shows herself*. Cf Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:321.

S45. sibakþani (also *-nei*) = Gk σιβαχθανεί with Lat influence beside σαβαχθανί ← Aram *šəbakəþþānī you have (thou hast) forsaken me* M 27.46, *-nei* Mk 15. 34.

S46. sibja f *jō relationship*, only acc sg in *suniwe sibja* υἱοθεσίαν *adoption as a son* G 4.5; *frasti-sibja* υἱοθεσία *sonship* R 9.4; **un-sibjis* adj *ja* ἄνομος *unlawful*, ἀσεβής *impious* M 7.23, cf Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 I:5; *ga-sibjon* wkvII διαλλάσσεσθαι *be reconciled*, only M 5. 24.

OI *Sif* f *wife of Thor* = *brūðr bride* in poetry, pl *sifjar relationship*, OE *sibb*, OFris *sibbe*, OS *sibbia*, OHG *sipp(e)a* stf *relationship, peace*; OI *guð-sifi*, OE *god-sibb* m *sponsor*; OFris *sibba* m *relative, sib(be)* adj, OHG *sibbi peaceful, related, sibbo* wkm *relative*, cf NE *sib*, and especially Northern, *brother, sibling*; OE *un-ge-sibb inimical*, OHG *un-sippi unrelated*; OI *sifjaðr related*; OE *ge-sibbian*, MHG *sippen* wkv *reconcile*.

PIE *s(w)e-bho- of one's own kind*; cf Gk pl σφός *their*; OPruss *sups own, self*; Russ *o-sóba person*. Other possible cognates viewed differently; in contrast with much previous scholarship Fraenkel 1962-65:768-69 takes Lith *sẽbras*, Latvian *sębrs companion* as genuinely Balt, and corresponding directly to *sibja*, not as a borrowing from White Russ *sẽbr friend*, similarly Blesse 1958 ZVS 75:96; also OSerb *sebrs independent farmer*, and ORuss *sjabrs* ← **sębrs* (with nasalization) *neighbor*. Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:433, following Edgerton 1914 ZVS 46:178ff, separates Skt *sabhā́ assembly, meeting*, as from *sa- together* + *bhā speak*, in contrast with Specht 1944 ZVS 68:46. Older references in F 1939:417. Among cognates are tribal names, Lat *Sabīnī those belonging to the tribe, Samnītes Samnites*; PGmc *Semnones* ← **Sebnan-ez*, and with lengthened grade *Suēbi*, OHG *Swābā Swabia*.

P 1959:882-83.

S47. sibun numeral ἑπτά *seven* L 2.36 (on *-un* cf **niun** and **taihun**).

CrimGo *sevene* (Stearns 1978:153 deals with problems in phonology), OI *sjau* (remodeled after *ahtau*, A Kock 1891 BGDSL 15:252, or *tvau*, A Sturtevant 1925 MLN 40:26, Vries 1962:478), OSw *sjū*, OE *seofon*, OFris

soven, si(u)gun, OS *sibun*, OHG *sibun seven*†; based on PIE *sepṃ* ← *septṃ*, though see *septun* = **seftun* in the Lex Salica. On stem vowel *i* see Sievers 1900:32 and others, F 1939: 417; Hamp 1952 Word 8:136-39 ascribes the form *sibun* to PGmc *sībunδa- seventh*. -- Go **sibunda seventh* not attested, but see OI *sjaundi*, OE *seofoþa*, OFris *siugunda*, OS *siβondo*, OHG *sibunto* ← PIE *septṃtos* → *sepṃtos* by assimilation and then PGmc *seβunδaz*, Szemerényi 1960:35; earlier explanation in F 1939:417; Skt *saptáthas*, Av *haptaþō*, Lith *septiñtas*, TochA *šäptänt*, B *šuktante* (beside PIE *sept$_e$mos* in Skt *saptamá-*, Gk ἕβδομος, Lat *septimus*, OIr *sechtmad seventh*); Hitt *siptamiya- a drink consisting of seven ingredients*[?].

PIE *septṃ seven*: Skt *saptá*, Av *hapta*, Gk ἑπτά, Lat *septem*, OIr *secht n-*, Wel *saith*, Lith *septynì*, OSl *sedmь*, Arm *evt'n*, Alb *shtátë*, Hitt **septa*, TochA *špät*, B *šuk(t) seven*.

P 1959:909.

S48. sibun-tehund numeral ἑβδομήκοντα *seventy* L 10.1.

Differing pattern in OI *sjau-tiger*, OE *seofon-tig*, OFris *siugun-tich*, OS *sibun-tig*, OHG *sibunzug seventy*†; problems widely discussed, with solution proposed for Go by Szemerényi 1960:35.

According to Szemerényi 1960:9, PIE *septṃ-kont- 'seven tens'* as in Gk ἑβδομήκοντα, Lat *septuāgintā*, OIr *sechtmogo*, Arm *evt'anasun* yielded PGmc *seftunχanþ-* and by Verner's law *seftunhund*; under influence from PGmc *fimfēhund fifty* this was modified to pre-Go **seftunēhund*, and then after PGmc *sefun seven* to *sebuntēhund* with shift in position of *-t-*, ibid:34-35, and interpretation as Go *sibun-tehund*. This explanation is preferable to J Schmidt 1890:26ff from *sibun* + *-tehund*, ordinal to **taihun**, with reference to Skt **dāśatam*, like *śāpta* or *saptā a septade*, ie *decade of sevens = seventy*; also to Brugmann's assumption of gen pl *sibunte*, from PIE *septṃd- a septade*, as in Gk ἑπτάς + *-hund* ← PIE *kṃtóm hundred* as in Go *þrija* hunda *three hundred* Brugmann 1890a:12-17, 1890b: 139-44.

The other Gmc dialects, according to Szemerényi 1960:36-44 dropped *-hund*, leaving **sibunzo*, which was refashioned after the preceding decades to OE *seofon-tig*, OFris *siugun-tich*, OS *sibun-tig*, OHG *sibunzug*; an alternate form, with preceding *hund- to 100* was maintained in OE *hundseofontig*, OS *antsibunta* beside OHG *sibunzo*; OI however continued the pattern of *þrīr tiger thirty*, cf **fidwor-tigjus forty*, including *sjau-tiger seventy*. Older references in F 1939:417-18, with later in Szemerényi 1960.

P 1959:909.

S49. sidus mu τὰ ἤθη *custom* Sk 3.9 / IIIb.6; **sidon sis* wkvII *practice*, only *þo sido þus* ταῦτα μελέτα *practice these* 1T 4.15.

OI *siðr* ← PGmc *siδuz*, OE *sidu*, OFris *side*, OS *sidu*, OHG *situ* stm *custom*; OI *siða reform*, OE *sidian regulate*, OS *gi-sidōn add, prepare*, OHG *sitōn* wkv *carry out*.

According to F 1939:418 from PIE *s(w)ĕdh-* as in Skt *svadhā custom*, Gk ἔθος *custom*, Hom prpl ἔθων *accustomed*, perf εἴωθα *I am accustomed*, ἐθίζω *get accustomed to*, with lengthened grade ἦθος *custom*; Lat *sodālis* ← **sy̯edhālis companion*, *soleō* (*l* ← *dh*) *am accustomed*, *suēscō* ← **sy̯ēdh-skō am accustomed*. But P 1959:883 separates from these the Gmc forms, following Wissmann 1955 MSzS 6:129 fn28 on the grounds of *-i-* in the stem; see also Vries 1962:472. Possibly the vowel was modified after that of PGmc *sik*, which is also from PIE *s(w)e-*; no other reasonable etymology has been proposed; the reliance of Trier 1951:41 on the retinue is far-fetched.

The alternation of PIE *sw- : s-* has also been a problem; see Feist 1891 BGDSL 15: 548ff, K Johansson 1893 IF 2:8; Solmsen 1901: 203, Gdr 1897-1916 I:259 fn1; Gmc and Italic selected *s-* in refl prn. See also **swes**.

P 1959:882-84.

S50. *sifan wkvIII εὐφραίνεσθαι,

ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι *rejoice*, 3sg opt prs *-fai* G 4.27, 3sg prt *-faida* J 8.56.

No known cognates. Not to OI *sefa* wkv *bring to one's senses, calm down, sefi*, OE *sefa*, OS *sebo* m *senses, feelings* Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:130-31; these are from PIE *sap- taste, perceive*: Lat *sapiō taste, be wise*, OIr *saer* m *artist, artisan* Vendryès 1959-:S-6, P 1959:880. Grienberger 1900:184-85, however, tries to make the meaning relationship plausible.

Scarcely from PIE *sep- be concerned with*, as by Wood 1898 JEGP 2:218: Skt *sápati care for, caress*; Av *hap- hold in one's hand*; Gk ἔπω *care for*, aor ἐπ-έ-σπον, Chantraine 1968-80: 363. Nor to Gk ἐψία *play*, the etymology of which is unknown, Chantraine 1968-80:394.

S51. siggwan stvIII ᵹδειν *sing*, ἀναγινώσκειν *read, present formally as by chanting* L 4.16, 3sg prs pass *-wada* 2C 3.15; **us-siggwan* ἀναγνῶναι *read, recite*, 2pl prt *us-suggwuþ* Mk 2.25; **saggws* mi ᾠδή, συμφωνία *song*, ἀνάγνωσις *reading, lecture* L 15.25.

CrimGo *singhen* 'canere' *sing* (see Stearns 1978:153-54 on form, such as absence of *-w-*), OI *syngja, syngva sing*, OE *singan lecture, narrate, sing*†, OS, OHG *singan* stv; OSw, OFris *siunga* stv *sing*; OI *sǫngr church song or service*, OE, OFris *sang, song*, OS, OHG *sang* stm *song*†.

PIE *seng^{w}h- sing, present in a singing voice*; with few cognates, but of archaic form and meaning, assuring PIE etyma, esp Gk ὀμφή *divine voice, oracle* Chantraine 1968-80:801; possibly Prak *saṃghai say, teach* J Bloch 1931 BSLP 31:[art]62; Wel *de(h)ongli explain* Loth 1924 RevCelt 41:377; scarcely OSl *sętь says* W/H 1938-56 II:199. Hsch ζίγγος *humming of bees* and the like is onomatopoeic.

P 1959:906-07; Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art]136 assumes PIE meaning 'present in religious manner'; see also Vendryès 1931 RevCelt 48:476.

S52. sigis *na* νῖκος *victory* 1C 15.55; *sigis*-**laun** *na prize. sihw* (not *sih*) or *sihu* (as by Uppström, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:277) *victory*, gloss to *sigis* in 1C 15.57B is unexplained. Braune 1908 LGRP 29:327 took it as a meaningless test of the quill; Friesen 1927: 11f assumed the numeral *18*, ie *ih*, with decoration; Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:277 maintains *sihw*.

OI *sigr*, OE *sigor, sige*, OFris *sī*, OS *sigi-* (only in *sigi-drohtin* m *lord of victory, God*), OHG *sigu, sigi* stm *victory*; OI *sigra*, OE *sigorian*, OHG *sigirōn* wkv *conquer, ubar-sigirōt triumphant, ubar-sigenōn overcome* (hapax in Notker's Boethius I.19.4). As first member in many personal names, eg OI *Sigurðr*, OE *Sigeward*, OHG *Sigwart*, Vries 1962:474, Schönfeld 1911:204-07 with references and discussion of forms, Collitz 1906-07 JEGP 6:253ff on Gmc *-es-* as well as *-u*-stem; Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:9,15.

PIE *seĝh- hold fast, conquer, seĝhos victory*: Skt *sáhate overcome, sáhuriṣ powerful, victorious, sáhas*, Av *hazō power, victory*; Gk ἔχω *have*, ἐ/ὀχ-υρός *firm*, ἴσχω ← **si-seĝh-ō hold*, ἰσχύς *strength*; Gaul PeN *Sego-marus*, GN Σεγο-δουνον = *Sego-dunum*, ogam PeN *Sega-monas* (with varied stem vowel), OI *seg, sed strength* Vendryès 1959-:S-68, MWel *haer* ← **sagro- stubborn*.

P 1959:888-89.

S53. sigljo *nn* σφραγίς *seal*; **sigljan* wkvI σφραγίζεσθαι *seal*, only nom sg m prpl *-jands* 2C 1.22; **faur-sigljan*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* M 27.66; **ga-sigljan* σφραγίζειν *set one's seal* J 6.27.

OI *inn-sigli*, OE *in-segel, in-sigle*, OFris *(in)sigel*, OHG *in-sigli* stn; Sw *sigill*, Dan *segl*, MHG *sigel* stn *seal*†; OE *seglian*, OFris *sig(e)lja*, MLG *segelen*, OHG *bisigilen* wkv *seal*†.

From Lat *sigillum*, VLat *sigillo, seg(e)llo seal* (cf **aiwaggeljo** on *-o*) which was modified by Lat *insigne sign*; similarly **sigljan* is from Lat *sigillāre*, probably modified by Lat *signāre seal* Grienberger 1900:185. Corazza 1969:35-36,

in contrast with M Jellinek 1926:185 considers these to be early borrowings.

S54. *sigqan stvIII δύνειν, βυθίζεσθαι *sink*, only 3sg prt *sagq* L 4.40, 3pl prt *sugqun* L 5.7; **dis-sig(g)qan* ἐπιδύειν *sink down*, only 3sg opt prs *-qai* E 4.26; **ga-siggqan* δῦναι, καταπίνεσθαι *sink, go down*, only 3sg prt *ga-saggq* Mk 1.32, 3sg opt prs *-qai* 2C 2.7; **sag(g)qjan* wkvI βυθίζειν *cause to sink*, 3pl prs *-jand*; *uf-sag(g)qjan* καταποντίζειν *engulf*, only papl *uf-saggqiþs* 1C 15.54; **saggks* only dat sg *saggqa* M 8.11 δυσμαί *setting, west* (meaning modified after Gk δυσμή, Lane 1933 PQ 12: 323-24), also Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:130.

OI *søkkva*, OSw *sjunka*, OE, OS *sincan*, OHG *sinkan* stv *sink*†.

No clear etymology; P 1959:906 proposes PIE *seng^{w}- fall, sink*, Arm *ankanim fall* (Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:288); also Gk ἐάφθη *sank* (not accepted by Chantraine 1968-80:308). Further relationships on the basis of PIE *senk^{w}- sink* J Schmidt 1895:63-64, not accepted; Skt *śaśakras not drying up*, Lith *sèkti sink, dry up*, OSl *isęknąti dry up* is from *sek-* with *n*-infix in prs, Fraenkel 1962-65:772-73, P 1959:894-95. Other suggestions in F 1939:420 to be rejected.

S55. sik acc M 6.29, *sis* dat of refl prn ἑαυτόν, αὐτόν *himself, herself, themselves* M 5. 42.

OI *sik, sēr*, MLG *sik*, OHG *sih* refl prn *self*; *-k* ← PIE *-ge*, as in **mik**.

PIE *se-, s(e)we- separate, self*: Gk σ-φε, dat σ-φιν, Lat *sē*, dat *sibi*; OPruss *sien*, dat *sebbei*; OSl *sę*, dat *sebě*. On the PIE root see Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:390,395-402. In his study devoted largely to the forms of the personal pronouns Seebold 1984:73-79 proposes PIE *se*, originally a 3rd person personal pronoun parallel with PIE *me* and *te*, and thereupon the basis of the reflexive.

P 1959:882-84; see also **silba**, **swes**, and WP Lehmann 1979 SLang 3:79-80 on development of refl prn as IE languages became VO in structure.

S56. *sikls m = σίκλος *shekel*, based on Heb-Aram *šéqel*, only gen pl *sikle* Neh 5.15.

S57. silba prn αὐτός *self* M 27.57; **silba-siuneis* m*ia* αὐτόπτης *eyewitness*, only nom pl m *-njos* L 1.2, cf ***ana-siuns**; **silba-wiljis* αὐθαίρετος *of one's own free will*, only nom pl m *-ljos* 2C 8.3, cf ***ga-wiljis**.

OI *sjālfr*, OE *se(o)lf*, OFris, OS *self*, OHG *selb self*†.

Etymology difficult. Based on PIE *se-, s(e)we-* as in **sik** + *-lo-*, and *-bho-* as in **sibja**; parallel only in Ven *sselboi-sselboi* = OHG *der selbselbo* (Canevoi; cf Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967 I:451-52, II:167-68). Not OIr *selb*, Wel *helw property*; P 1959:899. Grienberger 1900: 185-86 and Lidén 1897-99:55 fn1; WP Lehmann 1979 SLang 3:65-89 discusses reasons for neologisms to express reflexivization -- the shift from an OV structure with a middle verb form to a VO structure in which "pronominal" forms express reference to the subject.

P 1959:884.

S58. silda-leik n*a* θάμβος *astonishment*, only L 5.9; **silda-leikjan* wkvI (trans) θαυμάζειν *wonder* at L 7.9, (intrans) θαμβεῖσθαι, ἐκπλήσσεσθαι *be amazed* Mk 1.27; *silda-leiknan* wkvIV θαυμασθῆναι *be admired*, only 2Th 1.10; *sildaleiks* adj*a* θαυμαστός *wonderful* Mk 12.11.

Cmpd of *silda-* and *leik* as in **ga-leiks**; cf OE *seld-līc, sellic*, OS *seld-līk remarkable, wonderful*; OI *sjald-sēnn*, OE *seld-siene*, OHG *selt-sāni seldom seen*. -- Also to *silda-*, OI *sjaldan*, OE *seldan*, OFris *sielden*, MLG *selden*, OHG *seltan* adv *seldom*†.

Etymology obscure; possibly from PIE *se-* *separate* + *-l-* as in Lat *tā-l-is, quā-l-is*, Lidén 1897-99:55 fn1, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:382, and also Lat *sōlus alone* ← **s(w)e-, *s(w)ō-lo-s*, W/H 1938-56 II:557, + *-dh-*.

P 1959:884.

S59. silubr n*a* ἀργύριον *silver* L 19.15; **silubreins* adj*a* ἀργυροῦς *of silver*, only nom pl n *-na* 2T 2.20, elsewhere ἀργύριον *piece of silver* M 27.3; on the anaptyptic *-u-* see ***miluks**.

CrimGo *siluir* 'argentum' Stearns 1978: 153, OI *silfr*, OE *siolufr*, *siolfor*, OFris *sel(o)ver*, *silver*, OS *siluƀar*, OHG *sil(a)bar* stn *silver*†; OE *sylfren*, OFris *selvirn*, OS *siluƀrin*, OHG *silberīn of silver, silvern.*

A cross-cultural term found also in Lith *sidābras*, Latvian *sidrabs*, OPruss *siraplis*; OSl *sьrebro silver* Fraenkel 1962-65:780-81; source obscure, Ipsen 1924 *F1* Streitberg:229-30, though see Akkad *šarpu*, Benveniste 1973:154-55. Older suggestions in F 1939:421-22 not credible. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:713 fn2 propose comparison with Bas *zillar*, *zidar silver.*

Other IE dialects have words for 'silver' which seem to designate its color, and also in origin as cross-cultural terms, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:34; Skt *rajatám*, Av *ərəzata-*, OPers *ardata*, Gk ἄργυρος, Lat *argentum*, OIr *argat*, Wel *ariant*, Arm *arcat' silver*; see **airkniþa** and P 1959:64-65.

PIE has no word for 'silver', Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:394, Chantraine 1968-80: 105; see also Feist 1924:28, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:713.

S60. simle adv ποτέ *once, formerly* R 7.9; on *-e*, see **bisunjane**.

OE *simbel*, *simble(s)*, OS *sim(b)la*, OHG *simble(s)*, *simblum always*; meaning relationship to Go difficult, Kluge 1913:250, though he assumes their origin in a noun, in P 1959:903 **semlo-m one time.*

From PIE *sem-* *one* + *-l-*: Gk ὁμαλός *like, smooth* from 'of one kind', Lat *semel once, simul*, (earlier *semol*) *at the same time, at once*, *similis similar*; OIr *samlith once*, *samail likeness* Vendryès 1959-:S-21-S-22. See also **sama**, ***samjan**, ***sinteins**, and **sums**. Proposals on the source of the final syllable vary: W Scherer 1890:595 assumes an old inst used adverbially, as proposed also for *þan-de*, *unte*, Helten 1903 BGDSL 28:564; Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:695 assumes gen pl + *dage*, which was elided. O Ritter 1907 Archiv 119:180, 1909 Archiv 122:99 assumes PIE *sem-* + Go **1. mel** *time*; accepted by W Horn 1923:115.

S61. *sinap n or *-aps* m σίναπι *mustard*, only gen sg *-pis* Mk 4.31, L 17.6.

Sw *senap*, Dan, OE, MLG *senep*, OHG *senaf*, *senef* stm/n *mustard.*

Borrowing from Lat *sināpi*; W Schulze 1966:511 fn2, M Jellinek 1926:181,186, Corazza 1969:44,63,67-68, discuss the quantity of the *-a-*, as proposed by Roethe 1919 SAW 1919: 791, taken over in the 3rd or 4th century, when *-a-* may still have been long in Go. Lat from Gk, which borrowed the word and substance from Egypt, Hehn 1911:211-12.

S62. sind *are*, 3rd pl prs to **im** M 7.13.

OE, OFris, OS *sind*, OHG *sint are.*

PIE *es-* *be*, in zero grade; PIE *sénti*: Skt *sánti*, Av *hənti*, Gk εἰσί (remodeled after sg), Dor ἐντί, Lat *sunt*, Umbr *sent*, OSl *sǫtь*, Hitt *asanzi*. PGmc has *-d* from unaccented form, with modification by Verner's law. Prs 1pl Go *sijum*, 2pl *sijuþ*, *siuþ* and 1du *siju* have *sij-* from the subj (PIE opt) 1sg *sijau*, 1pl *sijaima*, PIE 1sg *s-(i)yē-m*, with *-y-/-iy-* variation by Sievers's law; the Gmc sg stem was extended in Go through the pl. M Jellinek 1926:267-69.

P 1959:340-42, Brugmann 1904a:495,592.

S63. Sindila PeN in DeN; *Sinthilanis* gen in the signature. Dim, as in *Attila*, **Merila**, of a shortened form **Sintha*, Förstemann 1900:1339-40, = OHG *Sindo*, with a further dim *Sindico* as in Go *Mirica.*

S64. sineigs adj*a* πρεσβύτης, πρεσβύτερος *old* L 1.18; **seneigs* only dat sg *-gana* 1T 5.1, cf Streitberg 1920:48-49; super **sinista* πρεσβύτερος *oldest* M 17.3, with PIE *-isto-* as in **aftumists**.

OF PeN *Sinigus*, Förstemann 1900:1337; cf Gaul PeN *Seno-gnatus*, with PIE *-ko-* as in Gaul (-Lat) PeN *Seneca*; also Skt *sanakás*, Lat *senex old.* Gmc-Lat *sinistus* "sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus" 'highest priest of all among the Burgundians', Ammianus Marcellinus 28,5.14, cf Scardigli 1973:25. Is an adj only in Go. Possibly also OI *sina* f *old withered grass which has remained through the winter*

Vries 1962:476.

Derived with *-eigs* as in *anda-nemeigs* from PGmc *sen-*; cf MLat *seni-scalcus* "famulorum senior" 'oldest of the servants' (Leges Alamannorum 79.3:4): It *sini-scalco*, Prov *sene-scal*, Fr *sénéchal*, Meyer-Lübke 1935:7946, NE *seneschal*.

PIE *seno- old*: Skt *sánas*, Av *hanō old*; Gk ἔνος (ἔνος) *old, from the previous year*, δί-ενος *two years old*, ἕνη *last day before the new moon*; Lat *senex*, gen *senis old*, *senātus senate*; OIr *sen*, Wel *hen*; Lith *sẽnas old*, *sẽnis old man*, *senỹstė age*; Arm *hin old* (possibly a borrowing from Iranian), *hana-paz always* Brugmann 1894:7 fn2.

P 1959:907-08, Fraenkel 1962-65:774-75.

S65. *sinteins adj*a* ἐπιούσιος *daily* M 6.11; **seiteins* ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν *daily*, only nom sg f *-teina* 2C 11.28B; *sinteino* ἀεί, πάντοτε *always* J 7.6; on *-o* see **alja-leiko**. A cmpd of *sin-* and *-teins* found only in Go, though tentatively proposed in OHG *len(gi)zin* ← **langat-tin having long days*, NHG *Lenz Lent*† Onions 1966:523.

sin- ← PIE *sem- one* as in Lat *sem-per always*, cf **simle** (not ← PIE *seno- old*, as by Schade 1872-82 II:765,767; cf ***seneigs**); OI *si-* in *sī-fella* f *unbroken series, continuity*, OE *sin-nihte* stf, OS *sin-nahti* stf *eternal night*, OHG *sin-vluot* stf *long-lasting flood*.

-teins based on PIE *dey- shine* + *-no-* as in Skt *dínam day*; Lat *nūn-dinum market held every ninth day*; OIr *trē-denus* 'triduum' *for three days*; OSl *dьnь day*, orig a cons stem, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:264,298; Alb *gdhin pass a sleepless night*, *ditë day*, though rejected by Vasmer 1953-58 I:339 and Huld 1984:51-52; with normal grade, Lith *dienà*, Latvian *dìena*, OPruss *deinan* (acc) *day*; + PIE *-wo-* in Skt *dévas god*, cf **tyz**.

PIE *dey- shine*: Skt *dī-de-ti shine*; Gk δέατο *appear*, δέελος ← *δεϱε- Hom, Att δῆλος *visible*, Lat *diēs* (based on acc **d(i)i̯ēm*), OIr *dïa*, *die day*; possibly OI *teitr cheerful* (← *glowing*), OE *tāt*, OHG *zeiz gentle*, Vries 1962:586 dubious because of meaning. A Nehring 1940 Lg 16:1-11 surveys the forms attributed to PIE *dey-*, proposing instead PIE *deyeu* : *dinés*; provocative, but dubious.

P 1959:183-87.

S66. *sinþs m*a time* from 'trip, way'; found only in formation of numerical adv like *ainamma sinþa* ἅπαξ *once* 2C 11.25, *twaim sinþam* δίς *twice* Ph 4.16; **ga-sinþa* mn συνέκδημος *companion*, only dat pl *-þam* 2C 8. 19; **ga-sinþja* mn only dat pl *-þjam* = ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ *in the traveling company*; *us-sindo* adv μάλιστα *especially*, only Phil 16; cf **sandjan**.

OI *sinn* n *time*, *sinni* n *trip, company*, OE, OS *sīð*, OFris *sīth*, OHG *sint*, *sind* stm *way, side*†; OHG *sinnan* stv *go, strive*; OI *sinna*, OE *sīþian*, OS *sīðōn*, OHG *sindon* wkv *travel*; OI *sinni*, OE *-ge-sīþ(a)*, OS *gi-sīth*, OHG *gi-sindo* wkm *companion*; OE *ge-sīþ*, OS *ge-sīthi*, OHG *gi-sindi* stn *retinue*.

PIE *sent- set out, go; perceive*: Av *hant-* *arrive*; OIr *sēt*, Wel *hynt*, MBret *hent way* = PGmc *sinþa-*; OIr *sētig wife* from 'companion', MWel *hennydd companion*; other cognates under **sandjan**.

P 1959:908.

S67. siponeis m*a* μαθητής *disciple* M 10.24; **siponjan* wkvI μαθητεύειν *be a disciple* (with dat), only 3sg prt *-onida* M 27.57.

Etymology disputed. Wissmann 1961 ZVS 77:81 compares OHG *seffo student, disciple*, assuming origin of both words in Gaul **sepānios follower*, based on PCelt *sep- follow*; this from PIE *sek^{w}-* as in **saihvan**. Earlier derivations relating this root with less cogent semantic argumentation in Much 1893 BGDSL 17:33 and L Meyer 1869:155; more precisely, Luft 1897 ZDA 41:239 from PCelt *sep-*. Schütte 1902 AinZDA 28:14 sees origin among Galatians. Subsequently he looks to Thrac, where *-k^{w}-* → *-p-*, Schütte 1929-33 I:76,193. This proposal, and others, superseded by Wissmann. Among these is Grienberger 1900: 186-87, with derivation from PGmc *sippa*, as in OE *septe* 3sg prt *taught*, OS *afsebbian*

perceive, Lat *sapere know*; continued by Holthausen 1909 IF 25:147, who relates Lat *persibus very wise*, with *-ī-* based on Osc, W/H 1938-56 II:477. Collitz 1925 AJP 46:213ff takes it as a calque of a noun from Gk συμπονεῖν *collaborate*, with reference to Gk σύμπονος *collaborator*. Proposals linking it to OSl *župans head of a district* rejected, Vasmer 1953-58 I: 432-33. Polomé 1985 *F* Knobloch:315 recalls his earlier suggestion as source in Ven **sep-ōn-io- venerator* from PIE *sep- care for*.

S68. sitan stvV καθῆσθαι *sit* Mk 10. 40, 1sg prt *sat* M 26.69, 3pl *setun* M 3.32, papl not attested (see B/E 1981:107 fn9); *and-sitan* ἀνακρίνειν *avoid* G 2.6; **bi-sitan* περιοικεῖν *dwell round about*, only prpl *bisitands* περίοικος *neighbor* L 1.58; **dis-sitan* λαμβάνειν *seize* L 5.26; *ga-sitan* καθῆσθαι *sit down* Mk 4. 1; **us-sitan* ἀνακαθῆσθαι *sit up*, only 3sg prt *-sat* L 7.15; see also ***satjan**, ***sitls** and ***anda-sets**.

OI *sitja*, OE *sittan*, OFris *sitta*, OS *sittan*, OHG *sizzen* stv *sit*†, with *-j*-suffix, which is missing in Go by influence of 2/3prs or prt, Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:190,192. Also OI, OE *set*, OHG *sez* stn *seat*†; with PIE *-ē-*, OI *sāt*, OE *sæt*, MHG *sāze* st*f* *ambush*; OFris *sēte setting of security or pledge*.

PIE *sed- sit*, orig athematic: Skt *sat-si* 2sg prs; Av *hazdyāt* 3sg opt prt; Lith *sẽst sit* Meillet 1916 BSLP 20:[art]22, 1916 MSLP 19:181; elsewhere thematic.

Skt *sídati* (← **sizdati*, *d* for *ḍ* after *sádāmi* etc) *sit*; *ásadat sat*; Av *hiδaiti*; Gk ἵζω (ie **ἵσδω* ← **sizdō*) *sit*, ἕζομαι; Lat *sīdō* ← **sizdō sit down*, *sedeō sit*, *solium* ← **sodi̯om throne* W/H 1938-56 II:507-09; OIr *suide* ← **sodi̯om seat*.

Lengthened grade PIE *sēd-* as in Go *setun*: Skt *sādás sitting*; Lat *sēdimus* 1pl perf, *sēdēs seat*; OIr *si-d mound for supernatural beings*; peace Vendryès 1959-:S-105-06; Lith *sẽsti*, OSl *sěsti sit down*; Lith *sėdėti*, OSl *sěděti sit*; OI *sætr* n *summer pasture*; *-ō*-grade in OIr *suide*, Lith pl *súodys*, *súodžiai*, OSl *sažda*, OI, OE *sōt*, MLG *sōt* stn *soot*†.

Also from PIE *sedo-*: Skt *sadas-*, Av *haδiš-*, Gk ἕδος n *seat*, Wel *hedd* f *rest*, *sedd seat*.

P 1959:884-87, Watkins 1985:56.

S69. *sitls ma θρόνος, κατασκήνωσις *seat, chair* M 8.20.

PGmc *setla-* ← PIE *sed-tlo-*: OI *sę̣tull* m *one who settles*; OE *seotul*, MLG *setel*, OHG *sezzal* stm *easy chair*; OE *setl*, *seþol*, *sedel* n, (Weyhe 1905 BGDSL 30:67ff), OS *sethal* m, OHG *sedhal*, *sedel* stm/n *seat*, *settle*†.

PIE *sed-* + *-lo-*: Hsch ἑλλα· καθέδρα (Laconian) *seat*; Lat *sella chair*; Gaul *sedlon* in *caneco-sedlon golden easy chair* (Autun inscription, Holder 1896-1907 I:734; according to Gwynn in Vendryès 1930 RevCelt 47:200-01); NSorbian *sedło seat* (but OSl *sedьlo saddle* is a new formation, possibly patterned after Lat *sella*, Vaillant 1932 RESl 12:235).

OI *sọdull*, OE *sadol*, OHG *satul* stm *saddle*† was taken as a borrowing from Russ, F Fischer 1909:45, after Saussure 1889 MSLP 6: 247 said it was not from PIE *sod-tlo-*, though Lidén 1891 BGDSL 15:515 assumed PIE *sod-tlo-* → *sotlo* → PGmc *sadula-*; cf OS *saduleri* m *saddler*†, Finn *satula saddle* Thomsen 1870: 169.

Also PIE *-ro-* as in Gk ἕδρα, OI *setr* stn *seat*, cf ***ligrs**, Meillet 1930 RevGer 21:38.

S70. siujan wkvI ἐπιῤῥάπτειν *sew on*, only 3sg prs *-jiþ* Mk 2.21.

OI *sȳja sew, tie the planks of a ship together*, OE *siow(i)an*, OFris *siā*, MLG *sūwen*, OHG *siuwen* wkv *sew*†; OI *saumr*, OE *sēam*, OFris *sām*, MLG *sōm*, OHG *soum* stm *seam*†; OHG *siula* wkf *awl*; OI *sūð* f *joined planks of ship*; OI *sjōðr*, OE *seod pouch*, MHG *siut* stm *thread*.

PIE *syū- sew*, possibly an extension of *seybind* P 1959:891-92: Skt *sīvyati sew*, *syūtás sewn*, *sū́tram thread*; Gk κασ-σύω *patch together* (obscure, Chantraine 1968-80:504), κάσσῡμα *anything patched, leather sole*, ὑμήν *membrane, hymen* (dubiously here because of

short *u*, suffix and meaning, Chantraine 1968-80:1156); Lat *suō* *sew*, *sūtor* *shoemaker*, *sūbula* *awl*; Lith *siūti*, Latvian *šūt* *sew*, *šūte* *thread, seam*, Lith *siūlas*, Latvian *šūla* *thread*, OPruss *schumeno* *shoemaker's cord*; OSl *šiti* *sew*; Hitt *sum(m)anza(n)-* *cord, band*.

P 1959:915-16.

S71. siuks adj*a* ἀσθενής *sick, weak* M 25.43; *siukan* stvII ἀσθενεῖν, κακῶς ἔχειν *be sick* Ph 2.26, attested only in prs, as in 3sg *-kiþ* 2C 13.3; *siukei* f*n* ἀσθένεια *sickness* J 11.4; see ***sauhts**.

OI *sjūkr*, OE *sēoc*, OFris *siāk*, OS *siok*, OHG *sioh* *sick*†; OI *sūkjast*, *sūkvast* wkv *sicken, sokna* wkv *become sick*; OHG *siuchan*, *siuchēn* wkv *be sick*; MLG *süke*, OHG *siuhhi* stf *sickness*.

Etymology unclear; P 1959:915 proposes PIE *sewg- be sad, sick*, with reflexes only in OIr *socht* m *silence, depression*, Arm *hiucanim* *sicken* and Gmc; Vendryès 1959-:S-161. -- Relating sickness to 'sucking' of one's energies (by demons), Lid 1934 NTS 7:170ff derives from PIE *sewg-* as in Lat *sūgō*, Latvian *sùkt*, OE *sūcan* *suck*†; P 1959:912-13; approved by W/H 1938-56 II:626. -- Scarcely to Lith *sùkti* *turn*, OSl *sъkati* *wind up*, as by E Zupitza 1900 ZVS 36:66 (cf Fraenkel 1962-65:939-40), and earlier, E Zupitza 1896:165, to Lith *saugùs* *certain*, *saugóti* *watch over*, with central meaning 'anxious' (cf Fraenkel 1962-65:764; no etymology for Lith words). Nor to Skt *svájate* *embraces*, *svajás* *viper*, tentatively related to MHG *swanc* *supple, limp*; OE *swincan* stv *work, strive*; MHG *swak* *supple, limp, weak*, MHG *swach* *weak*; cf ***af-swaggwjan**, P 1959:1047-48 PIE *swe(n)g-*, extended from PIE *sew- bend, turn* P 1959:914, as may also be *sewg-*.

S72. siuns f*i* εἶδος *form*, ὀπτασία *face, countenance* L 9.29; ***ana-siuns** *visible*; ***silba-siuneis** m*ia* αὐτότης *eyewitness*, only n pl *-njos* L 1.2.

PGmc *segw-ni-* to **salhvan** *see*, with *-ni-* as in **ana-busns**: OI *sjōn*, *sýn*, OE *sīen*, *sȳn*, OFris *siōne*, *siūne*, OS *siun* f *face, sight, appearance*; OI *sýnn* ← ***siuniz** ← PGmc ***segwnia-**, MLG *sūne* *visible*, MDu *siene* *beautiful to see*; OE *ge-sīene*, *ge-sēne* (Angl) *visible*. Seebold 1970:388.

S73. skaban stvVI inf 1C 11.6, 3sg opt prs pass *-baidau* 1C 11.6; ***bi-skaban** κείρασθαι *shear* (from 'shave'), only dat sg f papl *bi-skabanon* 1C 11.5.

OI *skafa*, OE *scafan*, MDu, MLG *schaven*, OHG *schaben* stv; Du *schaven* *shave*†; OE *sceab* m*-scurf*; *-ō-* in OI *skōfir* f pl *singed crusts (at the bottom of a pan)*, MLG *schōve*, OHG *scuoppa* f *scale*, with same ablaut grade as in prt, OI *skōf*, OE *scōf*, OHG *scuob* *shaved* : Lat *scābī*.

PIE *(s)kĕp-*, *(s)kăp-*, *(s)kĕb(h)-*, *(s)kăb(h)-* *cut with a sharp tool, split*; Gmc forms probably from *-bh-*, with Lat, Balt and Sl cognates, though *-b-* is possible for these; Lat *scabō* *shave, scratch* Bickell 1865 ZVS 14:433, *scaber* *scabrous*, *scobis* *scrapings*, *scobina* *file* (*a* : *o* ablaut, Hirt 1921-37 II:182-83; but Güntert 1916:51-52 proposed *o* : *ə* ablaut, with PIE *skobh-*); Lith *skàbti* *pluck*, *skabùs* *sharp*, *skõbti* *pluck, shave*, Latvian *skabît* *hew off*, *skabrs* *sharp*; OSl *skoblь* *scraping-knife*.

If from PIE *skap-*, cf Gk σκάπτω *dig, hack*, σκαπάνη *spade, hoe*; Lith *skāplis* *ax*, *skāptas* *gouge*, *skapoti* *shave, cut*, *skõpti* *cut, hollow out*. Without *s-*, NPers *kāfaδ* *dig*; Gk κόπτω *strike*, κόπος *blow*, κοπεύς *chisel*, κάπετος *grave, ditch*; Lith *kãpas* *burial mound*, *kapóti*, Latvian *kapât* *hew, split*; OSl *kopati* *dig*.

From same set of roots ***ga-skapjan**. On ablaut and meaning, see Walde 1924 *F1* Streitberg:190-91; Prokosch 1939:173-75 proposes long normal grade in the prt, as in Lat *scābī*, reduced grade in the prs and papl.

P 1959:930-33.

S74. skadus mu σκιά *shadow* Col 2. 17; ***ufar-skadwjan** wkvI ἐπισκιάζειν *overshadow* L 1.35; ***ga-skadweins** f*i/ō*, only acc sg *-wein* σκεπάσματα *clothing* 1T 6.8.

OE *skeadu* m, *scead* n, OS *skado*, OHG *scato* stm *shadow*†, *shade*†; Nor *skodd(a)* *fog*; OE *sceadwian*, OS *skadowan*, *scadoian*, OHG *scatewen* wkv *shadow*†, OE *ofer-sceadwian* *overshadow*†.

PIE *skot-* *shadow, darkness*: Gk σκότος *darkness*, OIr *scāth* *shadow, mirror*, MWel *isgaud*, OCorn *scod* *shadow*.

P 1959:957; Vendryès 1959-:S-36.

S75. *skaftjan* *sik*, only 3sg prt *skaftida sik du galewjan* ὁ μέλλων παραδιδόναι *he who was to betray him* J 12.4, μέλλειν *be about to do*; derivative of adj (papl) **skafts* *ready*; cf **ga-skafts* and ***ga-skapjan***.

S76. skaidan stvVII χωρίζειν *separate* M 10.35; *af-skaidan* ἀφωρίζειν *divide* R 8.39, 3sg prt *af-skaiskaid* G 2.12; **dis-skaidan* *divide*, only acc sg f prpl *-dandein* Sk 8.2 / VIIIa.7; **ga-skaidan* στέλλεσθαι *withdraw*, only *-daiþ* 3sg opt prs 2Th 3.6; **ga-skaidnan* χωρίζεσθαι *divorce*, only *-dnai* 3sg opt prs 1C 7.11; *ga-skaideins* *fi/ō* διαστολή *distinction* R 10.12.

OE *scādan*, *scēadan*, OFris *skētha*, OS *skēðan*, OHG *sceidan* stv *separate*; OI *skeið* n *race, way*; OI *skið*, OE *scīd*, OFris *skīd*, OHG *skīt* stn *firewood*; OHG *scidōn* wkv *separate*; OHG *sceter*; MHG *schiter* *thin*.

PIE *skĕy-* *separate*, an extension of *sek-* *cut*; + *-t-*, OIr *scīath*, Wel *ysgwyd* *shield*, and the numerous Gmc reflexes above. Also + *-d-*, Skt *chinátti* *cut off*; Gk σχίζω *split*; Lat *scindō* *slit, tear*; OI *skīta*, OE *scītan*, OHG *scīzan* stv *slit*; without further suffix, Skt *chyati* *cut off*, Gk σχάω *slit*, Lat *sciō* *distinguish*, becoming *know*, MIr *scïan* *knife*, OI *skeina* *wound slightly*.

PIE *ske²y-*, with zero grade in Gmc prs, Brugmann 1913 IF 32:179ff, Gdr 1897-1916 II. 3:121-22, Prokosch 1939:176-80, with normal grade *-ē²-* in prt of NWGmc, WP Lehmann 1952:69.

P 1959:919-22.

S77. *skalja* *fjō* κέραμος *tile*, only acc pl *-jos* L 5.19.

OI *skel*, OE *sciell*, *scyll* f *shell*†, *mussel*; MLG *schelle* *shell, scale*; OE *scealu*, OHG *scala* st/wkf *shell*†, *hull*; OE *scealla*, OFris *skall* m *testicle*; with long vowel OS *scāla* f *shell*.

PIE *(s)kel-* *cut, skolyā* *something split off*: Skt *kalā* *portion*; Gk σκάλλω *stir up, hoe*; Lat *silex* ← **scilec-* *flint*, *siliqua* ← **sciliquā* *husk*; MIr *sce(i)llec* *rock*, MIr *scoilt*, Wel *hollt* *split*, without *s-*, Wel *caill* *testicle*; Lith *skélti*, Latvian *šķelt* *split*, Lith *skalà* *chip of wood*; OSl *skolьka* *mussel*; Alb *hálë* *fish scale* Fraenkel 1962-65:792-93,800. See ***skilja***, ***skildus***.

P 1959:923-27.

S78. skalks *ma* δοῦλος, οἰκέτης *servant, slave* M 10.24; *skalkinon* wkvII δουλεύειν *serve* M 6.24; **miþ-skalkinon* συνδουλεύειν *serve with*, only 3sg prt *-inoda* Ph 2.22; *skalkinassus* *mu* δουλεία *slavery*, λατρεία *worship*, εἰδωλατρία *idolatry* G 5.1; *ga-skalki* *nia* σύνδουλος *fellow-servant* Col 4.7.

OI *skalkr* (later LG semantic influence to 'rascal', Vries 1962:482), OE *scealc*, OFris, OS *skalk* OHG *scalch* stm *servant, slave*; OE *scylcen*, MHG *schelkinne* stf *female servant, whore*.

No accepted etymology. Not to OSl *chlapъ* *servant, slave*, Russ *cholóp* *servant*, itself uncertain and not from PIE *(s)kel-* *cut*, as in ***skilja***, in spite of A Brückner 1923 ZVS 51: 235 as 'the maimed' (in the legs, to prevent escape); see Vasmer 1953-58 III:257. Nor from Celt; OIr *scolōc* *scholar*, *scāl* *school*; nor from OIr *scāl* *phantom*, as with ***skohsl***, as by Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:291-92. And scarcely from Caucasian *χkalaχ*, *χkalak*, *χkullukči* *servant*, as by Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:142.

Derivation from PIE roots also unlikely, as by Brugmann 1906 IF 19:381 from *(s)kel-* *jump* (*skalks* as 'jumper'); not here Skt *śalabhás* *grasshopper* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:313; other Gmc derivatives not pertinent, OHG *scelo* m *stallion*, MHG *schel(lec)* *leaping, wild*, though in P 1959:929; nor from *skel-* in ***skulan***, as by

Grienberger 1900:187, comparing OSl *sluga servant* from PIE *ḱlew- hear* (as in **hliuþ**) 'the obedient one'. And scarcely to Nor *skalk bread stump* (dial), Faroese *skālkur piece of wood*, as by Friesen 1897:59-60 and Much 1909 WuS 1: 47, which Friesen derives from PIE *(s)kel- cut*, as in ***skalja**; similarly Güntert 1932:40ff, who assumed derivation from *(s)kel-* in the sense 'stone-mason'. And probably not to ***kalkjo** *whore*, as by Siebs 1904 ZVS 37:313.

Possibly from the designation of a subjugated people like Gk δούλος *slave*, which may be from Lydian or Carian, Chantraine 1968-80: 294-95; also OHG *walh*, OE *wealh slave, foreigner, Welsh*, cf Lat *Volcae* [name of a Celt tribe], though these are difficult etymologically, as indicated by NE *slave, Slav*, Onions 1966:833-34, attributed to MGk Σκλάβος (Byzantium) *Slav*, also in It *schiavina coarse pilgrim garment*, OFr *esclave slave*, It *ciao* [a greeting], Meyer-Lübke 1935:8003a.

S79. *skaman wkvIII ἐπαισχύνεσθαι *be ashamed*, as in 3sg prt *skamaida sik* 2T 1. 16, ἐξαπορηθῆναι *despair of* 2C 1.8; ***ga-skaman** ἐντραπῆναι *be shamed*, only 3sg opt prs *-mai sik* 2Th 3.14; ***skanda** *fō* αἰσχύνη *shame*, only dat sg *-dai* Ph 3.19.

OE *scamian*, OFris *skamia*, OHG *scamēn, -ōn* wkv *be ashamed*, derived from PGmc *skamō* in OE *scamu*, OFris *skame*, OS, OHG *skama*, MHG *schem* (not with *ë*) stf; OI *skǫmm* f *shame*†, *skamma* wkv *disgrace*; OE *scand*, OFris *skande*, MLG *schande*, OHG *scanta* st/wkf *shame*†, derivation with PIE *-tā* from *(s)kam-*; OHG *scant* adj *disgraced*.

Since MHG *scheme* has umlauted *-a-*, not PGmc *-ë-*, as in MHG *schëme* st/wkm *shadow*, from PGmc *skam-*, possibly from PIE *(s)kam-*, extended with *-b-* in Gk σκαμβός *crooked, with crooked legs*, OIr *camb crooked*, with *-p-* in Gk καμπή *curve*, Go ***hamfs** *maimed* P 1959:525, 918; K Johansson 1890 ZVS 30:428ff derived PGmc *skem-* from PIE *ḱem- cover*, as in **afhamon** -- rejected by F 1939:428-29, P 1959: 556-57; Vries 1962:512 hesitantly relates it to OI *skammr short*, ME *scant little* -- a 'scanting of honor', PIE *(s)ḱem- maimed* P 1959:929, and *ḱem-* P 1959:556-57.

S80. skatts *ma* δηνάριον, μνᾶ, pl ἀργύρια *(piece of) money*; ***skattja** *mn* κολλυβιστής *money-changer* Mk 11.15; on its use in Go cf Benveniste 1973:154-56, who contrasts it with **faihu**, ***daila** and **silubr**.

OI *skattr tax, + Niflunga ... treasure of the Nibelungs*, OE *sceatt tax, money, small coin, wealth*, OFris *skett money, cattle*, OS *skatt* m *piece of money, wealth*, OHG *skaz* stm *denarius, (piece of) money, wealth*.

No etymology; probably a cross-cultural term. Also in Sl, OSl *skotъ cattle* (as in modern Sl languages, Russ *skot*), *property, money, skotьnica treasurer*; probably borrowed from Gmc, Stender-Petersen 1927:313ff and many others, cf Vasmer 1953-58 II:649, though others assume borrowing from Sl, which is rejected by Vasmer because of Gmc *-tt-*. Still others assume independent origin from a common source, E Lewy 1935 ZVS 62:263 from Scythian, cf Oss *sk'āl barn for animals*. Many fanciful attempts at etymology, though none has further basis; cf F 1939:429.

E Schröder 1918 ZVS 48:266ff proposed PGmc *skattwaz*; OHG *quaz piece of money*, MHG *swaz* (Ripuarian coin in 12-13th century) *stater*, cf ***skilliggs**; but Stender-Petersen 1927:311-12 objected that the Gmc peoples did not coin money. Velten 1930 JEGP 29:497 proposed an orig meaning 'cattle', modified to 'money' by Lat *pecūnia*, also with no cogent evidence, though Wood 1920-21 MP 18:86 saw origin in PIE *skhətwo covered with pelt*. Comparison with ***daila part** may on the other hand support Grienberger 1900:188, who derives it from PGmc *ska- cut*, with orig meaning preserved in OS *silubarscatto pieces of silver*; but *ska-* is difficult to justify, as is the cmpd suffix *-tənos*.

S81. skaþis *na* ἀδικία *harm, injustice*, only acc sg 2C 12.13; ***skaþjan** stvVI, only 3sg prt *skoþ*; ***ga-skaþjan** ἀδικεῖν, βλάπτειν *harm,*

damage L 10.19; ***skaþuls*** adj βλαβερός ***harmful***, only acc pl ***-lans*** 1T 6.9, noun (only Col 3.25B, a conjecture, where Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:391, relying on Braun, posits ***skaþaila***) ἀδικῶν ***wrongdoer***.

OI ***skaði***, OE ***sceaþa***, OFris ***skatha***, OS ***skatho***, OHG ***scado*** wkm ***harm, loss***; OE ***sceaþa***, OS ***scaðo***, OHG ***scado*** wkm ***harmer, enemy***; OI ***skōð*** n ***dangerous tool, weapon***, ***skæðr harmful***; Run ***skaþi*** (Strøm) ***may it harm*** 3sg opt prs, Krause 1966 I:110-13; OI ***skaða***, OE ***sceaþian***, OFr ***skethia***, OS, OHG ***scathōn*** wkv ***harm***, cf NE ***unscathed***; OHG ***skadel harmful***. Possibly also OI GN ***Skān-ey***, OE ***Sceden-ieg***, Lat ***Scadin-avia***, later ***Scandinavia dangerous shores*** Holthausen 1934a:275, Prokosch 1939:26.

PIE ***skēth- harm***: Gk ἀσκηθής ***unharmed***; possibly OIr. ***scīth tired*** ← PIE ***skētho-*** with problems on the meaning, Vendryès 1959-:S-46-47; not OIr ***scathad***, ***scoth- cut*** Vendryès 1959-:S-52; Arm ***xat'arem destroy*** may belong here, Bugge 1892 IF 1:447.

P 1959:950.

S82. skauda-raip ἰμάς ***thong***, only acc sg L 3.16, F Kauffmann 1908 ZDP 40:389; a cmpd of the stems ***skauda-*** and ***raipa-***.

OI ***skauðir*** f pl ***horse's sheath***, ***skauð*** f ***poltroon***, ***skjōða*** f ***small skin-bag***, Sw ***sköda*** f (in Finland) ***worn-out shoe***, MLG ***schōde*** n ***horse's sheath***, MHG ***schōte*** f ***hull***. Finn ***kauta***, ***kauto upper leather of shoe*** (borrowed from Gmc, Thomsen 1870:143).

PIE ***(s)kew- cover, surround***: Skt ***skunāti***, ***skunóti***, ***skáuti cover***; Gk σκῦλον ***flayed skin of animals***; Lat ***obscūrus dark*** from 'covered'; OIr ***cūl*** f ***corner, hiding-place***; Lith ***kẽvalas egg-shell***, Latvian ***čàula hull***, ***kūja female genitals***; Arm ***çiw roof, cover*** Meillet 1913 MSLP 18: 377.

Gmc forms from ***skew-*** + ***-t-*** or ***-dh-***: + ***-t-***, Gk κύτος ***hull, skin***, σκῦτος ***skin, leather***; Lat ***scūtum shield***, ***cutis skin***, ***cunna female pudenda***; Wel ***cwd pocket, sack***, ***cussio conceal***; Lith ***kiáutas hull, shell***, OPruss ***keuto skin***; OFris ***hotha***, OHG ***hodo*** wkm ***testicle***. Possible also from ***-dh-*** form, as in Av ***χaōþa-***, OPers ***χauda- helmet***; Pamir ***skīδ high leather cap*** Hübschmann 1879 ZVS 24:412; Gk κεκύθω ***conceal***; Lat ***cūdō leather helmet*** is however borrowed, W/H 1938-56 I:301; OE ***hȳdan*** wkv ***conceal, hide***† Nowicki 1978 ZVS 92:187. See also OI ***skaun*** f ***shield***, ***skjōl*** n ***shelter***, OFris ***skūl hiding-place***, OHG ***skiura*** f ***barn***, though see Vries 1962:487,495-96; cf **huzd**, ***skohs**, ***skuggwa***. P 1959:951-53.

PIE ***rey- cut, tear***, + ***-b/p-*** (here lengthened): OI ***reip*** n ***rope***, OE ***rāp*** m, OFris ***(sīl-)rāp rope***†, MLG ***rēp(e) sling, rope***, OHG ***reif*** stm ***rope, cord***; MLat ***rēpus, reipus cord***; also OI ***reifa wrap***, OE ***ā-rāfian unwrap***; elsewhere means 'cliff, edge, bank', as in Gk ***ἐρίπνη cliff***, Lat ***rīpa bank***. Borrowed into Finn as ***raippa rope*** Thomsen 1870:164. P 1959:858.

S83. *skauns adj***i/ja*** or ***skauneis** ὡραῖος ***beautiful***, only nom pl m ***-njai*** R 10.15; ***ibna-skauns** σύμμορφον ***equal in form***, only dat sg n ***-njamma*** Ph 3.21; ***guda-skaunei*** fn θεοῦ μορφή ***form of God***, only dat sg ***-nein*** Ph 2.6.

OE ***scīene***, OFris ***skēne***, OS ***skōni*** OHG ***scōni splendid, beautiful***; OS, OHG ***scōnī*** f ***splendor, beauty***, from PIE ***skŏw- + -ni-***, as in **hrains**; cf OE ***scēawian***, OFris ***skāwia***, OS ***skauwōn***, OHG ***scouwōn*** wkv ***look at***; also OI ***skygn*** ← ***skuu̯u̯-ni- sharp-sighted, smart***. Without ***s-*** in OE ***hāwian look***, PIE lengthened grade ***kēw-***. Finn ***kaunis beautiful*** borrowed from Gmc, Thomsen 1870:142.

PIE ***(s)kew-***, ***(s)kowə-*** in MIran ***škōh***, NPers ***šikōh***, ***šukōh splendor, majesty*** ← OIran ***skau̯aþa-***, Bartholomae 1907 ZDW 9:19; Gk θυοσκόος ***sacrificing priest***; Arm ***çuçanem show*** ← ***skow-sḱō***, Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:296, Scheftelowitz 1904 BKIS 28:294, aor ***eçoye***; without ***s-*** in Skt ***ā-kúvate intends***, ***kaví- priest, seer***; Av ***čəvīši I hoped***, 1sg aor middle, Bartholomae 1888 BKIS 13:66. Gk κοέω ***notice***; Lat ***caveō beware*** ← ***coveō***, Thurneysen 1887 ZVS 28: 155, Solmsen 1904 ZVS 37:1ff; Latvian ***kavēt***

delay; OSl *čujǫ perceive.*

P 1959:587-88.

S84. *skaurpjo fn σκορπίος *scorpion*, only gen pl *-pjono* L 10.19; borrowing from Lat *scorpiō*, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:3, Corazza 1969:77, in 3rd century.

S85. *skaut na κράσπεδον *hem, edge*, only dat sg *-ta* M 9.20.

OI *skaut* n, OE *scēat* m *edge, tip*, OFris *skāt*, MLG *schōt*, OHG *scōz* stm/n *coattail, skirt*; also as a weak noun, OE *scēata*, MLG *schōte*, OHG *scōzo* wkm *hem of dress, edge, skirt.*

Etymology uncertain. Possibly from PIE *(s)kewd- throw, shoot*; intrans *shoot out from*, Skt *códati push*, Lith *skudrùs rapid*, *skùdrinti push ahead*, though see Fraenkel 1962-65:820-21. Also OI *skjōta*, OE *scēotan*, OHG *sciozan* stv *shoot*†. OSl *skuts hem* is a borrowing from Gmc, Stender-Petersen 1927:394ff. No relationship with Lat *cauda tail*, Lith *kuõdas top* W/H 1938-56 I:185.

P 1959:955-56.

S86. skeinan stvI λάμπειν, ἐξαστράπτειν *shine, gleam* 2C 4.6; **bi-skeinan* περιλάμψειν *shine about*, only 3sg prt *-skain*; **skeima* φανός *torch*, only dat pl *-mam* J 18.3; *skeirs* adja or *i/ja clear* Sk 4.12 / IVb.16; **ga-skeirjan* wkvI ἑρμηνεύειν *explain* Mk 5.41; *skeireins* fi/ō ἑρμηνεία *interpretation* 1C 12.10.

OI *skīna*, OE *scīnan*, OFris *skīna*, OS, OHG *skīnan* stv *shine*†; OI *skin* n, OFris, OS, OHG *skīn* stm *shine*†; NI *skīma*, OE *scīma* m *light*, cf NE *shimmer*; OS, OHG *skīmo* m *light, shine*; OI *skimi* m *light, gleam*, OE *scīma*, OS *scīmo*, MHG *scheme* m *shadow*, with PIE *-mo-* as in **barms** from PIE *sḱāy-*; OI *skīrr*, OE *scīr*, OFris *skīre*, OS *skīr*, *skīri*, OHG *schīr clear, pure, sheer*†, (with PIE *-ro-* as in **baitrs**); OI *skīra*, OE *scīran*, OFris *skīria*, MLG *schīren* wkv *explain.*

PIE *sḱāy-*, *sḱəy-* : *sḱī- shine dully, shadow*: Skt *chāyā́ shadow*; Av *a-saya- without shadow*; NPers *sāya shadow, protection*; Gk σκιά *shadow*, σκίρον *parasol*; Latvian *seja* ← PIE *ḱeiā image in mirror, face*; OSl *sinǫti gleam*, *sěnь shadow* (also *stěnь*, cf Meillet 1902-05: 455-56; according to Gdr 1897-1916 I:546 for *scěnь*); Alb *he, hie* ← PIE *sḱəiā*, Huld 1984:74-75; Gdr 1897-1916 I:277; Vasmer 1953-58 II: 610,630.

P 1959:917-18.

S87. *skewjan wkvI ὁδοποιεῖν *go*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* Mk 2.23.

OI *skæva* wkv *go, hurry*; Du *schooien*, EFris *schōjen* wkv *roam about.*

Etymology unclear. Possibly to PIE *(s)kekʷ-*, a variant of *(s)kek- jump; vigorous movement*: OIr *scochid*, *scuchid go away*, *scēn* ← **skek-no- fright*; possibly Lith *šókti jump*, though see discussion in Fraenkel 1962-65:1021-22, and need to reconstruct PIE *ḱōk-*; OSl *skočiti*, *skakati jump*; then possibly OE *scēon*, OFris *skiā*, OHG *scehan* stv *hurry*; also ***skohsl** demon*, though the entire group is uncertain. Questionable relation to Alb *shkoj go*, rejected by Huld 1984:114 with references.

P 1959:922-23 *(s)kek-*, *skeg-*, 522-23 *ḱāk-* : *ḱək- jump.*

S88. *skildus mu θυρεός *shield*, only acc sg *-du* E 6.16.

OI *skjǫldr*, OE *scield*, OFris *skeld*, OS *skild*, OHG *skilt* m *shield*†.

PIE *(s)kel- cut*, as in ***skilja**; cf Lith *skiltis slice* and *skilti split off* Kögel 1894 IF 4: 319; Fraenkel 1962-65:806. But Skt *khetas shield* is probably from Dravidian, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:311, and is unrelated in spite of O Hoffmann 1892 BKIS 18:286-87; nor related to Skt *chardiṣ protection, secure place of residence*, itself problematic, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:404-05.

P 1959:923-27.

S89. *skilja mn *butcher*, only *at skiljam* ἐν μακέλλῳ *in the meatmarket* 1C 10. 25; cf ***skalja**, ***skildus.**

OI *skilja split, distinguish*, OE *ā-scelian separate, part*, OFris *skilla battle*, MLG *schelen* wkv *separate*; OI *skil* n pl *distinction, decision*; OFris *skilinge*, Du *ge-schil battle*,

verschillend various; OI *skalm* f *tine, sword.*

Gk σκάλλω ← **skl̥i̯ō hoe, harrow*, σκάλμη *knife, sword* : OI *skalm*, Gk σκαλίς *hoe*; MIr *scoiltim split*, Lith *skìlti split*; OSl *skala stone*; Arm *çelum*, 3sg aor *e-çel split* (Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:297, 1898 MSLP 10:281, Hübschmann 1897:499; *ç* ← PIE *sk*[?]); Hitt *iskalla- tear apart, slit open* Tischler 1983- I:397-98.

P 1959:923-27.

S90. *skilliggs *ma* = *solidus* (the golden solidus of the Eastern Empire), only acc pl *-gans* in DeN.

OI *skillingr*, OE *scilling*, OFris, OS, OHG *skilling* stm *aureus* (a gold coin in use to circa 800 AD), made with the same suffix as OE *cāsering* m *drachma*, OHG *cheisuringu* instr sg *coin with Emperor's likeness* (Hildebrandslied 34), and OE *hielf-ling*, OS *helfling*, OFris *halfling*, OHG *helbeling* stm *obolus*. Cf also the expressions OE *sceat ne scilling* (Genesis 2143): OHG *scaz unde scillinch silver and gold money*; also OE *mene-scillingas* 'lunulas' *crescent-shaped ornaments*, which indicates that shillings were also used as jewelry; Krause 1966 I:237-38.

Etymology disputed. Possibly based on PIE *(s)kel- split, cut*, like Gk κέρμα *little coin* to κείρω *cut* Persson 1893-94 ZVS 33:286-87; cf also OE *hielf-ling* based on *healf half*. *skilliggs* is then *a coin that was "cut"*.

Assumed by E Schröder 1918 ZVS 48:254ff to be from **skild-liggs* ← **skildu-liggs*, ie a *small shield*; cf Port *escudo*, Fr *écu dollar* ← Lat *scūtum shield*, MLat *scudatus aureus*. Marstrander 1924:25 on the other hand proposed **skildulingaz* as a designation for Roman coins because they resembled the medallions (clipeoli) on gravestones. Older assumption of jingling objects, as to OI *skjalla*, OE *sciellan*, OHG *scellen* stv *resound, jingle* Diefenbach 1846-51 II:249, no longer favored. Marstrander also rejected Brøndal 1917:147ff, who assumed a borrowing from Lat **silicula*, OHG *silihha* f *little coin*, VLat **skella*. Borrowed into Sl as OSl *šč̆bljagz*, Stender-Petersen 1927:380ff, Vasmer 1953-58 III:453.

S91. skip *na* πλοῖον *ship* M 8.23.

OI *skip*, OE *scip*, OFris, OS *skip*, OHG *scif* stn *ship*†; OHG *scif* n *vessel, container* is however a borrowing of Lat *scyphus beaker*.

Etymology unclear. Possibly from PIE *skĕ̆y- cut*, with *-b-*; only non-Gmc cognate Latvian *šķibît hew, cut*, which Fraenkel 1962-65: 805, however, derives from *skĕ̆y- + -p-*, as for OHG *scivaro splinter of wood or stone*; also Gk σκίπων, Lat *scīpiō staff*; OSl *cĕpiti split*. If from this base, *skip* has been explained either as orig 'a hollowed log or dugout', Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:131, or 'a skin-covered framework like the Irish curragh', Trier 1948-49 ZDP 70:348-49. Earlier derivation from PIE *(s)kăp-, (s)kăb(h)- cut with a sharp tool, split*, as in Gk σκάφος *belly of ship*, OHG *skaft shaft*, Go **ga-skapjan create*, now rejected for phonological reasons. Phonological problems also provide the impetus for assuming a non-IE origin in the pre-Gmc peoples of North Europe, for which there is no possible evidence.

S92. *skohs *ma* ὑπόδημα *sandal* L 3. 16; **ga-skohs* adj*a* ὑποδησάμενος *wearing sandals* Mk 6.9; *ga-skohi* n*ia* ὑποδήματα *sandals, shoes* L 10.4.

OI *skōr*, OE *scōh*, OFris *skōch*, OS *skōh*, OHG *scuoh* stn *shoe*†; OE *ge-scȳ* n ← **skōhi-*, OS *gi-scōhi*, OHG *gi-scuohi* stn *footwear*. On MHG *schuoch*, NHG *schŭk* (dial) *shoe*, see Behaghel 1928:406-07.

Probably from PIE *(s)kew-, (s)kewə-; skū- cover, envelop*: Skt *skunâti cover*; Lat *obscūrus covered* becoming *obscure*; Ir *cuarān*, Wel *curan shoe*, Lith *skūrà leather, bark of tree*, with *-ō- + -ko-*, E Zupitza 1896:153, Persson 1912:186. See also **skauda-raip**, ***skuggwa**.

P 1959:951-53.

S93. *skohsl *na* δαίμων, δαιμόνιον *evil spirit, demon* M 8.31.

Etymology uncertain; no Gmc cognates. On *-slo-*, see Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:371-73, also in **swartizl*, **þreihsl*.

Possibly from PIE *(s)kek- jump, vigorous*

movement: OIr *scuch- leave, move* Vendryès 1959-:S-56-57; *scāl supernatural being, phantom*, NIr *scāil(e) shadow, ghost* Vendryès S-30, O'Brien 1932 Eriu 11:89-90 ← **skōk-slo- disappear*; Meid 1963 ZVS 78:153ff notes the meaning of PIE *skek-* as applying well to spirits. Also OSl *skokz* m *leap, skočiti jump*; further, OHG *scehan* stv *hasten*; OE *scēon*, MHG *scehen* wkv *hasten*; OI *skaga* wkv *project*, OE *tō-scecgan* wkv *stand out* (with grammatical change); OE *sceaga underbrush*; OI *skōgr* m *small wood, shaw*†. With reference to these Grimm 1854:455 interpreted **skohsl* as a *wood-spirit*; also F Kauffmann 1894 BGDSL 18:154-55. Hellquist 1891 ANF 7:45 fn5 starts from 'shaking (causing fever) spirit', as in OI *skaka swing, shake*, OE *sceacan shake*†, *hurry*, OS stv *skakan flee*, which P 1959:923 derives from the parallel root PIE *skeg-*. F 1939:432 associated **skohsl* tentatively with ***skewjan** *wander*, which he derives from another parallel root, PIE *skek^{w}-*. Lacy 1979 APS 32:114-20 also takes it from PIE *(s)kek-* + *-ilo-* in the sense 'that which causes to shake', ie the inhabitant of the grave who returned and terrorized the living. The meaning was then extended to all spirits of the dead.

P 1959:922-23; see Fraenkel 1962-65:1021-22 on Lith *šókti jump*, which he derives from a different root, PIE *ḱāk-*.

S94. *skuft na θρίξ *hair of the head*, only dat sg *-ta* J 11.2,12.3, L 7.38,44.

OI *skopt* na *hair*; OHG *skuft* 'cesariem' *hair*, Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds, 1879-1922 II: 399; MHG *schopt* ← PGmc *skuppa* m *tuft of hair*.

Grienberger 1900:190-91 related **skuft* to ***(af-)skiuban**; cf Tacitus, Germania 38: "insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere" 'it is a characteristic of the [Swabian] people to comb to the side their hair and to gather it in a knot'. See also MHG *ein schober hār* a *tuft of hair*, to OHG *scobar* stm *heap, scubil* stm *tuft*. P 1959:955.

Now generally to PIE *(s)kewp-, skewbh-* *tuft, heap*: OI *skūfr* m *tuft, skauf* n *tail of a fox, sheaf*, OE *scēaf*, MLG *schōf*, OHG *scoub* stm *bundle, sheaf*†; OE *scyfel* f *headdress*, OHG *scubil* m *tuft of hair*; without *s-*: OHG *kuppa, kupfa* f *head covering*, OE *coppod having a comb*, Du *kuif tuft*.

Elsewhere only in Sl: Russ *čup, čubák*; Pol *czub tuft*; with *-p-*: Russ *čup tuft*, Serb *čȕpa tuft of hair* Ehrismann 1895 BGDSL 20:54ff, Berneker 1908-14:160, 1899 IF 10:152ff.

P 1959:956.

S95. *skuggwa mn ἔσοπτρον *mirror*, only acc sg *-wan* 1C 13.12.

OI *skugg-sjā* f *mirror*; also *skuggi*, OE *scuwa, scūa*, OHG *scuwo, scū* stm *shadow*; OHG *skūr protection*; *scū-char* n *mirror* ← PGmc *skuu̯u̯á-*, Mikkola 1924 *F2* Streitberg: 268; also borrowed into Finn as *kuva picture* Vries 1962:506. For *-ggw-* see **triggws**.

PIE *(s)kewə-, (s)kū-* *cover*: Skt *skunāti cover*; Gk σκύνια pl *brows* Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:294, WP Lehmann 1952:44. Others assume origin in PIE *(s)kew- pay attention to, observe, kowə-* as in ***ibna-skauns**, though the root is primarily in WGmc, eg OE *scēawian*, OS *skauwōn*, OHG *skouwōn* wkv *look* at, Lindeman 1964:169-71.

P 1959:951-52.

S96. skulan prt-prs IV ὀφείλειν *owe, have to*, μέλλειν *will* (used as fut) inf Mk 14.64, 1sg prs *skal* J 8.26, 1pl *skulum* 2Th 1.3, 1sg prt *skulda*; *skula* mn ὀφειλέτης M 6.12; **faihu-skula* (only gen pl *-ane* L 16.5) χρεωφειλέτης *debtor*; with PIE *-to-*, *skulds im* ὤφελον *I must* J 12.34; n *skuld* ἔξεστιν *it is permitted*, noun *skuldo* n *what is owed due* R 13.7.

OI *skulu*, OE *sculan*, OFris *skela*, OS *skolan*, OHG *s(k)ulan*, MHG *soln* (from PGmc *skl̥-, skl-*, Fierlinger 1885 ZVS 27:190-91) *should*†; OI *skuldr*, OHG *scult owing*; OI *skuld, skyld*, OE *scyld*, OFris *skelde*, OS *skuld*, OHG *sculd(a)* stf *what is owed, duty, debt*; possibly also OHG *scalto* 'sacer' *dedicated* F Kauffmann 1894 BGDSL 18:178. See Collitz 1912:65-68 for

forms and discussion.

PIE *(s)kel- owe, should*; elsewhere only in Balt: OLith *skelù*, Lith *skelẽti owe*; *skìlti fall into debt* Siebs 1904 ZVS 37:320, *skolà debt*; OPruss *skellānts indebted, skallīnan duty, po-siulīt admonish*. Also without *s-* in Lith *kaĩtas indebted, kaltẽ debt*.

Lat *scelus crime, wickedness* probably not related, in spite of E Zupitza 1896:159; rather to PIE *(s)kel- bend, crooked*, as in Gk σκολιός *crooked, wicked*, σκέλος *leg*; cf W/H 1938-56 I: 449, II:492; nor to Lith *skélti split*, as by Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:229-30.

P 1959:927.

S97. skura fō, only *skura windis* λαίλαψ ἀνέμου *storm (of wind)* Mk 4.37, L 8. 23.

OI *skūr* f, OE *scūr* m *shower*†, OS *skūr* m *blows in battle*, OHG *scūr* stm *shower*.

PIE *kēwero-, skūro- north, north wind*: Lat *caurus* ← PIE *kow-*, Lat *cōrus northwest wind*; Lith *šiáurė north, šiaurỹs north wind*; OSl *sěverz* ← **kēwer(y)o- north, north wind* Mikkola 1904 IF 16:100; Arm *çurt cold, shower* Szemerényi 1952 ZVS 70:65.

P 1959:597; Fraenkel 1962-65:978.

S98. *slahan stvVI δέρειν, τύπτειν *strike*, 3sg prs *-hiþ* 2C 11.20, 3sg prt *sloh* M 14.47, papl not attested; **af-slahan* ἀφαιρεῖν *cut off*, ἀποκτείνειν *kill* Mk 14.47; *slahs mi* πληγή *blow* J 18.22; **slauhts fi* σφαγή *slaughter*, only gen sg *-tais* R 8.36; *slahals* m πλήκτης *bully* Tit 1.7.

Run *slaginaz* (Möjbro) papl *struck down, killed* Krause 1966 I:222-25, OI *slā*, OE *slēan*, OFris *slā*, OS, OHG *slahan* stv *strike*, NE *slay*; OI *slag* n; *slagr*, OE *slege*, OFris *slei*, OHG *slag* stm *blow*; OS *slegi* m *murder*; OHG *slago, slaho* wkv *murderer*. OI *slātr* n *slaughter, slāttr* f *mowing*, OE *sleaht, slieht blow, battle, murder*, OFris *slachta*, OS *(man-)slahta* (Hel 5401), OHG *slahta* wkf *slaughter*†, *killing*.

PIE *slak- strike*, only Gmc and Celt: MIr *slacc sword, slachta struck* Vendryès 1959-:S-124; OIr *slig- strike* probably from PIE *(s)leyglide* Vendryès 1959-:S-133, P 1959:664. Not related to Skt *sṛká- tip (of lance or arrow)*, Arm *arkanem throw* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 497.

P 1959:959.

S99. *slaihts adja λεῖος *smooth*, only dat pl *-taim* L 3.5.

OI *slēttr even, smooth, gentle*, OE *sliht simple, plain*, ME *sleght, slight slight*†, OFris *sliucht plain*, MLG *slecht*, OHG *sleht even, plain, friendly*. Also OI *slīur smooth, slīkisteinn whetstone*; OHG *slīhhan* stv *glide*.

Probably from PIE *(s)ley- smooth* + *-g-*: OIr *slig-* as in *ad-slig persuade, fo-sligim besmear, anoint* Vendryès 1959-:S-133; Russ *slizkij slippery*; without *s-*, Gk λίγδην *scraping* Chantraine 1968-80:639.

P 1959:662-64.

S100. *slawan wkvIII σιωπᾶν *be silent*, 3pl prt *-waidedun* Mk 9.34, prpl *-wands* ἥρεμος *quiet* 1T 2.2; **ana-slawan* παύσασθαι *become quiet*, only 3pl prt *-waidedun* L 8.24; **ga-slawan* σιωπᾶν *be still*, only 3sg opt prs *-wai*. On the meanings see Streitberg 1891 BGDSL 15:93 and Kroes 1918 Neophil 3:189-90.

Etymology unclear; P 1959:962-63 proposes PIE *(s)lew- limp, hang limply*, with reflexes primarily in Gmc: + *-m-* in OE *slūma* m *slumber*†; + *-k-* in OI *slokinn extinguished*, OE *slēac limp, slack*†; other reflexes with *-t-* and *s-*, as under **af-slauþnan**. Probably expanded on onomatopoeic basis; older speculation cited in F 1939:437.

S101. *sleiþs or **sleideis* adj χαλεπός *fierce, dangerous*, only nom pl m *-djai* M 8.28 and nom pl n *sleidja* 2T 3.1; *sleiþa fō* ζημία *harm*, only acc sg Ph 3.7,8; *sleiþei fn* κίνδυνος *danger*, only R 8.35; **ga-sleiþjan* wkvI ζημιοῦν *damage, harm* Mk 8.36.

OI *slīðr grim, terrible*, OE *slīþe cruel, dangerous*, OS *slīði evil, ruinous*, OHG *slīdic, slīthic evil, cruel* Froehde 1879 BKIS 3:17; OE *slīþan* wkv *wound*. Also without *s-*: Run

laiþigaz (Møgedal) *evil* Krause 1966 I:195-96, OI *leiðr*, OE *lāþ*, OFris *lēth*, OS *lēð*, OHG *leid evil, hated, inimical* Grienberger 1900:192-93.

Probably from PIE *leyt- transgress*: Gk ἀλιτεῖν *trangress*, ἀλείτης *sinner*, ἀλιτρός *evil* Saussure 1879:75; OIr *liuss loathing*; not Lat *līs quarrel* W/H 1938-56 I:813-14.

P 1959:672-73.

S102. *slepan stvVII καθεύδειν *sleep*, 3sg prs *slepiþ* M 9.24, 3sg prt *saislep* Mk 8.24; **ana-slepan* κοιμᾶσθαι, ἀφυπνοῦν *fall asleep*, 3pl prt *ana-saislepun*; **ga-slepan* κοιμᾶσθαι *sleep, die*, 3sg prt *ga-saizlep* J 11.11; **sleps* m ὕπνος *sleep*, only acc sg *slep* J 11.13, dat sg *slepa* L 9.32, R 13.11.

CrimGo *schlipen* 'dormire', Stearns 1978: 151, OE *slǣfan*, OFris *slēpa*, OS *slāpan*, OHG *slāfan* stv *sleep*†; OE *slǣp*, OFris *slēp*, OS *slāp*, OHG *slāf* stm *sleep*†. Also OI *slāpr* stm *lazy person*; Sw *slapp poor, helpless*, Du, LG *slap*, OHG *slaf slack, weak*.

PIE *(s)lēb-, (s)ləb- hang down limply*: Lat *lābō waver*, *lābor glide*; OIr *lobar*, *lobur*; Lith *slābnas*, Latvian *slābans weak*, Lith *slàbti become weak*; OSl *slabъ weak, slack*; also with *-m-*, Skt *rámbate, lambate hang down*; Lat *limbus edging on dress* W/H 1938-56 I:802-03; possibly also Gk λοβός *ear-lobe*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:644-45. P 1959:655-57.

Forms of PIE *swep- sleep* not attested in EGmc; Skt *svápati sleep*; Lat *sōpiō lull to sleep*; OI *sofa*, OE *swefan* stv *sleep*; Skt *svápnas*, Gk ὕπνος, Lat *somnus*, OIr *sūan sleep*; Lith *sãpnas dream*; OSl *sъnъ sleep*; Arm *k'un*, Alb *gjumë*, TochA *ṣpäṁ*, B *ṣpane sleep*; with evidence for an *-r/n*-stem in Gk ὕπαρ *a waking vision*; Lat *sopor deep sleep*; Hitt *suppariia sleep*. Cf OI *svefn*, OE *swefn sleep, dream*. Schindler 1966 Sprache 12:67-76, Schwentner 1939 ZVS 66:260, Oehl 1940 IF 57: 2-24, Jamison 1982-83 ZVS 96:6-16, P 1959: 1048-49.

S103. *sliupan stvII ἐνδύνειν *slip into*, only 3pl prs *-pand* 2T 3.6; **uf-sliupan* ὑποστέλλειν *shrink back*, 3sg prt *uf-slaup* G 2. 12, 3pl prt *inn-uf-slupun* παρεισῆλθον *slip in* G 2.4, gen pl m prpl *-pande* παρεισάκτων *introduce secretly* G 2.4; caus in **af-slaupjan* wkvI ἀπεκδύσασθαι *put off*, only nom pl prpl Col 3.9.

OHG *sliufan* stv *slip in*; with *-ŭ-*, OE *slūpan*, MLG *slūpen*, OHG *slupfen* wkv *slip in*; OE *slīepan*, OFris *slēpa*, OE *slōpian*, OHG *sloufen* wkv *cause to slip*† *in, make to enter*.

PIE *(s)lewb(h)- glide, slip*: outside Gmc only in Lat *lūbricus slippery*; Lith *slùbnas weak* may be a ghost word, Fraenkel 1962-65: 834. Other proposed cognates, such as OIr *lobar weak*, are not related.

P 1959:963-64.

S104. *smairþr na πιότης *richness, fatness*, only dat sg *-þra* R 11.17; based on PIE *smer- + -tro-* as in **fodr**, ***hleiþra**, **maurþr**.

Without *-tro-*: OI *smjǫr*, *smør*, OE *smeoru* n *fat, butter*; OFris *smere tallow*; OS, OHG *smero* n *fat, grease*; OI *smyrja*, OE *smierwan*, *smierian*, OHG *smirwen* wkv *smear*†. See also ***smarna**.

PIE *smer(u)- fat, grease*: possibly Gk σμύρις *emery-powder, used by lapidaries*, μύρον *unguent, perfume* Frisk 1960-72 II:273,751; probably Lat *medulla* ← *mer- marrow*, W/H 1938-56 II:58-59; OIr *smiur marrow* Vendryès 1959-:S-142.

P 1959:971-72.

S105. *smakka mn σῦκον *fig* M 7. 16; *smakka-bagms* ma συκῆ *fig-tree* Mk 11.21.

Etymology unclear. According to Vasmer 1953-58 II:674 and references there, to NHG *schmecken taste good (as a tasteful fruit)*; OE *smæccan*, OFris *smakia*, MLG *smaken*, OHG *smecchen* wkv *taste good*, cf NE *smack*, K Johansson 1900 ZVS 36:383. Borrowed from Go (Balkan Gmc) into OSl as *smoky*, with *-kk-* → *-k-* like *-tt-* → *-t-* in **skatts**: OSl *skotъ*, Stender-Petersen 1927:363ff; see also Vasmer/ Trubačev 1964-73 III:689-70. P 1959:967 posits PIE *smeg(h) be tasty*, though only for Gmc and Balt, as in Lith *smagùs joyful, smagurỹs tasty morsel* Fraenkel 1962-65:838.

S106. *smals adj *small, little*, only superl *smalista* ἐλάχιστος *least* 1C 15.9.

OE *smæl*, OFris *smel*, OS, OHG *smal small†, little*; OI *smali* m *small domestic animals, esp sheep*; *smala-maðr* m *shepherd*; OHG *smala nōz, smalez vihu* n *small cattle*. Without *s-*, and with stem vowel *-ē-*: OFr *māla cow* (gloss in Lex Salica), Du *maal young cow*.

PIE *(s)mēlo- small animal*: Gk μῆλον *small animals, sheep* Chantraine 1968-80:694-95; OIr *mīl animal* Vendryès 1959-:M-51; Arm *mal sheep, ram* Scheftelowitz 1905 BKIS 29:46. Also OSl *malъ* ← **mōlo- small*. Possibly also Lat *malus bad, evil*, Osc *mallom* n *evil* from 'small', Solmsen 1904 ZVS 37:18, W/H 1938-56 II:19-20.

P 1959:724.

S107. *smarna fō σκύβαλον *manure, refuse*, only acc pl *-nos* Ph 3.8; cf ***smairþr**, Du *smerig dirty*, MHG *smirwig smeary*.

Probably from PIE *smer- fat* + *-nā-*, as in Skt *dhénā milk-cow*; Av *kaēna*, Gk ποινή *punishment, reward*; Lat *prūna glowing coal*; OSl *cěna prize* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:260-85. Also from *smer-* + *-d-*: Lat *merda* ← **smerdā excrement*; Lith *smárdas stench, smardùs stinking*; Latvian *smârds odor*, OSl *smrad evil smell*; Lith *smirdėti*, OSl *smrsděti stink*; Lith *smìrsti begin to stink*; probably not Gk σμορδοῦν *have sexual intercourse* Chantraine 1968-80:1028. See W/H 1938-56 II:74-75, Fraenkel 1962-65:840,847-48. PIE *smerd-* may be based on PIE *mer-, merd- presses* P 1959: 735-37, as 'an oppressive odor', P 1959:970. By contrast Bolling 1930 *F* Collitz:46-47 proposes PIE *smerdō I make a crashing noise* (rhyming with *perdo-* : *pezdō* in Gk πορδή *fart*; Lat *pēdō I fart* W/H 1938-56 II:273-74); extravagantly imaginative.

P 1959:971.

S108. *smwrn na[?] = σμύρνα *myrrh*, only dat sg in *wein miþ smwrna* οἶνον ἐσμυρνισμένον Mk 15.23.

Borrowed from Gk σμύρνα, itself from Akkad *murru* as in Gk μύρρα *myrrh*, probably modified by GN Σμύρνα, Chantraine 1968-80: 724,1029, though see also Szemerényi 1964:50; gender of Go noun possibly influenced by Gk σμύρον n *ointment*.

S109. *snaga mn ἱμάτιον *outer garment, cloak* M 9.16.

Without direct Gmc cognates. See however OE *næsc deerskin* ← **nahsk-*, Holthausen 1934b:230; related to Gk νάκος, νάκη *pelt, skin of a deer or goat*; OPruss *nognan leather* ← **nok-nan-*, PIE *nāk-no*, Lidén 1897-99:66ff, 1905-06 IF 18:410; Petersson 1908-09 IF 23:393-94 however relates this to ***naqaþs**; less likely. May be comparable in source to Gk βαίτη and Go **paida**. See also Kroes 1947 Neophil 31:14-16, who after Grienberger 1900:194 compares OI *snagi hook*, deriving it from PGmc *snag- tip*, and accounts for *snaga* as a cloak characterized by pointed edges or tips.

S110. snaiws m χιών *snow*, only Mk 9.3.

OI *snær, snjār, snjōr*, OE *snāw*, OFris *snē*, OS, OHG *snēo* stm *snowt*; OE *snīwan*, OHG *sniwan* wkv *snowt*; OI *snivinn covered with snow*. See Bammesberger 1977 ZVS 90: 258-61 on Old English forms.

PIE *sneigʷh- snow*; noun *snoigʷho-s snow*: Av *snaēža-*, Gk νείφει, Lat *nivit*, Lith *sniẽga it is snowing*; OIr *snigid it is raining, dripping*; with nasal, Lat *ninguit*, Lith *sniñga it is snowing*; Lith *sniẽgas*, Latvian *sniegs*, OPruss *snaygis*; OSl *sněgъ snow*; Gk νίφα acc sg, Lat *nix*, gen *nivis*, OIr *snecht(a)e*, Wel *nyf snow*; OIr *snige drop, rain*. Compare semantic development in Skt *snihyati is moist, sticky, snéha- slime, grease*.

P 1959:974, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 681.

S111. *sneiþan stvI γερίζειν *(cut), harvest*, 3sg prs *-piþ* L 19.21; **af-sneiþan*, only 3sg prt *af-snaiþ* ἔθυσεν L 15.27A; changed by E Bernhardt to *uf-snaiþ*, cf Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:143, II:126, as in L 15.30; **uf-sneiþan* θῦσαι *kill, butcher*, 2sg prt *uf-snaist* L 15.30, papl *uf-sniþans* 1C 5.7.

OI *snīðа*, OE *snīþan*, OFris *snītha*, OS *snīðan*, OHG *snīdan* stv *cut*.

Uncertain etymology; P 1959:974 sets up PIE *sneyt-* largely on the basis of Gmc; also OIr *snēid little, short* Vendryès 1959-:S-149, following Stokes 1905 ZVS 38:471; cf MHG *snitz cut off bit*, NHG *Schnitzel shaving*; Little Russ *sníť block*, Cz *snět branch* ← **snoitos*.

S112. *sniumjan wkvI σπεῦσαι, σπουδάσαι *hurry* L 19.5; **ga-sniumjan* φθάνειν *come first*, only 1pl prt 2C 10.14; *sniumundo* adv μετὰ σπουδῆς *with haste* L 1.39, comp *sniumundos* σπουδαιοτέρως *more eager*, only Ph 2.28.

Based on PGmc *sniu-* ← PIE *snēw-* + PIE *-mo-*, PGmc *-ma-*, and *-mi-* as in OS, OHG *sniumi rapid* Kluge 1926:93; OE *snēome*, OS, OHG *sniumo rapidly*; OHG *far-sniumōn* wkv *hasten*; cf Skt *gharmás heat*; Av *garəma-*, Gk θερμός, Lat *formus*, OHG *warm*, Arm *jerm* warm; also Lith *šiřmas gray* Gdr 1897-1916 II. 1:246-53. Adv formed with PIE *-mṇto-*, as in Skt *śrómatam fame*; Gk πράγ-ματα pl *deeds*; Lat *orna-mentum ornament*; OHG *hliumunt* stm *reputation* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:403, Kluge 1926:81,113. Adj based on PIE stem in *o*-grade, *sno²wu-*, PGmc *snawwu-*: OI *sneggr rapid*. Cf ***sniwan**.

P 1959:977.

S113. *sniwan stvV ὑπάγειν, φθάνειν *come upon*, 3sg prt *snauh* 1Th 2.16, B/E 1981: 115; **bi-sniwan* φθάνειν *precede*, only 1pl prs *-wam* 1Th 4.15; **du-at-sniwan* προσορμηθῆναι *hurry to*, only 3pl prt *-wun* M 6.53; **faur-sniwan* προάγειν, προλαμβάνειν *go ahead, do beforehand*, 1sg prt *faur-snau* Mk 14.8; **faur-bi-sniwan* προάγειν *precede*, only nom pl f prpl *-wandeins* 1T 5.24; **ga-sniwan* φθάνειν *attain*, 1pl prt *ga-snewum* Ph 3.16. See ***sniumjan**.

OI *snūa* stvVII prt *snera*, papl *snūinn turn* Noreen 1923:340, also 234 on *snugga* wkv *look*; OE *snēowan* stv *hasten*; + *-ð-* in OI *snūðr twist, profit*, *snūðigr swift*; OE *snūþ* m *hurry*; OI *snyðja*, OE *snyþþan* wkv *rush*.

PIE *(s)nēw-*, *(s)nū* (← *(s)ne²-* + *-w-*) *turn*: Latvian *snaujis noose*; OSl *o-snovati found*, Russ *snovatь scheme, go quickly back and forth*. *-²-* lost in etymon of Go ***sniwan**, OE *snēowan*; maintained as *-r-* in OI *snera*, cf OHG *biruun* 3pl prt of *būan live* WP Lehmann 1952:56-60; combined with *-u-* in inf OI *snūa*. For root PIE *(s)nē-* ← *(s)ne²-* see Go ***neþla**, and + *-w-* ***snorjo**.

P 1959:977,973, Persson 1912:818-19. Schwyzer 1926 *F* Kretschmer:244-51 suggests onomatopoeia, as also in **snutrs wise*, Gk νοῦς *mind*; fanciful.

S114. *snorjo *fn* σαργάνη *net, basket made with cords*, only dat sg *-jon* 2C 11. 33; in contrast with ***tainjo** a *basket or net made with withes*; from PGmc *snōw-*, Streitberg 1892:30-31.

OI *snæri* n *woven cord, line*, OE *snēre* f *harp-string*, like *snorjo* with *-r-* + *-jōn*, Kluge 1926:43. Nor, MLG *snōr*, OHG *snuor* f *cord* with *-ro-* and *ō*-grade of PIE *(s)nē-* *weave, spin, sew*, as in ***neþla**.

PIE *snēw-*: Skt *snāvan-*, Av *snāvarə* (old *r/n* stem); Gk νεῦρον; Lat *nervus* ← **neuros* W/H 1938-56 II:165; Arm *neard* ← *-r-t*; TochB *ṣñaura sinew* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:533-34; Benveniste 1935a:21,110-11 assumes PIE *snē-* + *-wer/n-*. Not like Persson 1912:820ff and Wood 1905-06 IF 18:24-25 from PIE *(s)ner-* *turn* W/H 1938-56 II:165, as in Lith *nérti thread a needle, knit, narỹs joint*; OE *nearu narrow*† Fraenkel 1962-65:495-96, P 1959:976, who tentatively places Go **snorjo* here.

P 1959:977,973.

S115. *snutrs adj σοφός *wise*, dat pl *-raim* L 10.15; **snutrei* *fn* σοφία *wisdom*, only dat sg *-ein* 1C 1.17.

OI *snotr*, OE *snotor*, *snottar*, *snytre*, OHG *snottar wise*; OE *snytro* f *wisdom*.

No accepted etymology. Vries 1962:526 returns to the parallel proposed by Grienberger 1900:195 and earlier by Schade 1872-82 II:940-41 in Lat *sapiēns wise*, *sapiō taste*, comparing OI *snỹta*, OE *snỹtan*, MLG *snūten*, OHG *snūzen* wkv *blow one's nose*; he relates OI

snotr with MLG *snoter snot*†; see also ME *snoute* m, LG *snūte* f *snout*†; F 1939:441-42 considered this dubious. Schwyzer 1926 *F* Kretschmer:244-51 returned to relationship with Gk *νοῦς mind, νοέω perceive* L Meyer 1856 ZVS 5:368, assuming onomatopoeia in *n* : *sn* relationship; among others he cites NHG *schnobernd with sharp senses*. See Chantraine 1968-80:756-57, who also examines further proposals for Gk νοῦς, which has no accepted etymology.

S116. sokjan wkvI L 19.10, **ga-sokjan* ζητεῖν *seek* Ph 4.17; *miþ-sokjan* συζητεῖν *argue with*, only inf Mk 8.11; *us-sokjan* ἐρευνᾶν *search* J 7.52; ἀνακρίνειν *examine, judge* 1C 4.3; *sokeins* ζήτησις *investigation*, only Sk 3.7,13 / IIIa.25,IIIb.22; *sokareis* m*ia* συζητητής *investigator* 1C 1.20; cf **sakan**.

OI *søkja*, OE *sēcan*, OFris *sēka*, OS *sōkian*, OHG *suohhen* wkv *seek*†; OHG *suochāri* m *searcher*.

PIE *sāg- perceive acutely*, possibly with religious overtones, as in Lat *sāgus prophetic, sāga* f *fortune-teller, wise woman*, Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art] 141, or as a hunting term, P 1959:876-77: Gk ἡγέομαι, Dor ἀγέομαι *lead* (Mezger 1935 ZVS 62:259ff sceptical); Lat *sāgiō perceive acutely, sagāx sagacious, keen-scented*; with short vowel and *-yo*-suffix, OIr *saigim seek out*; Hitt *sak(k)-, sek(k)- know*, but cf Justus 1982:296ff. *sakija- make known, sagai- omen, sakiyahh- give an omen*. Relying heavily on Hittite and Latin, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:805 take the root as having ritual force, especially 'recognize by signs'. In Gmc the meaning became more general.

Skt *bhiṣaj*, Av *baēšaza- curing*, as Skt noun, *doctor*; now assumed to have an initial element **bhiš- mythical tree containing medicinal matter*; the second segment is disputed, but Thieme 1951:10 fn2 proposes *(*bhiṣ-)ṣáj- seeking cure*, while Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:502-03 cites various possibilities. The root may then be attested also in Indo-Iran, and the basic meaning may there also have religious overtones, as by F 1939:442.

P 1959:876-77.

S117. spaikulatur m σπεκουλάτωρ *guard*, only acc sg Mk 6.27. Borrowed from Lat *speculātor scout, spy* in 3rd century, Corazza 1969:55-56, M Jellinek 1926:181,185.

S118. *spaiskuldr πτύσμα *spittle*, only dat sg *-dra* J 9.6; Kluge 1926:51 suggests *-s-* may be a scribal error.

OS *spēkaldra*, OHG *speihhaltra* ← PGmc *spaikalðrō* wkf; also, OFris *spēkle*, MLG *spēke*, OHG *speihhela* stf; OE *spādl, spāld; spāpl* (Anglian); OFris, MDu *spēdel spittle*†. Kluge 1926:51 assumes basic form PGmc *spaiklaðrôn* with suffix *-þ/ðrō-* as in ***hleiþra***; also PGmc *spaikilja-, spaiþla-*. No unitary form, as often in words of this sphere.

Etymology difficult; stem probably derived from that of **speiwan**; see its numerous variants in Gmc. Grienberger 1900:195-96 posits PGmc *spaiskon*, with suffix like OHG *eiscōn demand* beside *eihhōn demand*, cf **afaikan**, with *-sk-* having inchoative force; he finds a similar suffix in OI *þreskǫldr*, OE *þerscwald, þerscold*, MHG *drischūvel* stm/n *threshold*†, which also has disputed etymology, Vries 1962:621. Skt *pīcchā scum*, is of non-IE origin, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:271, and thus the parallel of Scheftelowitz 1928 ZII 6:96 is invalid. Ebbinghaus 1959 BGDSL-T 81:116-17 assumes a cmpd of *spai-* (cf **speiwan**) + *-skuldr* from PIE *skwel- rinse* + *-tro-*, cf OI *skola rinse*, Lith *skaláuti wash, rinse*.

S119. *sparwa mn στρουθίον *sparrow*, nom pl *-wans* M 10.29, dat pl *-wam* M 10.31.

OI *spǫrr*, OE *spearwa*, MHG *sparwe* (15th century); OHG *sparo* wkm *sparrow*†; see Schatz 1927:190 on loss of *-w-*; dim MHG *sperilig, sperlinc* stm *sparrow*; OHG *sparwāri* stm *sparrow-hawk* Suolahti 1909:124ff.

PIE *sper-(g-); sparwo* : *prawo- sparrow*; Hsch σπαράσιον· ὄρνεον ἐμφερὲς στρουθῷ *bird resembling a sparrow*, basic form **sparwn-*

tiom, O Hoffmann 1896 BKIS 21:140; TochA *spārāñ* nom pl, [name of a bird], Sieg and Siegling 1931:106; without *s-*, Lat *parra* ← **parsā*, Umbr *parfa(m)* acc a *bird with ominous call, eg a screech-owl* Bugge 1874 ZVS 22:423; Corn *frau*, Bret *frāo crow* Stokes 1894: 317; + *-g-* in Gk σποργίλος, Hsch (σ)πέργουλος· ὀρνιθάριον ἄγριον *small wild bird*; OPruss *spurglis sparrow, spergla-wanag(is) sparrow-hawk*; MHG *sperc, sperk(e) sperch(e) sparrow* J Schmidt 1874 ZVS 22:316ff. Frisk 1960-72 II: 771-72 attempts to relate the various forms, rejecting from this group Gk ψάρ *starling* II: 1130; similarly F 1939:443, also on OS *sprā thrush, sprēa*, NFris *sprian*, MLG *sprēn* f *starling*.

Attempts to relate further the words for 'sparrow' dubious; F 1939:443 to PIE *sp(h)er-jerk, push away with one's foot* : Skt *sphurāti push away with the foot*; Av *sparati tread on*; Gk σπαίρω *jerk*; Lat *spernō spurn*; Lith *spìrti kick*; Hitt *ispar(ra)- spread out* Tischler 1983- I:416-18, with extensive discussion of the roots and derivatives, Puhvel 1984-:441-47; see also OI *sperna*, OE, OHG *spurnan* wkv *step on*: 'sparrow' then named for its hopping; approved by Brugmann 1902-03 IF 13:160 fn1. Differently Petersson 1917:16, to OHG *faro spotted* and also Skt *paruṣás speckled*, which however is probably a variant of *pelitás grey* and non-applicable, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:220, 234.

P 1959:991,992, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:541.

S120. *spaurds f cons στάδιον *race, 'mile'* 1C 9.24

OE *spyrd* m *race, mile*, OHG *drim spurtim* 'ter' *three times* (Graff 1834-46 VI: 357) to *spurt* stf *'stadium' course*.

PIE *sperdh- compete, fight*: Skt *spṛdh- battle*, Av *spərəd- zeal*; Skt *spárdhate contest, contend for*; possibly also Gk σπυρθίζω *jump up*; Arm *sprd-el evade*; Hitt *ispart- flee, escape* Tischler 1983- I:418-19, Puhvel 1984-:450. May be an extension with *-dh-* of *sper- push with one's foot*, cf **sparwa**, Grimm 1878:57, Grienberger 1900:196.

May also be found in PeN's: Gk Σπερθίνς (Herodotus VII:134,137) uncertain, Frisk 1960-72 II:773; Thrac *Natu-sparde*, Detschew 1957: 475. Lith *spárdyti thrust repeatedly with one's foot* is probably a formation within Lith.

P 1959:995-96.

S121. *spediza comp ἔσχατος *last*, only nom sg f *-zei airziþa* ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη *the last fraud* M 27.64; **spedists* L 10.32, *bi spedistin at last* Mk 16.14; *spedumists* superl ἔσχατος, only nom sg f *-mista last (of all)* Mk 12.22. Derivation of PGmc *spēdi-*: MLG *spāde*, OHG *spāti* adj, OHG *spāto* adv *late*. *-iza, -ists* under **batiza**, *-umists* under **aftuma**; Brugmann 1903 IF 14:5.

Possibly from PIE *sp(h)ēy- spread out, flourish*, with a shift to indicate situation rather than quality: Skt *sphāyate grow fat, increase, sphīta- richly*; Lat *spatium space, extent*; Lith *spėti be fast enough, capable of*; OSl *spěti have success*, and in later stages: Russ *spóryj*, Serb *spȍr long-lasting* (cf Gmc). -- See also the meaning in OE *spōwan flourish*, OHG *spuon* wkv *succeed*, OHG *spēd*, OS *spōd*, OHG *spuot* stf *advance, haste, speed†, achievement*. In connection with the meaning in Skt, cf Hitt *ispai- eat to satiety* Tischler 1983- I:408-09, Puhvel 1984-:431; see also Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:541-42, with reference to bibliography on phonological problems.

PIE *sp(h)ēy-* ← *(s)pe²y-* may also be the source of OI *spik* stn *blubber*, OE *spic*, OHG *speck* stm/n *bacon*, beside Skt *pīvan fat* like OI *kuikr*, OE *cwic*, OHG *quec alive*, cf NE *(the) quick*, beside Skt *jīvá-*, Lat *vīvus*, OSl *živъ alive* from PIE *g*ey-²-*, WP Lehmann 1952:50-51.

P 1959:983-84.

S122. speiwan stvI πτύειν, ἐμπτύειν *spit* Mk 14.65, 3pl prt *spiwum* M 26.67; **and-speiwan* ἐκπτύειν *despise*, only 2pl prt *-spiwuþ* G 4.14; **bi-speiwan* ἐμπτύειν *spit at*, 3sg pass *-wada* L 18.32; **ga-speiwan* πτύειν *spit on*,

only 3sg prt *ga-spaiw* L 9.6.

OI *spyja*, OE *spīwan*, OFris *spīwa*, OS *spīwan*, OHG *spī(w)an* stv **spew**†; further, OI *spūδa*, Fris (East) *spūjen*, MDu *spūwen*; OI *spyta*, ME *spūten*, Du *spuiten*, MHG *spiutzen*; Sw *spotta*, Dan *spytte*, OE *spittan*; *spīwettan* wkv *spit*†.

PIE *(s)p(h)yāw-*, *(s)pyū-*, *(s)pīw-* **spew**: Skt *ni-ṣṭhīvāmi* (*t* ← *p* by dissimilation, W Schulze 1966:56-58); Gk πτύω, Lat *spuō*, Lith *spiáuju*, OSl *pljujǫ*, Arm *t'k'anem* (Bugge 1893 ZVS 32: 39, Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:342) **spew**. Also irregular forms, as are found in Gmc: Hsch ψύττει· πτύει, Gk πυτίζω, Lat *spūtō* **spew**. Modifications introduced by procedures treated as sound symbolism, Persson 1912:270, Jespersen 1922:396-411; yet the comparable ablaut patterns point to a PIE origin, as proposed by K Johansson 1903 IF 14:327.

P 1959:999-1000, though with *(s)p(h)yēw-* rather than *-ā-* as by Schulze.

S123. spilda *fō* πλάξ *tablet*, πινακίδιον *writing-tablet* L 1.63.

OI *speld*, *spjald* stn *slab of wood, board*, OE *speld* stn *piece of wood, torch*, MHG *spelte* wkf *split off piece of wood, eg splinter of a lance*, MLG *spelderen split-off pieces of wood*; *spolden*, *spalden*, OHG *spalten* wkv *split*.

PIE *(s)p(h)el- split off*; *sp(h)el-tā board*: Skt *sphaṭati burst* (dubious, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:540; also *sphuṭati burst, split*, ibid III: 543); OSl *ra-splatiti split, platz rag*. Without *-t-*: Skt *phálati burst, split* (dubious, ibid II: 393); Hsch σφαλάσσειν· τέμνειν *cut*, σφάλις *scissors*, σπαλάσσειν *cut*; Lat *spolium splayed hide of animals; despoiled arms of enemy, booty* W/H 1938-56 II:577-78; Lith *spālis*, *flax trimmings*; OPruss *spelannxtis sliver*; OI *spǫlr* m *pole*.

P 1959:985-87.

S124. *spill *na* μῦθος *myth* 1T 4.7; *spilla* *mn* *announcer*, only Sk 1.26 / Id.20; **spillon* wkvII εὐαγγελίζεσθαι *proclaim the gospel* L 2.10; **ga-spillon* διαγγέλλειν *announce, tell*, only 2sg imp *-lo* L 9.60; **þiuþ-spillon* only 3sg prt *-loda*, L 3.18, based on **þiuþ-spill*, cf OE *gōd-spel* stn **gospel**†; **waila-spillon* εὐαγγελίζεσθαι *proclaim the gospel*, only nom sg prpl *-londs* L 8.1; **us-spillon* διηγεῖσθαι *report* L 8.39; **un-us-spillops* papl ἀνεκδιήγητος *inexpressible* 2C 9.15, ἀνεξερεύνητος *unfathomable* R 11.33.

OI *spjall*, OE *spell*, OS, OHG *spel* stn *story, speech*, NE *spell*; OI *spjalla*, OE *spellian*, OHG *(got-)spellōn* wkv *narrate, speak*.

Etymology disputed; possibly PIE *(s)pel-*: Gk ἀ-πειλή *threat, boast*, ἀ-πειλέω *threaten, boast* (see Frisk 1960-72 I:119-20); Latvian *pelt slander*; Arm *aṙa-spel fable*; TochAB *päl-*, *pāl- praise*. Not here Lat *ap-pellō appeal* W/H 1938-56 II:59. Nor to Gk ψελλός *stuttering*, onomatopoeic, Chantraine 1968-80:1287; other suggestions listed and rejected by F 1939:445.

P 1959:985.

S125. *spinnan stvIII νήθειν *spin*, only 3pl prs *-nand*.

OI *spinna*, OE *spinnan*, OFris *spinna*, MLG, OHG *spinnen* stv *spin*†; OI *(gull-)spuni* m *spun*† *gold*, OHG *u-spunna* f *unspun*† *flax*; OE *spinel*, OFris *spindel*, OS, OHG *spinnila* f *spindle*†.

Etymology difficult; possibly to PIE *(s)pen-d- draw, spin*, Arm *hemun weave*; Lith *pìnti*, Latvian *pît weave*; Lith *pinaĩ* pl *woven fence*; OSl *pęti move, stretch*; Lith *spęsti stretch*, Latvian *spiêst press* Fraenkel 1962-65: 594,865-66. Probably not here, Lat *(sua) sponte of one's own impulse*, but rather to OHG *spanan* stv *entice*. Pedersen 1909-13 I: 185 assumed Wel *cy-ffinidenn woven cloth* (*-ffin-* ← **spin-*), Bret *ke-friden spider*, but was not accepted in P 1959:988.

S126. sprauto adv ταχύ, ταχέως *quickly, without delay* M 5.25.

Related to OE *sprēotan*, MHG *spriezen* stv *sprout*†, *spring up*; OE *āsprūtan*, OFris *sprūta*, OS *ūt-sprūtan* stv *sprout, shoot up* Grienberger 1900:197.

PIE *(s)p(h)er*, *spreg-*, *sprew-* *strew, sow*,

open up: Gk σπείρω *sow*, σπέρμα *seed*; PIE *sprew-* in OHG *spriu* stn *chaff*; Wel *ffrau stream*; + *-d-*: Wel *ffrwst* m *haste* (← **sprud-to-* or *-stu-*); Lith *sprūsti slip out, flee*, Latvian *sprūst cramp*; Lith *spráusti press, squeeze into a gap*, Latvian *spraûst insert*. On the Wel form see Vendryès 1959-:S-189.

P 1959:993-95.

S127. spwreidans = Gk acc pl σπυρίδας, from σπυρίς, with Go acc pl m ending, *basket*, only Mk 8.8,20; W Schulze 1966: 497-508,512; see ***snorjo**, ***tainjo**.

S128. *stafs *m*, only dat pl *stabim* στοιχεῖα *elements, elemental spirits* G 4.3,9, Col 2.20, pl of Gk στοχεῖον *small upright post, element*. Many attempts towards explanation, ince **stafs symbol* is one of the central terms in Run tradition; comprehensive discussion of terms for Run symbols, alphabetic letters and so on in H Kuhn 1938:54-73. Wimmer 1887:70 considered the translation of στοιχεῖα wrong; F Kauffmann 1923 ZDP 49:40-41 accepted it through the equation, 'rune-staves' = 'elements of this life'; Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:356, basing on the gloss *uf tugglam to the elemental spirits (of the universe)* in G 4.3A took **stafs* to be 'element, (zodiac) sign, star'. Grienberger 1900: 210 interpreted it as 'element constituting a part of a word'; for Krogmann 1930 IF 48:268-72 the plural of 'stave' meant 'document, prescription'; see also Ebbinghaus 1981 GL 21: 194-97. Beside such speculation we can only equate the Go forms with those in other dialects, such as Run *stAbA staves* (Gummarp, acc pl *a*-stem, Krause 1966 I:205-09), and tentatively assume that the meaning 'stave' was known in Go, Arntz 1944:281-85,295-96.

OI *stafr*, OE *stæf stave*†, *letter*, OFris *staf*, OS *bōk-staf*, OHG *stap* stm *staff*†; OI *stefja* wkv *prevent*, + *sik address someone*; OHG *stabēn* wkv *be stiff*. The use of the pl for 'elemental spirits' may receive clarification from an Eddic passage: *[mæla] forna stafi proclaim old wisdom* Vafdrūðnismāl 55.5, Arntz 1944:283.

PIE *stēb(h)-*, *stəbh-*, also with nasal infix *post, pillar, support*: Skt *stabhnāti support, stámbhas pillar*; Gk ἀ-στεμφής *firm*, στέμφυλα pl *pressed out olives or grapes*, σταφυλή *bunch of grapes*; Lith *stiebas staff*; *stābas post, column, idol* Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:276, Latvian *stabs post, column*, OPruss *stabis stone*; OSl *stoborz pillar*.

P 1959:1011-13.

S129. *staiga *fō* τρίβος, ῥύμη *path, way* L 3.4.

OI *Steig* GN, OHG *steiga* beside *stīga* stf, OI *stīgr* m, OE *stīg* f, OHG *stīg* m *path, steg* m *path, small bridge*; OI *stigi* m *ladder, stair, stig* n *step*, OE *stige ascent, descent*, OHG *stega* st/wkf *step, ladder*; OE *ā-stǣgan enter*, MHG *steigen* wkv *raise*; OE *stǣgel*, OHG *steigal steep*; OS *stēgil* m *steep place*.

PIE *st(o)igho- way*: Gk στοῖχος, στίχος *line, row*; also cons stem pl στίχες *series*; Lat *ve-stīgium track* (*ve-* unclear, W/H 1938-56 II: 774-75); Lith *staigà suddenly, staigùs vehement*; Latvian *stiga*; OSl *stьdza path, stьgna street*; Alb *shteg path*; also OIr *techt travel*, Wel *taith trip* (← *(s)tiktā*). See also ***steigan**.

P 1959:1017-18.

S130. stains *ma* λίθος *stone*, πέτρα *rock* L 20.17; **waihsta-stains* ἀκρογωνίαιον *cornerstone*, only dat sg *-na* E 2.20; **stainahs* adja *stony*, only in *ana stainahamma* ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες Mk 4.5, ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη Mk 4.16 (for *aha* see ***bairgahei**); **staineins* adja λίθινος *stony*, only dat pl *staineinaim* 2C 3.3; **stainjan* wkvI λιθάζειν *stone* J 10.32.

Run *staina* acc sg (Vetteland, Tune, Rö), *stAin* acc sg (Eggja), *stAinAz* nom pl (Rävsal), OI *steinn*, OE *stān*, OFris, OS *stēn*, OHG *stein* ma *stone*†. OHG *steinaht stony, steinahi* n *stony ground*; with accent on suffix, OE *stāneg, stǣnig*, MLG *stēnich*, OHG *steinag stony*† (see Kluge 1926:100-01); OE *stǣnen*, OFris, MLG *stēnen*, OHG *steinīn stony*; OI *steina* wkv *paint*, OE *stǣnan*, MLG *stēnen*, OHG *steinōn* wkv *stone*, OHG *gi-steinen* wkv

set with stones.

PIE *stāy- thicken*: Skt *styāyate coagulate*, Av *stā(y)- heap, mass*; Gk στῖα, στῖον *pebble*, στέαρ *tallow* W Schulze 1966:54, στίλη; Lat *stilla drop*; *stīria frozen drop, icicle*; Lith *stérti become rigid*; OI *stīra* wkv *stare*. With *-no-* as in Gmc, OSl *stěna wall*, (OSerb) *stone*, *stěnьnz stony* (borrowed according to Meillet 1902-05: 446; and others, though not according to Vasmer 1953-58 III:10).

P 1959:1010-11.

S131. *stairno f*n* ἀστήρ *star*, only nom pl *-nons* Mk 13.25.

CrimGo **stern* 'stella' (misprinted as *stein*, Stearns 1978:155); OI *stjarna* f, MLG *sterne*, OHG *stern*, *sterno* m *star*, made with PIE *-no/ā-n-* as in ***arhvazna**, with influence from **sunno** [?]; OE *steorra*, OFris *stēra*, OS, OHG *sterro* m *star*†, made with PIE *-ro-* as in ***baitrs**.

PIE *(s)tḗr-*, gen *(s)trās star*: Skt *stár-*, inst pl *stṛ́bhiṣ*, nom pl *tā́ras*; Av *stārəm* acc sg, *stārō* nom pl; Gk ἀστήρ (often a specific star, eg Sirius, Arcturus), ἄστρα *stars*; Lat *stēlla* ← (**stēr-lā* or **stēl-nā*, cf Arm, W/H 1938-56 II: 587-88, with references); Wel *seren*, Corn, Bret *sterenn*; Arm *astł* (← *-ln-*; Hitt *haster- star* Tischler 1983- I:204-06, also on older views, as in F 1939:448); TochA *śre-ñ*, B *śćirye stars*. Because of Gk, Arm and Hitt, PIE *H₂ster-* assumed by Lindeman 1970:70, in spite of the initial cluster.

Many attempts to determine earlier source: Krogmann 1936 ZVS 63:256ff proposed PIE *ās- burn, glow* as first syllable, P 1959:68-69; others, PIE *ster- spread out* W/H 1938-56 II:588; the stars are objects spread over the sky; cf P 1959:1029-31, ***straujan**; many have taken it as a borrowing from Akkad *ištar Astarte, 'Venus'*, eg Ipsen 1923 IF 41:179ff, though with strong opposition, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:481; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:686 point out that the PIE *Haster-* and PSemitic *'aṯtar-* forms are very similar. Watkins 1974 Sprache 20:10-14 posits PIE *H₂ost-* with suffixes *-er-* and *-el-*, seeing a parallel in PIE *H₃ozd- twig*, Go **asts**, among others.

P 1959:1027-28.

S132. stairo f*n* στεῖρα *the barren one* L 1.7.

OHG *stero* wkm *ram*; + *-k-*, MLG *sterke*, NHG (← NLG) *Stärke* f *heifer that has not yet calved*; OE *stierc* n *calf*; NI *stirtla sterile cow*.

PIE *ster- sterile*: Skt *starī́ṣ sterile cow*; Gk στέρι̯φος *infertile*, στεῖρα *sterile cow*; Lat *sterilis sterile*; Arm *sterǰ infertile*; Alb *shtjerra lamb*. Root possibly equivalent to *ster- stiff* P 1959:1029-31, Persson 1912:428-39; less likely origins in W/H 1938-56 II:590 and F 1939:448.

P 1959:1031.

S133. *staks (m)*i* στίγμα *mark*, only acc pl *stakins* G 6.17; possibly also **hleþrastakeins** *Feast of Tabernacles*.

OHG *stache* dat (or *spizzin*) *young deer, stag in first head* Grienberger 1900:197, *stahhulla* stm/n *point, spike*; OI *-stjaki*, OHG *stehho* m *pole*; OI *-staki*, OE *staca*, OFris *staka* m *pole*, MLG *stake stake*†, *rod*; OFris *steka*, OS *stekan*, OHG *stehhan* stv *prick*, OI *staka*, OHG *stehhen* wkv *stake down, fasten* (: Go **stakjan*, from which *-stakeins*).

Etymology uncertain. Probably to PIE *(s)teg- pole, beam*: Lat *tīgnum* ← **tegnom beam* W/H 1938-56 II:681, Lidén 1905-06 IF 18:498ff; Lith *stãgaras, stegerỹs long, dry stem*; Latvian *stẽga, stẽgs long stick, stęga penis*; OSl *stežerъ support, stogъ haystack*; Arm *t'akn club*; see also Fraenkel 1962-65:891-92.

Less likely to PIE *(s)teyg- prick; sharp* as in ***stiks** through phonological restructuring.

P 1959:1014.

S134. *stamms adj*a* μογιλάλος *stammering*, only acc sg m *-mana* Mk 7.32.

OI *stamr*, OE *stam(or)*, MLG *stamer*, OHG *stam(al) stammering*†; *stamalōn* wkv *stammer*†; ablaut variant in OFris, OS, OHG *stum dumb*; OI *stumra* wkv *stumble*; OE *stamrian*, OS *stamurōn*, MDu *stameren* wkv *stammer*. Also OI *stemma*, OE *for-stemman*, OS *stemmian*, OHG *gi-stemmen* ← **stamjan*

wkv *stem*†, *hinder*; also OHG *un-(gi-)stuomi impetuous.*

Cognates only in Balt; PIE *stem-*: Latvian *stuomîtiês stutter, stammer*; Lith *stùmti*, Latvian *stùmt shove.* Scarcely from PIE *stā- stand* + *-mənó-* ppl suffix = 'something made to stand', as in Grienberger 1900:198. That etymon proposed for Gk στάμνος *wine-jar*, TochA *ṣtām*, B *stām tree*, and possibly OHG *stam stem*, though see P 1959:1008. Relationship with Skt *stimitas slow, quiet* rejected by Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:515.

P 1959:1021.

S135. standan stvVI στήκειν *stand* Mk 3.24, prt 3sg *stoþ*, 3pl *stoþun*; papl not attested in Go, though in other dialects, B/E 1981:107. On the inflection see Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:315-16, 1901 IF 12:197-98; Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:103,292,369; A Sturtevant 1928 Lg 4:109, Prokosch 1939:67,131,150,157,174-75, 183,184,223: heavy base with normal grade in prt and zero grade in prs. **af-standan* ἀφίστασθαι *fall off* L 8.13; *and-standan* ἀνθίστασθαι *withstand* M 5.39; *at-standan* παρίστασθαι *be near, come to* L 2.38; **bi-standan* περίστασθαι *stand about* J 11.42; *faura-standan* προίστασθαι *stand by* L 19.24; *ga-standan* ἵστασθαι *remain* L 6.8; *in-standan* ἀνίστασθαι *stand ahead* 2Th 2.2; **miþ-standan* συνίστασθαι *stand together*, only acc pl m prpl *-dandans* L 9.32; **twis-standan* ἀποτάσσεσθαι *take leave*, only nom sg m prpl *-dands* 2C 2.13; *us-standan* ἀνίστασθαι *stand up* M 9.9; **staþs**; **ga-stoþan* (conjecture) στῆσαι *uphold* R 14.4A; **un-ga-stoþs* adja nom pl m *homeless*, only for ἀστατοῦμεν 1C 4.11.

OI *standa*, OE *standan*, OFris *stonda*, OS *standan*, OHG *stantan* stv *stand*†. Short forms, Sw *stå*, Dan *staa*, OFris *stān*, OS, OHG *stān, stēn* (cf OHG *gān, gēn* under **gaggan**); of obscure origin, Kluge 1913:160, Wilmanns 1889 ZDA 33:424-30, 1906-09:63ff, Brugmann 1903-04 IF 15:126-28, Streitberg 1896:310, Hirt 1931-34 II:162, Prokosch 1939:223, Meillet 1922 BSLP 23:[art]73, OHG *stām* after *gām*; cf **gaggan**. PGmc *stōþ-* based on PIE *(s)tā-* + *-t-*, with zero grade and nasal infix in prs, as well as suffix accent, though see now G Schmidt 1984 Sprachwiss 9:211-30, who posits origin in PIE *-dh-*.

PIE *(s)tā-* ← *teh- stand* (with many derivatives): Skt *tiṣṭhati*, Av *hištaiti stand*; Dor ἵστᾱμι, Gk ἵστημι *place, make to stand*, aor ἔστην (= Skt *ásthām*) *stood*, Gk ἕστηκα perf *stand*; Lat *stō stand*, reduplicated *sistō place*; OIr *-tāu, -tō am* Vendryès 1959-:T-2, reduplicated *siss- stand up* Vendryès 1959-:S-118-20; Lith *stóti place oneself, stovėti stand*; OSl *stati place oneself, stojati stand*; Hitt *istanta- delay, stay, tittanu- set up* Tischler 1983- I:427-28, *istap(p)- cover*, ibid I:432-33; TochB *ste is*, 3pl *stāre.*

See **af-stass**, **ana-stodeins**, ***anda-staþjis**, ***lukarna-staþa**, **1. staua**, **stojan**, ***stoma**, all derivatives of PIE *(s)tā-*.

P 1959:1004-10, Watkins 1985:64-65.

S136. stap CrimGo 'capra' *goat.*

No satisfactory etymology, Stearns 1978: 154. F 1939:450 takes it as a borrowing from an Iran dialect, with cognate in NPers *čapiš year-old buck*; other proposed borrowings in Hung *czáp*, Pol, Slov, Little Russ *cap*, Cz *cáp*, Alb *cjap buck*. See W/P 1927-32 I:347-48 on possible origin of NPers *čapiš* and PIE *kaprobuck.*

Cannot be explained as a misprint for CrimGo **skap*, OS *skāp*, OHG *skāf* stn *sheep* as by Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:359 since this is from PGmc *skēpo-m* which would have become CrimGo **schip* as in *schlipen*. Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:127 related it to OHG *(howi-)stapho* m *grass-hopper.*

S137. staþs mi τόπος *place, region* Mk 15.22; **hunsla-staþs* θυσιαστήριον *altar* M 5. 23; **mota-staþs* τελώνιον *tollhouse, tax office* L 5.27; *staþa* ma ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, dat sg *ana staþa on the shore, bank* Mk 4.1; *stadis*, only for εἰς τὸ πέραν *on the other side* Mk 4.35 (Cosijn 1877 TaalB 1:190 emends to **staþis* gen sg; rejected by Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:487-88,

who following Sievers posits an adv **jainis staþis* = NHG *jenseits*, which became *-stad-* by Thurneysen's law, Thurneysen 1898 IF 8:208-14).

From PGmc *staði-*: OI *staðr* m, OE *stede*, OFris *sted*, OS *stedi*, OHG *stat* stf *site, location, (home)stead*†; from PGmc *staða-*: Nor *stad* (dial) n *bank of river*, OE *stæþ* m/n, OFris *steth*, OS *stað*, OHG *stad* stm *bank*, NHG *Staden* (dial, Alsatian); CrimGo *statz* 'terra' *land* (from 'shore', Stearns 1978:154). Also OI *stǫð* f ← PGmc *staþwō place of landing*.

PIE *stā- stand*, **standan**, PIE *st(h)ə-ti-* as in Skt *sthítiṣ, sthitíṣ*, Gk στάσις, Lat *statiō station* (Benveniste 1948:99), *statim* adv acc *standing firmly, regularly* becoming *at once*. From normal grade *stā-* + *-ti-*: Av *stāitiš station*; Lith *stãčias standing*; OSl *po-statь part, manner*; OI *(hug-)stæðr firm*; cf **ana-stodjan*, Go ***un-ga-stoþs**. PIE *st(h)ə-tó-*: Skt *sthitás*, Gk στατός, Lat *status placed, standing*; Lith *statùs standing*. For *staþa* Unwerth 1910 BGDSL 36:3 proposes an orig *es*-stem on the basis on OHG *stedir* (Bavarian) *landing place*; cf Schatz 1927:211,243; not credible for PIE.

P 1959:1006.

S138. 1. staua fō κρίσις, κρῖμα *judgment, charge* ← PGmc *stōu̯ō place of judgment* to **stojan**, prt **stauida*; *ou̯* → *au* before vowel, as in **sauil**, Gdr 1897-1916 I:322, Brugmann 1904a:107; see B/E 1981:34-35.

OHG *stūa-tago* stm *last judgment* Muspilli 55; zero grade; normal grade in OI *eld-stō* f *hearth*; OE *stōw*, OFris *stō place*. OE *þēaw*, OS, OHG *thau* m *custom* not related, as by Helten 1905 BGDSL 30:246, but to **þiuþ**.

PIE *st(h)āw-* as in Lith *stóti stand up, stovà place, stõvai loom for weaving, stõvis state*; Latvian *stâvs figure, standing, stāvi loom*; OSl *stati place oneself, stavъ a stand*; probably also Gk στοά, Aeol στωία *hall with columns*; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:914-15. Also Skt *sthūṇā* (see J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32:385 on *-n̥-*), Av *stūnā-* f *pillar*; Skt *sthūrás big* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:530-31.

P 1959:1008.

S139. 2. staua mn κριτής *judge* M 5.25; **anda-staua* ἀντίδικος *opponent* M 5.25; **staua-stols* ma βῆμα *judgment seat* M 27.19, either derived from **1. staua** or from **stojan** with PGmc *-an-*, Kluge 1926:9.

S140. *stautan stvVII τύπτειν, ῥαπίζειν *strike*, only 3sg opt prs *-tai* M 5.39, dat sg m prpl *-tandin* L 6.29.

OS *stōtan*, OHG *stōzan* stv *thrust*; OI *stauta*, OFris *stēta* wkv ← **stautjan thrust, push*; OI *steytr*, OFris *stēt*, OHG *stōz* stm *thrust*; with zero grade, MHG *stutz* m *thrust*, *stutzen* wkv *avoid* Paul 1879 BGDSL 6:123; OI *stūtr* stm *young ox, stump of horn*.

PIE *(s)kew-d- push, prick*: Skt *tudáti, tundate thrust, push, todás one who incites*; Lat *tundō*, perf *tutudi strike, thrust*; also, Lat *studeō strive, study, studium zeal* W/H 1938-56 II:60; without *s-*, OIr *do-tuit makes to fall*; Alb *shtyj* ← **stūdn̥iō thrust* Huld 1984:116.

P 1959:1032-34.

S141. stega CrimGo 'viginti' *twenty*.

OFris *stige*, NHG *stiege*, (dial) *steige 20 items*.

Obscure; possibly with Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:132-33 from **tega* based on *-tigjus* as in ***fidwor-tigjus** *forty* with unidentified *s-* (scarcely from **twis-(tigjus) 2 x 10*). Doubtfully to Gk στίχος *series* (CrimGo *e* = Go *i* as in **memis* to **mimz**), Siebs 1922 BGDSL 46: 171, or to OHG *stiega*, MHG *stëge* st/wkf *stairs*, cf ***steigan**, as if the usual number of stairs consisted of 20 steps; cf NE *score 20*, actually 'notch', Du *snes 20*, actually 'series'. According to F 1939:451-52 from pre-IE lexicon of North Europe, in which the number 20 (ie 4 x 5) was primary; cf Celt, Dan, Fr. See Stearns 1978:154-55 for attempts to account for phonology.

S142. *steigan stvI ἀναβαίνειν *climb*, only 3sg prs *-giþ* J 10.1; **at-steigan* καταβαίνειν *descend*, 3sg prt *at-staig* L 19.6;

*ga-steigan ἐμβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν *get into*, 3pl prt *ga-stigun* J 6.24; *ufar-steigan* ἀναβαίνειν *go up*, only 3pl prt *-stigun* Mk 4.7; *us-steigan* ἀναβαίνειν *go up* J 6.62; see ***staiga***.

OI *stīga*, OE *stīgan*, OFris *stīga*, OS, OHG *stīgan* stv *climb*.

PIE *steygh- stride, climb*: Skt *stighnoti*, Ved *pra-stighnuyāt* 3sg opt prs *may he rise*, *ati-ṣṭigham master*; Gk στείχω *go, climb*; OIr *tīagu stride*; Lith *steĩgti found*; OSl *postignǫti reach*; many derivatives in OIr, Vendryès 1959-:T-57-60.

P 1959:1017-18.

S143. stibna fō φωνή *voice* J 10.4.

OE *stefn*, OFris *stifne voice* (Go *-bn-*, OE *-fn-* ← PGmc *-ƀn-*, *-mn-*); *-mn-* preserved in OE *stemn*, OS *stemna*, OHG *stimna* (or *-m-* restored from oblique cases, eg ***stimin-***, Gdr 1897-1916 I:383); *-mn-* → *-mm-* in Sw *stämma*, OFris *stemme*, OHG *stimma* st/wkf *voice, sound*.

Etymology uncertain; probably with Noreen 1894:140 to Av *staman- muzzle of dogs*, Gk στόμα *mouth, esp as organ of speech, utterance*; also *voice*, as in ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος *with one voice*; Wel *safn jaw*, MBret *staffn palate* Pedersen 1909-13 I:78; so also Gdr 1897-1916 I:383, though rejected by others, eg J Schmidt 1895:133; W/P 1927-32 II:648 dubious; omitted from P 1959:1035; approved now by Wennerberg 1972 Sprache 18:28-29. See also Hitt *istaman- ear*, which Tischler 1983- I: 424-26 once again relates, following E Sturtevant 1928 Lg 4:123 and others.

Other proposals cited in F 1939:452 are to be rejected, including Grienberger 1900:199 to Gk στένω *sigh, moan*.

S144. stigqan stvIII συμβαλεῖν *clash, do battle*, only inf L 14.31; ***bi-stigqan*** προσπίπτω *strike against*, 3sg prt *bi-stagq* L 6. 48, 3pl prt *bi-stugqun* M 7.25; ***ga-stigqan*** προσκόπτειν *stumble* only 3sg prs *ga-stiggiþ* J 11.9,10; ***ga-stagqjan*** wkvI προσκόπτειν *strike against* (trans), only 3sg opt prs *-gjais* L 4.11; *bi-stug(g)q* na πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή *obstacle* R 14.13.

OGutn *stinqua*, OSw *stinka* stv *bounce*, OI *støkkva* stv *leap, spring up, flee*, wkv *cause to spring, drive away, besprinkle*, OE *stencan* wkv *scatter*. Also with different meaning Nor *stokka*, OE *stinkan*, OHG *stincan* stv *smell sweetly, stink*†, Dan, Nor *stinke* stv *stink*; OI *stǫkkr* m *sudden movement*, OE *stanc* m *sprinkling*. On the development of meaning in Gmc see Wood 1910 MLN 25:74.

Etymology unclear. Because of the diversity of meaning several words may have fallen together. Scarcely to Lith *sténgti exert oneself, withstand*, see Fraenkel 1962-65:901-02, Skt *taṅgati stumble* E Zupitza 1896:94; Wel *sangu trample* Pedersen 1909-13 I:79. Also dubious, from **stugqan* → *stigqan*, with cognates in Skt *tujáti, tuñjáti move quickly, thrust* Brugmann 1904a:515. Other conjectures cited in F 1939: 452-53.

S145. stikls ma ποτήριον *beaker, chalice* 1C 10.16.

OHG *stehhal* stm *beaker*. -- Also to OI *stikill tip (esp of a drinking horn)*, OE *sticel*, MLG *stekel, stickel*, OHG *stichil* stm *point, tip* (*stikls* orig referred to the tip of such a horn). Possibly related to OE *sticel*, OS *stekul*, OHG *stechal steep* (cf NE *stickleback*), just as OI *staup*, OE *stēap*, NE *stoup*, MLG *stōp*, OHG *stouf* stm *beaker* is based on OE *stēap* etc *steep*†, according to Vries 1962:544 from the stem of the goblet. Fick 1872 ZVS 20:360-61, from 'tip' of drinking horn to 'beaker'.

Probably from PIE *(s)keyg- prick*, as in ***stiks***. Borrowed into OSl *stьklo glass* Stender-Petersen 1927:397ff, and from these on to Lith *stìklas*, Latvian *stikls*, OPruss *sticlo glass* Fraenkel 1962-65:905-06. Not as by Grienberger 1900:199 to Gk στῖα *pebble*; cf ***stains***.

P 1959:1016-17.

S146. *stiks* mi *point*, only dat sg *in stika melis* ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου *in a moment* L 4. 5.

OE *stice*, OFris *steke*, OHG *stih* stm

point, moment, cf NE *stich, stitch*; OE *stician*, OHG *sticken* wkv *prick*.

PIE *(s)teyg- prick, sharp*: Skt *téjate be sharp, tigmá- pointed*; Av *tigra pointed*; Gk στίγμα *point*, Lat *īnstīgō instigate*. See *stikls*, ***staks**.

P 1959:1016-17.

S147. *stilan stvIV κλέπτειν *steal*, only 3pl prs *stiland* M 6.20, 3sg opt prs *stilai* J 10.10.

OI *stela*, OE *stelan*, OFris *stela*, OS *farstelan*, OHG *stelan* stv *steal*†; OE *stalu*, OHG *stāla* stf *theft*.

No etymology. May be borrowed from a pre-Gmc word; the IE word for secret stealing is maintained in ***hlifan**. Scarcely to Gk στερέω *rob*, MIr *serb theft*, as in P 1959:1028; with *-l-* from **helan*; cf **huljan**. Other conjectures listed in F 1939:453-54, and in Seebold 1970: 468-69.

S148. stiur ma μόσχος *calf, young steer* Neh 5.18. On the absence of nom *-s* see B/E 1981:63-64, with bibliography, pointing out that *-s* is lost after short vowel + *r* as in **anþar, wair** etc. W Schulze 1966:483 assumes trisyllabic PGmc *sti-ŭras* = Skt *stháviras thick*; he distinguishes other IE words for 'steer'.

OE *stēor*, MLG *stēr*, OHG *stior* stm *steer*†; here also without *s-*, as in Gk ταῦρος etc, OI *þjörr* m, Sw *tjur*, Du *deur* (dial) *steer*.

PIE *stew-ro-* as in Av *staora large cattle*, MPers *stōr draught animal, horse* P 1959:1010; see Lommel 1914 ZVS 46:53-54 for further Iran cognates. -- May have absorbed reflexes of PIE word in Gk ταῦρος, Lat *taurus*, Umbr *turuf, toru*, OSl *turs steer*; Lith *taũras aurochs*, OPruss *tauris bison*; see P 1959:1083, who assumes that Gaul *tarvos*, MIr *tarb*, Wel *tarw steer* were probably restructured after Celt **karvo- deer*; see also Vendryès 1959-:T-31. P 1959:1080-85 derives these from PIE *tēw- swell, tŭro- strong*, as had Brugmann 1896 IF 6:98. Others relate the words to PSemitic *tauru* as in Akkad *šūru*, Heb *šōr*, Aram *tōr*, Ar *twr steer* P 1959:1083; assuming borrowing into IE, J Schmidt 1890:7 and H Lewy 1895:4, though F 1939:454 prefers common adoption from a third source, in view of the prehistoric bull-cult; see also Specht 1944:35-36. W/H 1938-56 II: 650-52, following others, assume Semitic borrowing from IE.

S149. stiurjan wkvI στῆσαι *establish*, only inf R 10.3, 3pl prs *-jand* 1T 1.7, derived from **stiurs*, cf *us-stiuriba* adv ἀσώτως *dissolutely*, only L 15.13; *us-stiurei* fn ἀσωτία *dissoluteness* E 5.18.

OI *stýra steer, rule, possess*, OE *stīeran*, OFris *stiōra, stiūra*, MLG *stȳren*, OHG *stiuren* wkv *steer*†, *direct*; OI *stýri* n, OE *stēor*, OFris *stiūre*, MLG *stiure*, OHG *stiura* stf *steering-oar* becoming *support, taxes*; also OI *stjórn* f *rudder* becoming NE *stern*, OI *stjórnborði*, OE *stēorbord starboard*†; MLG *unstȳre* f *dissoluteness*.

From PIE *st(h)ew-, st(h)ū- firm, broad*: Skt *sthāvará- thick, standing firm, sthūrás*; Arm *stvar thick*; also Gk σταυρός *post*; Lat *instaurāre restore* from 'place posts and supports in construction' W/H 1938-56 I:705-06; OI *staurr* m *post*; OHG *stiura* stf *post, support* Vries 1962:544,557. See also **stojan**.

P 1959:1009-10.

S150. *stiwiti n*ia* ὑπομονή *patience*, only dat sg *stiwitja* 2C 1.6,6.4, gen sg **stiwitjis*, conjecture for *stiwitjons* 2Th 1.4B.

No cognates in the other Gmc dialects; etymology obscure. Not to Skt *titikṣate endures, titikṣā patience*, as in P 1959:1018, which Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:500 takes as desiderative to *téjate is sharp*; cf ***stiks**. Nor to Lith *stìgti rest, be calm*, which Fraenkel 1962-65:905 relates to *steĩgti* ibid:899; cf ***steigan**. No basis then for PIE *(s)teyg^{w}h- endure* as in E Zupitza 1896:101 and P 1959: 1018. Other implausible conjectures listed in F 1939:455.

S151. stojan wkvI κρίνειν *judge* J 8. 26, 3sg prs *stojiþ* J 7.51, 2sg prt *stauides* L 7. 43; **ga-stojan*, 1sg prt *gastauida* 1C 5.3, dat pl

papl *-jans* in *af ga-stojanaim* ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων *from unnatural [men]* (emended by A Sturtevant 1928 PQ 7:78-79 to **ga-stojaim unsuitable, judged*); see also **1. staua.**

OE *stōwian restrain*, OHG *stouwen* wkv *accuse, command*; MLG *stōwen, stūwen, stouwen* wkv *heap up*; OHG *stūēn* wkv (Muspilli 25) *repent.*

PIE *st(h)āw-* as in Lith *stóti stand up*: cf other forms under **staua**; PIE stem an extension of PIE *st(h)ā-* as in *standan*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:202,207, Grienberger 1900:198. See also Mikkola 1924 *F2* Streitberg:269-70.

P 1959:1008.

S152. stols ma θρόνος *chair, throne* M 5.34; **stauastols* βῆμα *judgment-seat* R 14.10.

CrimGo *stul* 'sedes' (Stearns 1978:155), OI *stōll*, OE, OFris, OS *stōl*, OHG *stuol* stm *chair*, cf NE *stool.*

PIE *st(h)ā- stand* + *-l-*: Lith *pastōlas stand (as for beehives)*; Latvian *stāli loom*; zero grade in Lith *stãlas table, workbench*, OPruss *stalis table*, OSl *stolъ throne, seat*; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:893, who rejects on the basis of Lith *-stōl-* the suggested borrowing of *stãlas* from Sl as well as their origin in PIE *st(h)el- place, stand*: Skt *sthálam rise, mainland*; Gk στέλλω *place*, στόλος *equipment, troop*; Lat *stolidus stolid*; OI *stallr*, OE *steall*, OFris, OHG *stal* stm *stand, stall*†; P 1959:1019-21.

P 1959:1007.

S153. *stoma ὑπόστασις *confidence, substance*, only dat sg *-min* 2C 9.4, 11.17; see Kluge 1926:46-47 on derivation with PGmc *ma(n)-.*

OHG *gi-stuomi* adj *quiet*, NHG *un-gestüm vehement*, though not by P 1959:1008, who assigns it to PIE *stem- thrust, stammer*, as in ***stamms**, 1021.

PIE *st(h)ā-* + *-m-*, as with different meanings in: Skt *sthā́ma* n *position, strength*; Gk στήμων, Lat *stāmen warp in weaving*; MIr *samaigim set down*, Wel *sefyll*, Corn, Bret *sevell stand*; Lith *stomuõ stature*, Latvian *stāmen body, torso* Fraenkel 1962-65:912; TochA *ṣtām*, B *stām tree* (cf here OIr *taman tree trunk*, though see Vendryès 1959-:T-25, and OE *stamn*, OHG *stam* stm *stem*†).

P 1959:1007-08.

S154. *straujan wkvI στρωννύειν *spread out*, only 3pl prt *strawidedun* Mk 11.8; **ga-straujan cover*, only n papl *ga-strawiþ* ἐστρωμένον Mk 14.15; **uf-straujan* ὑποστρωννύειν *spread beneath*, only 3pl prt *strawidedun* L 19.36.

OI *strā* (new formation for **streyja* after prt *strāða* = Go **strawida*), OE *strēowian, strēwian*, OFris *strēwa*, OS *strōian*, OHG *strewen, strouwen* wkv *strew*†; denom to PGmc *strawa-* in OI *strā*, OE *strēaw*, OFris, *strē*, OS *strō*, OHG *strō*, gen *strāwes* stn *straw*†.

PIE *ster-, sterə-, strew- spread out, scatter*: Skt *stṛ́ṇāti, stṛṇóti*, Av *stərənāti*, Gk στόρνυμι, Lat *sternō spread out*; OIr *fo-sernaim spread under*, Wel *sarn plaster*, Bret *stern pack-saddle*; OSl *pro-stьrǫ stretch*; Alb *shtrij spread* Huld 1984:115-16; with *-ew-*: Lat *struō build up, struēs heap*; cf perf *strāvī* of *sternō*; OBret *strovis I have spread out*; possibly Serb *strȍvo heap (of fruit scattered by a storm)*; see also Vasmer 1953-58 III:20-29, W/H 1938-56 II:607-08, Cowgill 1965:155-56.

P 1959:1029-31.

S155. straua (*straba*) in Jordanes, 124,20: "strauam super tumulum eius (scil Attilae) quam appellant ipsi (scil Hunni) ingenti commessatione concelebrant" 'they celebrate the funeral feast [?] on his mound (Attila's) and they (the Huns) call to him in great carousing'; *straua* may be related to OHG *(betti-)strewi* 'lectisternium' *a special festival at which a banquet was offered to the gods*; cf also Ibn Fadlan's description of a Viking burial, Birkeland 1954:19-24, Brøndsted 1960:280-84.

Related by Grimm 1866:135 and others to ***straujan**, though the development of the meaning as well as the precise sense of *straua* is unclear; F 1939:456 assumes 'strewing' to 'lying in state' to 'funeral feast'; cognates of ***straujan** provide no insights. Cf Puhvel

1984-:445 on semantic relationships.

Miklosich 1879-83 II:6-7 assumed a Sl word *straua* with the meaning *funeral festival*, possibly borrowed from Go; Diels in Ebert, ed 1924-32 XII:285 identifies the word in medieval Bohemia and Poland with the meaning given by Jordanes; excellent discussion in Rooth 1954:37-52, supporting Grimm.

S156. striks *mi* κεραία *hook, serif*, only M 5.18.

OI *strik striped cloth*, Nor *strik* n *dot, stroke*; OE *strica* m *dot, sign, ge-stric* n *stripe*, NE *streak*; OFris *strik-halt lame*, MLG *streke*, OHG *strih* m *dot, line*; OE *strīcan*, OFris *strīka*, MLG *strīkan*, OHG *strīhhan* stv *stroke, rub, move*.

PIE *streyg-*, extended from *ster- stripe, dot* + *-ey-, -g-*: Lat *stria* ← **strig-i̯ā stripe, furrow, fold, striga stroke, strigilis scraper*; OSl *strigǫ cut with shears*, Russ *streža course of stream*; with *-n-*: Gk στρίγξ, στριγγός *row, series*; Lat *stringō stroke, touch* W/H 1938-56 II:602-03, 604-05; OHG *strīmo* wkm *stripe, ray*. J Schmidt 1871-75 II:257ff, Persson 1912:781, 866-67. PIE *ster-* also extended with *-ew-, -g-*, as in OI *strjūka* stv *stroke, strike* Vries 1962: 554; OE *stroccian* wkv *stroke*†.

P 1959:1028-29.

S157. *stubjus *mn* κονιορτός *dust*, only acc sg *-ju* L 10.11.

PGmc *stewb-* in OHG *zestiuben* stv *disperse*; also Du *stuiven*, MLG *stūven fly about, scatter*; MLG *stōven*, MHG *stöuben* wkv *cause to scatter, frighten away*; OHG *stoup* stm *dust*; zero grade also in MLG *stübbe*, OHG *stuppi* stn *dust*.

No accepted etymology; Much 1902 ZDW 2:286 derives it from PIE *dhewbh-* as in Gk τύφω *produce smoke, steam*, τῦφος *smoke, steam*, with preceding *s-*; highly dubious formation, in spite of OI *dupt* n *dust*, MHG *tuft* stm *fog, dew* from this root, P 1959:264; here also ***daufs**. Other speculation in Wood 1898 JEGP 2:225-26; Uhlenbeck 1901 BGDSL 26: 308-09.

S158. sugil n *sun*, name of *s*-rune in Sal; OE *sygil, sigel, segl, sægl* (in Andreas); OI *sōl* f.

PIE *sāwel- ← saH-we/ol- sun*: Hom ἠέλιος, Dor ἀέλιος, Hsch ἀβέλιος; Lat *sōl* ← PIE *sāwol*, as also Wel *haul sun*; PIE zero grade *swel-* in Skt *súvar*, Av *hvarə sun, light, heavens*; gen Skt *sū́ras*, Av *hūrō*; Skt *sū́rya- sun*; OIr *sūil* f *eye* ← **sūli-*. Gmc forms with *-g-* from PIE *s₂Hwel-*, as in OE *iuguþ youth*† : Skt *yúvan-*, Lat *iuvenis youth* WP Lehmann 1952:48, with bibliography. Cf also **sauil**, with which J Schmidt 1883 ZVS 26:9 had proposed a relationship. OE *swegle* n *heaven, sun*, OS *swigli* ← **swegila- shining* may be secondary Gmc forms, rather than ablaut variants, as by Wood 1901 MLN 16:306; cf also Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:311. Older bibliography in F 1939:457-58. See also **sunno**. On runic data see Arntz 1944:168-74,215-16.

P 1959:881-82.

S159. *sulja *fō*, possibly *-jo*, σανδάλιον *sandal*, only dat pl *suljom* Mk 6.9. Borrowed from Lat *solea sandal* Grienberger 1900:201-02, Corazza 1969:31,73 already in 1st or 2nd century.

OE *solu*, OHG *sola* st/wkf *sole*† are independent borrowings from VLat **sola*, cf It *suola*, OFr *suele threshold* Meyer-Lübke 1935: 8064.

S160. sums indef prn τὶς *anyone* J 7. 50, pl *sumz-uƀƀan* (+ **uh**, **þan**) *some, many* 1C 11.21A, *sumanz-uþ-þan some* E 4.11A; see Streitberg 1909 IF 24:177 on medial *n*. *suman* adv ποτέ *once, formerly*, ἐκ μέρους *in part* R 11.30; also with *uh* in *suman-uh-þan in part* Sk 6.20 / VIc.18-21. On *-an* see **ƕan**.

OI *sumr*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *sum some*†, *any*.

PIE *sem- one, together, s₂mo- anyone*: Skt *samá-*, Av, OPers *hama- anyone*; Gk ἁμό- *any* as in ἁμῶς *somehow*, ἀμόθεν *from some place*, οὐδ-αμός *no one*; Arm *amēn(-ain) all, each*; TochA *sam*, B *sām like, even*; not without phonological problems, as in Skt *sam-*, which

may be influenced by *samá-* ← PIE *somo- like, the same*, etc; cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:436-37.

P 1959:902-05, esp 903.

S161. sundro adv κατὰ μόνας, κατ' ἰδίαν *alone, apart* L 9.10.

OI *sundr asunder*, OE *sundor*, OFris, OS *sunder*, OHG *suntar* adv *separated from, apart, alone*; MHG *sunder* prep *without*; cf NE *sunder, asunder*.

PIE *seni-/u-, sn̥-ter-* *alone, separate*: Skt *sanitúr, sanu-tár apart, from, away*, cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:427; Av *hanarə without*; Gk ἄτερ *without, far from*; Lat *sine without*; OIr *sain* adj ← **s$_e$n-i- different*; Bret *hanter*, Wel *hanner half*; OWel *han other*, Wel *hanred separation*; TochA *sne*, B *snai without*.

Possibly also Gk ἄνευ *without*, though it may be related to **inu**, Chantraine 1968-80:86; further, Hitt *sanizzis excellent, special* Lohmann 1933 IF 51:325-26, W/H 1938-56 II:542-43.

Earlier IE source disputed. May be extended from PIE *swe-, se-* *separate*, as is likely in Lat *sēd, sē without* W/H 1938-56 II:506-07; cf OSl *svě-ně besides, without*; so also P 1959: 907. Others relate it to PIE *sem one*, as in **simle** + *-tero-*, as in **aftaro**, Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:120, J Schmidt 1881 ZVS 25:92, Grienberger 1900:202; Kluge 1906-07 ZDW 8:312 compares the suffix in **aljaþro**; J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32: 360 compares Gk ἄτερος, ἕτερος *other, different* ← **sm̥-teros*, as do Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:324, Chantraine 1968-80:381-82. But G Schmidt 1962:157-60 rejects relationship with Skt *sanutár* on the grounds that it has *-ter-* rather than *-tr-*, preferring derivation from PIE *sem-* : *sm̥-tr-*.

S162. Sunjaifriþas PeN of a Go deacon of St Anastasia in Ravenna, DeN; = *Suniefridus* of Lat text.

Cmpd of *sunjai-* (*ai* = *aí*, Lat *e*, Grienberger 1900:202, Streitberg 1920:163, Schütte 1933 ZDA 70:121); cf Go (East) *Sunie-ricus, Sunhi-vadus*, Schönfeld 1911:218, who also cites Go (West) *Sunje-mirus, Suni(e)-fred*; to *sunja truth*; *-friþas* beside usual *-fridus*, as in Go (East) *Leodefridus*, Schönfeld 1911:153, and *Freda*, ibid:93, ***Friþa-reikeis**, PeN in Cal; based on PGmc *friþu peace* or adj from PIE *pritós beloved*; see also **ga-friþon**.

S163. *sunjis adj*ja* ἀληθής, ἀληθινός *truthful*, only nom sg f *sunja* J 8.14,17.3CA, unless a *fjō* noun = ἀλήθεια *truth* Frisk 1936b: 4-5; Seebold 1969 Sprache 15:14-45 esp 24 completely rejects **sunjis* and takes *sunja* as f ← PIE *sn̥tī*, prpl of PIE *es- be*; comparing **galiuga-guþ false god*, he also maintains *sunja-guþ* ἀληθινόν θεὸν *true god* J 17.3, which Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:76 emends to *sunjana*. **sunjaba** adv ἀληθῶς *truly* 1Th 2.13; *sunjeins* adja ἀγαθός, ἀληθής, ἀληθινός *good, true, truthful* J 7.12 (derivative of *sunja* with *-eins*); **sunjon* wkvII ἀπολογεῖσθαι *defend oneself*, only 1pl opt prs *ei sunjoma* 2C 12. 19A; **ga-sunjon* δικαιοῦσθαι *justify*, only 3sg prt *-joda* L 7.35; **sunjons* fi ἀπολογία *defense* Ph 1.16.

Based on PIE *sn̥tyó-*, with loss of PGmc *-d-*, Kluge 1885 BGDSL 10:444, Helten 1905 BGDSL 30:249, as in **bisunjane**; but PIE *sónto-* → OI *sannr, saðr true, proper, guilty*; OE, OS *sōð true*, cf NE *soothsayer*, with derivative PGmc *sanþon* → OI *sanna* wkv *assert*, PGmc *sanþjan* → OI *senna speak, quarrel*, OE *sōþian* wkv *prove*; OHG *ist sandonti* 'testatur' *is testified* Steinmeyer and Sievers, eds 1879-1922 II:305, Wissmann 1933 ZVS 60:285; OI *syn* f *denial*, OS *sunnea hindrance, need, sickness*, OHG *sunne* stf *legally recognized basis for hindrance* Kluge 1915:13ff.

PIE *es-* ← **es-* as in **im**, + *-e/ont-* in PIE *sent-, sont-, sn̥t- existing, actual, true, good*: Skt *sánt-*, Av *hant- existing, true* (probably not Skt *sátpatiṣ good master* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:422,425-26); Gk ὄντ- *being*; Lat *prae-sēns present*; Lith *ẽsą̃s, ẽsant*, OPruss *sins being*, OSl *sy*, gen *sǫsta being*; Hitt *asant- being, true*; also Skt *satyás true, satīna- genuine*; Av *haiþyō*, OPers *hašiya- true* ← PIE *sn̥t-* + *-yo-*.

Other proposed cognates are disputed, such as Gk ἐτεός *true*, ἐτάζω *examine*, Chantraine 1968-80:380,381; Lat *sōns*, gen *sōntis guilty, criminal, sonticus dangerous; weighty* as in *sontica causa weighty/valid grounds for an excuse* (as a legal term) W/H 1938-56 II:560, Brugmann 1904a:592, Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:223-24; *morbus sonticus epilepsy* has its origin in the sense of a weighty (illness as) excuse from appearance before justice. Possibly also OI *synd*, OE *syn(n)*, OFris *sonde, sende*, OS *sundia*, OHG *sunt(e)a* st/wkf *sin*† ← PGmc *sunjiþō*, adapted to Christian sense. Ital and Gmc parallels point to common legal practices, Porzig 1954:112-13; see Seebold 1969 Sprache 15:14-45 for a lengthy discussion of the Gmc occurrences, with proposed reconstruction of the PIE paradigm; Watkins 1967:186-94 reviews the data, seeing in Lat *sōns* a survival of an IE confessional formula. Cf Puhvel 1984-:289-91.

P 1959:340-42, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:810.

S164. sunno *fn* ἥλιος *sun* L 4.40; *nn* by influence of **sauil** *at sunnin urrinandin when the sun rose* Mk 4.6,16.2, possibly also Neh 7.3, where the gender is not distinguishable, Streitberg 1906 IF 19:391-93; A Scherer 1953:50 considers it m, though Brugmann had found the evidence inconclusive, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:687.

CrimGo *sune* 'sol' (Stearns 1978:155-56), OI *sunna*, OE, OFris *sunne*, OS, OHG *sunna* wkf *sun*†, also OS *sunno* m.

PIE *sā́wel-, swen-*, an *l/n* stem, as in Av *hvarə* nom, *χvə̄ñg* gen *sun, χvan-vant- sunny* Bartholomae 1887 ZVS 28:12; Gmc *-n*-forms then based on oblique case stem. Also OI *sūδr* n *south*, adv *southerly*, OE adv *sūþ southward*, OE *sūþar-(liuti)*, OHG *sundar* stn *south*† Brugmann 1905-06 IF 18:423ff. Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:303,310 proposes PGmc nom *sun-ōn*, gen *sun-n-ez*, loc *sun-en-i*, with generalization of *-nn-*; see also A Scherer 1953:45-51. Possibly from PIE *swel- burn* P 1959:1045.

S165. suns adv εὐθέως *soon, at once* M 8.3; *suns-aiw* adv εὐθέως *at once* J 6.21 (cf ***aiws**); *suns-ei* conj ὡς *as soon as* J 11.20, cf **ei**.

No certain Gmc cognates. Grienberger 1900:202 takes it as a comp, like **mins** from a verbal stem, without proposing the verb; Kieckers 1928:172 approves, though he relates it tentatively to OE *sōna*, OFris *sōn*, OS *sān at once*. Possibly like ***sin-(teins)*** from PIE *sem- one*, as in Lat *simītu at once*; Wood 1903 MLN 18:15, basing on OHG *sār at once*, relates Lat *sērus late*, OIr *sīr long*, as in ***seiþus***, though see W/H 1938-56 II:526-27. G Schmidt 1962:160-69 argues strongly for derivation from PIE *sem-*, assuming *-m-* ← *-n-* before *-z-*, earlier PGmc *sm-q*s*, acknowledging however the awkward derivation. The most attractive proposal is by Seebold 1969 Sprache 15:20-24, assuming Go *suns* to be adv gen sg of PGmc *sund-*, prpl of PIE *es- be*; he relates not only OE *sōna* etc but also OHG *sār*.

S166. sunus *mu* υἱός *son* M 8.20.

Run (Late) *sunz* nom, *-sun* acc (Sparlösa), *sunu* (Sölvesborg, Krause 1966 I:220), OI *sunr, sonr*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *sunu* stm *son*†.

PIE *sŭnu-*: Skt *sūnúṣ*, Av *hunuš*, Lith *sūnùs*, OPruss *soūns*, OSl *syns son*; based on PIE *sewH-, sŭ- give birth to* as in Skt *sūte gives birth to*; with other suffixes, Gk υἱύς, υἱός ← PIE *su-yú/ó-*; TochA *se*, B *soyä son*. Brugmann 1904-05 IF 17:483ff takes the Skt, Gk, Gmc nouns as orig abstracts, = 'bearing', 'birth'; also Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:224, comparing Lat *fētus*, Gk γόνος, Go ***baur**; see also Skt *sutás son* from 'born', OIr *suth offspring*. Arm *ustr son* has been remodeled after *dustr daughter*, cf **dauhtar**.

Meillet 1920 MSLP 21:45ff noted the variety of words for 'son' in IE dialects, such as Lat *fīlius*, OIr *macc*, Hitt *uwas*[?]. Benveniste 1973:191-92 ascribes the various words to a shift in the IE kinship system, as the agnatic basis became accepted; when the extended

family was no longer predominant, words indicating birth, like Lat *filius nursling* replace the older term.

P 1959:913-14, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:597,765-66.

S167. *supon wkvII, only 3sg prs pass *-oda* Mk 9.50; **ga-supon*, certain only as 3sg prs pass *-oda* Lk 14.34, ἀρτύειν *salt, season*. Scribal error *ga-suqoþ* Col 4.6AB for *-poþ*, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:391, II:132.

OHG *sof(f)ōn* wkv *spice* ← PGmc **supō* f; OI *sopi swallow*, OE *sopa, sype*, MLG *sope sip*†, NE *sop*, OHG *ga-sofo* m *drink*, MHG *suf, sof* m *slurp*; with cons gemination: OI *soppa* f *wine-soup*, Nor dial *soppa milk with softened morsels*, OE *soppe* f *softened morsel, soppian* wkv *dunk*; OHG *soffa, ga-sopha* f *soup, sofunga* f *condiment*. With long vowel, OI *sūpa*, OE *sūpan*, MLG *sūpen*, OHG *sūfan* wkv *drink, sup*†. -- PGmc **sŭppa brew* (6th century VLat with the meaning 'dunked bits of bread' in Oribasius) borrrowed in Ital *zuppa*, Prov, Sp, Port *sopa*, Fr *soupe soup* Meyer-Lübke 1935: 8464.

From PIE *sew-, sewH-, sū- rain, flow* as in ***bi-sauljan***: with *-p/b-* suffix: OI *sūpas soup, broth*; possibly OSl *sssati suck* ← **sup-s-*, W/H 1938-56 II:622. The root also has *-k/g-* suffixes, as in Lat *sūgō suck, sūcus sap*.

P 1959:912-13.

S168. suqnis marginal gloss to *qiþaus*, gen of **qiþus stomach* 1T 5.23 (Braun, in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:427, insists on this reading rather than Uppström's *suþnis*).

Obscure. Scarcely to MHG *sut(t)e* st/wkf *lowest area on ship*, as by Grienberger 1900: 203-04; see also Wood 1901 MLN 16:311.

S169. sutis adj*i/ja* ἐπιεικής *gentle, yielding*, only nom sg f 1T 3.3, acc sg f *sutja* 1T 2.2 (quantity of *u* disputed: *ū* in Holthausen 1934b:103; *ŭ* in Streitberg 1910 IF 27:157-58, 1920:75; uncertain, B/E 1981:26). Comp n *sutizo* ἀνεκτότερον *more endurable* M 11.24; **un-suti* n*ja* ἀκαταστασία *tumult* 2C 6.5.

Possibly in ablaut variation with OI *sətr*, OE *swēte*, adv *swōte*, OFris *swēte*, OS *swōti*, OHG *suozi sweet*†.

PIE *swād- sweet, enjoy the taste of*: adj *swādú-s, -wis*: Skt *svādúṣ*, f *svādvī*; Gk ἡδύς, Dor ἁδύς; Lat *suāvis* ← **swādwis sweet*; Gaul PeN's *Suadu-rīx, -genus*; comp Skt *svā́dīyas-*, Gk ἡδίων; superl, Skt *svā́diṣṭha-*, Gk ἥδιστος. Also verbal forms: Skt *svā́date* (: Gk ἥδεται *rejoice, enjoy*), Skt *svádati spice, svadáyati make tasty, sūdáyati make pleasant*; *sūdas a cook* (with possible support for long *ū* in *sūtis*); Iran *χvāstō cooked*; Gk ἥδομαι *rejoice*, (with *n*-infix) ἀνδάνω *please*, ἥδυσμα *spice*, Att ἧδος *joy, spice, vinegar* Fraenkel 1909 ZVS 42:234, Pisani 1934 ZVS 61:181; Lat *suādeō persuade* (= *make palatable*); Lith *sū́dyti spice, salt* (*ū* as in Skt *sūdáyati*). For attempts to relate Gk εὕδω *sleep* see Frisk 1960-72 I:585, who maintains standard position on its etymological difficulty.

P 1959:1039-40.

S170. *suþjan wkvI Cod A, **-jon* wkvII Cod B, only nom pl m prpl *-dans* κνηθόμενοι *tickle* 2T 4.3.

No Gmc cognates or accepted etymology. Possibly related to OHG *swedan* stv *burn, siadan* stv *boil*, as under ***sauþs**, K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:237, as in Skt *ploṣas burning, plóṣati burn, singe* : Lat *prūrīre itch* or OI *svíðа burn* : *svíðа pain*. Scarcely to Russ *šutítь joke*, as in Berneker 1899 IF 10:160; cf Vasmer 1953-58 III:440.

S171. swa adv οὕτως *thus* M 5.16; also in cmpds, *swa-ei* conj ὥστε *so that, therefore* L 3.23, cf **ei**; *swah* ← **swa-uh* adv οὕτως (καί) *thus, so also* J 15.4, cf **-uh**; **swa-lauþs* prn adj τοσοῦτος *such, so much* M 8.10, cf **(hve-)lauþs*; *swa-leiks* prn adj τοιοῦτος *such* 2C 2.7; *swaswe* adv ὡς, ὥσπερ *thus, as* M 5.48; *swaþ-þan* adv οὕτως δέ *thus now* ← **swa-h-þan*, only 1C 8. 12; *swau* interrog ptc οὕτως *thus?*, only J 18.22 (cf **-u**); *swe* rel adv ὡς, καθώς *about* L 1.56; conj ὡς *when, as* J 6.16; *swe-þauh* ptc πλήν, ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν *but* M 11.22.

PGmc *swō*: OI *svā, sō*, OE *swæ, swā*,

OFris *sā, sō*, OS, OHG *sō so*†; OE *swelc, swylc*, MDu *swilc, swelc*; without *-w-* as in OS, OHG *sō*, OI *slíkr*, OFris *sel(l)ik, sul(l)ik, salk*, MDu *sulc, söllc*, OS *sulik*, OHG *solih, sulih such*†; ablaut variant in *swe*, OE *swǣ, se*; OE *swā þēah nevertheless* Bosworth/Toller 1882-98: 1039.

Based on PIE *se-, swe- separate*, as in **sik**, swes, PIE *swō/ē-*: cf Gk ὥς postposed ptc *as, like*, from instr PIE *swō* + *s*, Chantraine 1968-80:1305; Lat *suād* adv (abl) *thus* W/H 1938-56 II:611; (loc), Umbr *sue*, Osc *svaí, suae* conj *if*. Less likely from PIE *swod* as in Av **hvaṭ- as, like* Brugmann 1904b:31-32,100, Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:1008; nor to Hom ὅτ-τι *whatever*, as if from PIE *swod*, Hom ὅπ-πως ← **swod* + πως *like*, which are better attributed to PIE *yo-*, in spite of W/P 1927-32 II:458; cf P 1959:884. Not here OIr *feib like* (dat sg of *feb quality* Pedersen 1909-13 I:75,366); on traces of PIE *swe-* in OIr see Pedersen 1909-1913 II:137.

G Schmidt 1962:142-47; P 1959:884.

S172. swaihra mn πενθερός *father-in-law*, only J 18.13; *swaihro* fn πενθερά *mother-in-law* L 4.38.

OSw *svēr, svær*, OE *swehor, swēor*, OFris *swiar*, OHG *swehur* stm *father-in-law* ← PIE *swékuros*; OI *sværa* fn ← PGmc *swehrōn-mother-in-law*, like the Go f; but OE, MLG *sweger*, OHG *swigar* stf *mother-in-law* ← PIE *swekrū́*; the Gmc *fn*-stem affected also the Go m, W Schulze 1966:60-62.

PIE *swekrū́ mother-in-law, swékuro-* ← *swekruro- father-in-law; swēkuro- belonging to the father-in-law*: Skt *śvāśuras*, Av *χvasurō father-in-law*; Skt *śvaśrū́ṣ*, NPers *χusrū* f *mother-in-law*; Gk ἑκυρός m, ἑκυρά f; Lat *socer* m ← **svecer*, cf *svecerīō, socerīō brother of wife, socrus* f; Wel *chwegrwn*, Corn *hvigeren* m, Wel *chwegr*, Corn *hweger* f; Lith *šẽšuras* m *father-in-law of wife* (*š-* by assimilation at a distance as in Skt); OSl *svekrъ* m, *svekry* f (with *k* maintained without assibilation, as in a small number of forms); cf discussion under **hairda** and Porzig 1954:75; Arm *skesur* f, based on it *skesr-air* m (actually 'husband of the mother-in-law', Hübschmann 1897:491); Alb *vjehër* m/f. Based on derivation with lengthened grade, OFris, MLG *swāger*, OHG *swāgur* m *brother-in-law* from 'belonging to the father-in-law', as in Skt *śvāśuras* adj *of the father-in-law, his son*; cf W Schulze 1966:64-65.

Further etymology of PIE forms nebulous; Persson 1909 IF 26:63 assumes initial *swe-* as in **sik**, comparing OHG *gi-swīo* m *brother-in-law, gi-swīa* f *sister-in-law*, OI *svili* m *brother-in-law*, pl *svilar* : Gk ἀέλιοι *husbands of two sisters* P 1959:1046; but no satisfactory source for the second element has been proposed, cf W/H 1938-56 II:550-51.

P 1959:1043-44, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:760.

S173. *swamms ma[?] σπόγγος *sponge*, only acc sg *swamm* M 27.48, *swam* Mk 15.36.

OE *swomm mushroom*, MLG *swam*, gen *swammes*, OHG *swam(b)* stm *sponge*; also OI *svǫppr* ← PNorthGmc *swampu-, soppr* m *ball, mushroom*; Sw *svamp*, dial *sopp mushroom*; NHG *swum* m *sponge*. Also OHG *sumft*, MHG *sumpf* ← PGmc *swumpa- swamp*†; NLG *swampen* waver (from 'swampy ground', Franck 1912:833).

PIE *swomb(h)o-s swampy, porous*: Gk σομφός *swampy, porous* A Kuhn 1855 ZVS 4: 17. Other proposed cognates cited in F 1939: 463 to be rejected, such as Gk σφόγγος, σπόγγος *sponge*, which like Lat *fungus mushroom* is a borrowing from a Mediterranean language, Chantraine 1968-80:1040.

P 1959:1052.

S174. swaran stvVI ὀμόσαι *swear* M 5.34, 3sg prt *swor* Mk 6.23; **bi-swaran* ὁρκίζειν *adjure*, only 1sg prs *-ra* Mk 5.7, 1Th 5. 27; **ufar-swaran* ἐπιορκεῖν *swear falsely*, only 2sg opt prs *-rais*; **ufar-swara* ma ἐπίορκος *perjuror*, only dat pl *-am* 1T 1.10.

naiswor, manuscript equivalent of ἐνεῖχεν *held a grudge against* Mk 6.19. On the basis of Uppström's erroneous reading, taken as **naiw*,

3d sg prt of a proposed verb **neiwan*, Streitberg ed 1919-28 I:183, II:100, F 1939:374. This was related by Specht 1929 ZVS 56:124, to Lith *nėivoti criticize, despise, torment* and derived from PIE *ney- down* + *-wo-*, though also questioned, W/P 1927-32 II:335-36, P 1959:313. Ebbinghaus 1982 Sprachwiss 7:403-06, demonstrated correctness of *naiswor* reading. The form is now taken as a prefixed 3d sg prt of *swaran*. Swiggers 1984 GL 24:236-37 treats the prefix as equivalent to **ni**; Ebbinghaus 1985 GL 25:71-72, comparing delocutive verbs like *waila-merjan* approves the approach, but suggests instead emendation to *wai-*, or alternatively a prefixal adv related to ***ga-naitjan**. Possibly also a faulty resolution of **inswor* in the Vorlage, in a sequence *Herodiai* ... (with suspension mark for *-n(swor)*; the prefix would then be a literal translation of the Gk).

OI *sverja*, OE *swerian*, OFris *swera*, OS, OHG *swerian* stv, NE *swear promise solemnly*; orig 'answer', as in OI *svara* wkv *answer, (and)svar* n, OE *and-swaru*, OFris *ond-ser*, OS *ant-swōr* f *responsibility*, NE *answer*, Osthoff 1899 BKIS 24:211-13; according to Brugmann 1913 IF 32:188-89, semantic development 'swear' from 'answer before a court of justice'.

PIE *swer-* (also *ser-*[?]) *speak*: possibly Lat *sermō dialogue, conversation, lecture* (from PIE *ser-*; *swer-* would have → *sor-*); Osc *sverunnei* ← **swer-sōn- to the speaker*; Lat *in libertatem ad-serere grant freedom (to slaves), sors promise, oracle*, if from Lat *serō arrange*, though see W/H 1938-56 II:521-22,563-64; acc to DeWitt 1936 Lg 12:190-92 'speak solemnly'; OSl *svars battle, svara quarrel, svariti despise, battle*. Probably not to PIE *wer- speak*, as in **waurd**, as by Grienberger 1900:204, though proposed again by Seebold 1970:480-82, if hesitantly.

P 1959:1049.

S175. sware adv δωρεάν, εἰκῇ, εἰς κενόν, μάτην *groundless, in vain* G 2.21.

No Gmc cognates and no etymology. Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:249 fn1 suggested relationship to **swaran**, with the meaning 'for a word'; scarcely to Skt *svás one's own*, Lat *suus* + *-ar-* as in **unsar**, as from PIE *sworēd of itself*, like Skt *svatás out of one's self*.

S176. *swartizl τὸ μέλαν *ink*, only dat sg *-zla* 2C 3.3B, *-za* in Cod A.

From PGmc **swartjan blacken*, cf ***swarts**, as in OI *sverta*, OHG *swarzen*, MHG *swerzen* wkv *blacken*, either with PIE *-slo-* as in Lith *krìslas crumb*, OPruss *kersle* ax, OSl *veslo oar*, Russ dial *čéresló plowshare* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:371-73 or with PIE *-es-* as in **sigis**. Zimmer 1876 AinZDA 1:114 compared the alternating suffixes in Skt *tamisrám* : *tamasám* : *támas* n *darkness*.

S177. *swarts adja μέλας *black*, only acc n *swart* M 5.36.

OI *svartr*, OE *sweart*, OFris, OS *swart*, OHG *swarz black*, NE *swart, swarthy*; with zero grade, OI *sorta* f *black color, sorti* m *darkness, thick fog, sortna* wkv *become dark*.

PIE *swordo-s black, dirty*: Lat *sordēs dirt, sordidus dirty, sordeō be dirty*, from adj **sordus dirty* J Schmidt 1870 ZVS 19:270. If Lat *suāsum* ← **swars-som* ← **sward-tom sooty spot, dark spot* is related, as by Niedermann 1899 IF 10:230, 1903-04 IF 15:120 fn3, the PIE adj would be *swardo-*, and Lat *sordēs* ← **swṛd-*, W/H 1938-56 II:562-63. Other proposals cited in F 1939:464.

P 1959:1052.

S178. *swegnjan wkvI (*swignjan*) βραβεύειν, ἀγαλλιᾶν *rejoice* L 1.47; *swegniþa* (**swigniþa*) fō ἀγαλλίασις *joy* L 1.14; *-e-*forms may be based on root with *-o-*, as in **swogatjan* wkvI στενάζειν *sigh*, only 1pl prs *-tjam* 2C 5.2,4; **ga-swogjan* στενάζειν, only 3sg prt *-gida* Mk 7.34; **uf-swogjan* ἀναστενάζειν *sigh deeply*, only prpl *-jands* Mk 8.12.

OE *swēgan* wkv *resound*, LG *swōgen sigh*; without *-ja-*: OE *swōgan, swēgan resound*, OS *swōgan* wkv *roar*; OI *sægr* ← **swōgi-* m *noise*, OE *swæg* m *sound, noise*; with weak grade, OI

svagla wkv *splash.*

PIE *(s)wăgh- resound, cry* (an onomatopoeic base with several variants): Gk ἠχή, Dor ἀχᾶ *noise,* ἰαχέω *cry* W Schulze 1966:344, Chantraine 1968-80:418; Lat *vāgiō cry, whimper;* Lith *svagėti sound,* Latvian *svadzêt rattle;* Lith *sugti howl,* Latvian *sũdzêt mourn,* with *-k-* based on Lith *kaũkti howl,* Lith *suókti sing* Fraenkel 1962-65:942, Persson 1912:355-56.

P 1959:1110.

S179. *sweiban stvI διαλείπειν *cease,* only 3sg prt *swaif* L 7.45; *un-sweibands* neg prpl *without ceasing* E 1.16.

OI *svīfa(sk) draw back, svīfa* stv *swing,* OE *swīfan move back and forth,* OFr *swīvia waver,* NE *swive, swivel;* OHG *gi-swiftōn* wkv *become still,* MHG *swiften* wkv *quiet,* MLG *swichten,* Du *zwichten yield;* OI *ū-svifr* adj *bold,* OE *swift,* MHG *swifte swift*†.

Etymology obscure; possibly based on PIE *swī-p- diminish, become silent* (also with *-g-* and *-k-* as in OE *swigian,* OHG *swīgēn* wkv *be silent*): Gk σιωπάω *maintain quiet,* σιωπή *silence* Persson 1893 BKIS 19:263ff, Kretschmer 1892 ZVS 31:422, Schwyzer 1923 Glotta 12:26ff, 1931 ZVS 58:177 fn2, Chantraine 1968-80:1008; PIE *swī-* in OI *svīa abate; svīna,* OHG *swīnan* stv *subside.*

P 1959:1052.

S180. *swein na χοῖρος *pig* L 8.33.

OI *svīn,* OE, OFris, OS, OHG *swīn* stn *swine*†, *pig.*

Adj formation, based on PIE *sŭ-s* + *-īno-,* adopted as generic term only in Sl and Gmc: OSl *svinija pig;* cf *gaitein,* Kluge 1926:98-99, Meid 1967:112-13; also Latvian *suvẽņs piglet,* OPruss *swintian pig;* maintained as adj in Lat *suīnus,* OSl *svinz pertaining to pigs,* Latvian *svĩns dirty;* TochB *swāñana misa pork.*

PIE *sŭ-s domesticated, mature pig,* as opposed to *porĥos piglet* P 1959:841, Benveniste 1973:28-30: Av *hūš,* Gk ὗς and also σῦς (σ- unexplained; see Chantraine 1968-80:1061,1072 for hypotheses), Lat *sūs,* Umbr *sif* pl *pig,* Gaul **su-tegis, sutis pigsty* (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 8492), Alb *thi,* TochB *suwo pig;* OI *sȳr,* Vries 1962:574, OE, OHG *sū sow*†. With *-k-,* Skt *sūkarás pig, boar* (restructured as *sū- maker;* see Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:490 for references); Wel *hwch,* Corn *hoch,* Bret *houc'h* ← **sukkā/o- pig.* Also Sw, Nor dial *sugga,* OE *sugu,* OS *suga,* NHG dial *suge sow; -g-* as in **sugil** may be from *-Hw-,* WP Lehmann 1952:48-49.

The set has been copiously discussed, both for its use and origin. Some derive it from PIE *sew-, sŭ- give birth to,* as in **sunus** *son* P 1959: 913-14,1039 (so already by Cicero, De natura deorum II:64); others consider it onomatopoeic. Kretschmer 1924 Glotta 13:132ff even ascribes maintenance of Gk σ- to such a use. Porzig 1954:145 sees in the Sl/Gmc substitution of the adj for the noun evidence of their very early relationship. Benveniste 1973:28-30 argues that the distinction between PIE *sūs* and *porĥos* consisted solely in age of the animal, not in domestication.

P 1959:1038-39, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:593-94.

S181. swers adj*a* ἔντιμος *esteemed, honored* L 7.2; *swerifa* fō τιμή *honor* 1T 1.17; **un-swerifa* fō ἀτιμία *dishonor* 2C 11.21; *un-swers* adj*a* ἄτιμος *despised* M 6.4; **un-swerei* fn ἀτιμία *dishonor* 2C 6.8; derivative of *swer-, *sweran* wkvIII τιμᾶν, δοξάζειν *honor, esteem,* 3sg prs *-raiþ* 1Th 5.13; **ga-sweran* δοξάζειν *glorify,* only papl *-raiþs* J 12.16, *-raids* J 13.31; **un-sweran* ἀτιμάζειν *dishonor* J 8.49.

OI *svārr,* OE *swǣr, swār,* OFris *swēr(e),* OS *swāri* (nom sg not attested), OHG *swāri, swar heavy;* MLG *swēre,* OHG *swāri(da)* f *weight, burden;* OE *swǣran,* OFris *swēria,* MLG *swāren,* OHG *swārēn* wkv *press, be burdensome.*

PIE *(s)wer- bind, hang up (as in weighing); heavy*: assured only in Balt, Lith *svertì lift, weigh, svãras scale, pound, svarùs heavy, svõris, svõras weight,* Latvian *svars weight;* possibly also Gk ἀείρω *lift,* ἔρμα *ship's ballast,* though not by Chantraine 1968-80:22-24,373;

also Lat *serius* (*s-* beside *sw-*; cf **swes**) *serious, weighty* W/H 1938-56 II:521. Derivatives possibly also meaning 'series, group', as in Go **wriþus** *herd*, though the basic meaning is 'weighty', with application to status in Go.

P 1959:1150-51.

S182. swes adj*a own* Tit 1.12; *swes* n*a* οὐσία *property* L 15.12.

OI *svāss dear, beloved*; OE *swǣs dear, one's own*; OFris *swēs related*; OS, OHG *swās dear, one's own*, OHG *gi-swāso familiar, secret*; MDu *swāselinc one related by marriage*. Cf **swi-kunþs, sidus; sibja**, Specht 1944 ZVS 68: 46-47.

PIE *swe- separate, by oneself* as in **sik**: Skt *svás one's own*, Av *hvā-voya, χvāi for one's self*; OPers *uva- own*; Gk dat οἱ, acc ἑ *self*; OIr *fēin self*; Lith *sàvo, savę̃(s)*, OPruss *swais*, OSl *svojь one's own*; TochA *šñi*, B *šañ one's own, property*; also Lith *svėčias guest*, OSl *svojaks relative*; Arm *in-k'n*, gen *in-k'e-an he himself* (*k'e* ← PIE *swē*, Pedersen 1905 ZVS 38:235, Meillet 1913:67). From PIE *sewo-*: Av *hava-*; Gk ἑός; OLat *souos*, Lat *suus*; Umbr *sveso*, Lith *sãvas one's own*; also Arm *iu-r* ← **sewe/oro to oneself* Meillet 1896 MSLP 9:53; Serb *sȍvjāk brother-in-law*.

On use of adj derivation from PIE *swe-* to provide reflexives see WP Lehmann 1974:128-29.

P 1959:882.

S183. *swibls m[?] θεῖον *sulfur*, only dat sg *-la* L 17.29.

OE *swefel, swæfl*, OS *swebal*, MLG *swevel*, Du *zwavel*, OHG *swebal* stm *sulfur*; the forms with *-g-*: OSw *svaghel* beside *svavel*, OS *swegel*, now *swewl* (Westfalian), *schweegel* etc are later developments (dissimilation according to W Horn 1920 EngS 54:73-74) and do not indicate pre-Gmc *swekʷlo-*, Much 1898 ZDA 42:165-66.

No cognates elsewhere. Lat *sulpur sulfur* is difficult to relate; Hirt 1921-37 I:309 proposed metathesis, Much, op cit, proposed PGmc *swelblaz* ← PIE *swelkʷlo-*, using NHG *schwelfel* (Upper Palatinate, but contaminated); W/P 1927-32 II:533 proposed PGmc *swelplos*; Brüch 1933 Glotta 21:72ff suggested PGmc *sweblaz, sweglaz* ← **swegwlaz*. Grienberger 1900:205 argued for PGmc *sweblaz* as a *lo*-formation to the base in OE *swefan*, cf OI *sofa sleep*, proposing that vapors from burning sulfur induced sleep. None of these is credible.

Probably a cross-cultural term of Mediterranean origin, also in Lat, W/H 1938-56 II:628. OSl *župьls sulfur* may be borrowed from Gmc.

P 1959:1046 (not helpful).

S184. *swiglon wkvII αὐλεῖν *play the flute*, only 1pl prt *-lodedum* M 11.17, L 7. 32; **swiglja* mn αὐλήτης *flute player*, only acc pl *-ljans* M 9.23.

OE *swegalōn play the flute, swegalāri* m *flute player* based on OHG *swegala, swegula* f *reed, flute*, OE *swegl-horn* stn *wind instrument*, formed with OE *swegle*, OS *swigli bright, shining* (also of musical instruments); cf **sugil**.

Onomatopoeic, like similar words in other dialects; Gk σίζω, Lat *sībilō hiss, pipe* W/H 1938-56 II:531-32, Fr *siffler* ← PRomance *sīfilāre*, Meyer-Lübke 1935:7890. Other such onomatopoeic words, NPers *siflīdan pipe, twitter*, OSl *svistati hiss* are unrelated, P Horn 1893 ZVS 32:586.

P 1959:1040-41 posits PIE *swey- pipe*, plus suffixes, but no PIE base need be assumed; cf Chantraine 1968-80:1003.

S185. *swikns adj*a* ἁγνός, ὅσιος *guiltless, pure, chaste* M 27.4; adv *swiknaba* ἁγνῶς *sincerely*, only Ph 1.17; *swiknei* f*n* G 5. 23; **swikniþa* f*ō* ἁγνεία, ἁγνότης *purity, chastity*, 2C 6.6; **swikneins* f*i/ō* καθαρισμός *purification*, only acc sg *-nein* Sk 3.8 / IIIb.3, 4.2 / IVa.7, which could also be from *swiknei*.

OI *sykn* ← **swikna- guiltless, free of punishment*; OE *(ge-)swien* f *exoneration from an accusation, ge-swicnan* wkv *be acquitted of an accusation*; OHG *pi-suihhēn become bright*. Scarcely also to OE *be-swician* wkv *wander, escape, swīcan* wkv *journey away*, OHG

swihhan leave, as by Wood 1910 MLN 25:75.

No etymology; not with Bezzenberger 1878 BKIS 4:354 from PIE *swig-nó-* to Gk σιγαλόεις *shining*, which itself is obscure, Chantraine 1968-80:1001. Other rejected proposals in F 1939:467.

S186. swi-kunþs adj*a* (also *swe-* L 8.17) φανερός, πρόδηλος *obvious, known* R 10. 20; *swikunþaba* adv παρρησίᾳ *plainly* J 11.14; **un-swi-kunþs* adj *unknown*, only nom sg f comp *un-swikunþozei* Sk 6.1 / VIa.1-2.

Cmpd of *swi-*, from PIE *swe-* as in **swes** and **kunþs**; cf OI *svī-dauðr suicide*, OHG *giswio related by marriage*; with lengthened grade OI *svē-vīss willful* from 'self-wise'. Also in OI *Svīar*, *Svíþjōð Swedes*, Sw *Sve-þiuþ* (Run), EN *Suiones* (Tacitus), *Sueones* (Adam of Bremen), *Sue-hans* (Jordanes 59,4); probably then, 'our own, we ourselves' (cf Ir *sinn-fein* = *we ourselves*), Noreen 1920 Fornv 15:32. For other proposed etymologies of OI *Svīar* see Vries 1962:568-69.

S187. *swiltan stvIII, only 3sg prt *swalt* L 8.42; *ga-swiltan* ἀποθνήσκειν *die*, 3pl prt *ga-swultun* L 20.31; zero grade in *swulta-wairþja* mn ἤμελλεν τηλευτᾶν *one near death*, only L 7.2; cf **wairþan**, ***ana-wairþs**.

OI *svelta starve, die*, MDu *swelten* stv *pine away, die*; OHG *swelzan perish in the pangs of love*; Sw *svälta*, NE *sweltry, sultry*; Flem *zwelte tired person*; MHG *swellen* stv *pine away*. CrimGo **schuualth** 'mors' *death*; zero grade as in *swulta-* in OI *sultr* m *hunger*, Dan *sulte* wkv *starve*, OE *swylt* m *death* Loewe 1902-03 IF 13:8, though Stearns 1978: 152 sees PIE *o*-grade in CrimGo form.

Etymology uncertain; possibly an extended form of PIE *swel- burn, smoulder* + *d*; also in Arm *k'alç hunger*, *k'alc-nu-m be hungry* ← PIE *swḷd-skˆo*, Lidén 1906:100, cf Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:429. Unextended form may be found in Skt *svarati shine*, *svàr- sun, splendor*, *svargás sky*; Gk εἴλη *heat of the sun*; Lith *svilti*, Latvian *svelt singe*, with possible relationship to **sauil**, Chantraine 1968-80:320, Fraenkel 1962-65:954. Seebold 1970:490-91 dubious.

P 1959:1045.

S188. *swinþs adj*a* ἰσχυρός *strong* Mk 3.27, comp *swinþoza* ἰσχυρότερος *stronger*; **swinþei* f*n* ἰσχύς, κράτος *strength* L 3.16; **ga-swinþjan* wkvI, only nom pl m papl *-þidai* Col 1.11; *in-swinþjan* δυναμοῦν, κραταιωθῆναι *strengthen* E 3.16; **swinþnan* wkvIV κραταιοῦσθαι, only 3sg prt *-noda* L 1.80,2.40; *ga-swinþnan* κραταιωθῆναι *become strong*, only E 3.16B.

OI *svinnr swift, wise, judicious*; OE *swiþ strong, capable*; OFris *swith* adv *very*; OS *swīð(i)*, MHG *swint*, *swinde powerful*; OE *swīþu*, MHG *swinde* stf *strength, speed*; OE *swīþan* wkv *strengthen*. Zero grade forms in OE *ge-sund*, OFris *sund*, OS, OF *gi-sund*, OHG *gi-sunt sound*†, *healthy*.

No satisfactory etymology; may be restricted to Gmc. Scarcely to Skt *suváti sets in motion*, Lith *siunčiù send* Persson 1912:189 fn2,587, Fraenkel 1962-65:789. Other less likely proposals cited in F 1939:468-69. Pointing out that the possible reconstruction PIE *swento-* rhymes with *k̂went-*, the etymon of Av *spanta-*, Lith *šventas sacred*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:801 nonetheless reject their relationship.

P 1959:1048.

S189. swistar f*n* ἀδελφή *sister* J 11.5; see *broþar* on shortening of final syllable.

CrimGo *schuuester* 'soror', Stearns 1978: 152, Run *swestar* (Opedal; *ar* = *ær*, Krause 1966 I:176), OI *systir* ← **swistir* with vowel *-i-* from pl **swistriz*, OE *sweostor*, OFris *swester*, *suster*, MDu *suster*, OS, OHG *swestar* stf *sister*†. Gmc *-t-* arose in case-forms with zero grade of suffix, Gdr 1897-1916 I:776, II.1: 333, Kieckers 1928:82,126. Forms without *-t-*; OSw *swiri cousin*, OFris *swire status of cousin*, OE *swiria* m *nephew, cousin*.

PIE *swesōr*: Skt *svásā*, Av *ẖvaŋhar*; Gk ἔορ, see Chantraine 1968-80:355; Lat *soror*; OIr *siur*, OCorn *huir*, Wel *chwaer*; Lith *sesnõ*, gen *seserš*, OPruss *swestro*; OSl *sestra*; Arm *k'oir*

← **k'ehur*; TochA *ṣar*, B *ṣer sister*. -- Further attempts to account for term highly speculative. PIE *swe-* is assumed to be 'own'; *sōr* is taken as a word for 'woman'. PIE *swe-sōr* then referred to *the woman of one's own extended family*, in contrast with terms like Lat *uxor woman from outside the extended family*. For discussion with reference to the copious bibliography see esp Szemerényi 1964:313-18 and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:764. The speculation will no doubt continue.

P 1959:1051.

S190. *swnagoge f = συναγωγή *synagogue* Mk 1.21, Corazza 1969:86; **swnagoga-faþs* mi ἀρχισυνάγωγος *ruler of a synagogue* M 5.38. Cf **bruþfaþs**.

S191. swumfsl na κολυμβήθρα *pool* J 9.11 (*swumsl* in J 9.7).

Derived with *-slo-*, as in ***swartizl**, from PGmc *swimman*: OI *svi(m)ma*, *symja*, OE, OS, OHG *swimman* stv *swim*†; *o*-grade in Nor *s(v)amla splash*, OFris *swommia*, MHG *swamen* wkv *swim*.

Etymology uncertain; possibly to PIE *swem- move*: OIr *to-senn-* ← **swem-d-ne- pursue*. Scarcely to Lith *siùmdyti* → *siùndyti set (the dogs) on someone* Fraenkel 1962-65: 788; relation then to Wel *chwyf movement* highly doubtful. See also Ebbinghaus 1971 GL 11:13-16.

P 1959:1046.

T

T1. tagl na θρίξ *hair* M 5.36.

OI *tagl* n *horse's tail*, OE *tæg(e)l tail*†, MLG *tagel rope's end*, OHG *zagel* stm *tail*.

PIE *dĕk-*: OIr *dūal* m *lock of hair*, ← **doklo-*; possibly Skt *dásā fringe of a garment*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:27. Cf ***tahjan**.

T2. *tagr na δάκρυ *tear* 2C 2.4; **tagrjan* δακρύειν *weep*, only 3sg prt *-rida*, J 11.35.

OE *teagor* m ← PGmc *tagra-*; PGmc *tahra-* in OI *tār*, OE *tēar*, dial *tæhher* (Northumbrian), OFris *tār*, OHG *zahar* stm *tear*†; MHG *zachern* wkv *weep*. Also OS *trahnī-* pl, OHG *trahan* stm *tear*, MHG *traher* stm *tear*.

Etymology problematic. PIE *drak̂-* *tear* Petersson 1921b:196-98, a cmpd of PIE *der-* *drip* + *ak̂-* *water* with *r/n* inflection, P 1959: 179. PIE *drak̂ru-* n *tear*; a complex, widely discussed set of forms: *dr-* in WGmc and Arm *artasuk'* pl *tears*, *artawsr* sg ← **drak̂ur*; *d-* ← *dr-* by dissimilation, in Gk δάκρυ, δάκρῦμα, borrowed as OLat *dacruma*; Lat *lacrima* *tear* (with *l-* from Sabine, possibly supported by *lacer* *lacerated* W/H 1938-56 I:746-47; from *dr-* → *dl-* → *l-*, Hamp 1972 Glotta 50:294ff, as in *lingua*, cf **tuggo**); OIr *dēr*, Wel *deigr*, pl *dagrau*, Corn pl *dagrow* *tears*, OBret gloss *dacr(-lon)* *damp*. Without *d-* in Skt *áśru*, *áśram*, Av *asrū*; Lith *ãšarà*, Latvian *asara*, TochA *ākrunt*, B *ăkrūna* pl *tears* (with loss of *d-* ascribed to influence of Skt *aśrá-*, Gk ἄκρος, Lat *ācer*, Lith *aštrùs*, OSl *ostrъ* *sharp* Bugge 1889 BKIS 14:76, though see retention of *d-* in Gk). Other proposals cited in F 1939:470, P 1959:23; see also Puhvel 1984-:392-93. If a cmpd with 2nd element PIE *ak̂-*, as by Petersson 1921b:196, the simplex is maintained in eastern IE.

P 1959:179; extensive discussion in Hamp 1972 Glotta 50:293-99, noted by Puhvel op cit; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:816.

T3. *tahjan (*ā* or *a*) wkvI σπαράσσειν *tear apart* L 9.39; **dis-tahjan* (δια)σκορπίζειν *scatter, disperse* J 10.12; **distaheins* fi διασπορά *dispersion* J 7.35.

NI *tæja card, comb (wool)*, Nor dial *tæja* *fray (of a garment)* Falk 1919:2; OI *tāg* f *fiber*, MHG *zāch, zāhe* st/wkm *wick*; see also **tagl**.

Possibly from PIE *denk̂-* *bite*: Skt *daṁśati, dáśati*, Gk δάκνω *bite* to 'lacerate'; 'tear, fray' in Gmc; for semantic field see Buck 1949:266-67, and OHG *zangar* *wound, cautery*, MHG *zanger* *sharp, keen, lively*. Development to 'clamp, hold on to' in OI *tǫng*, OE *tang(e)*, OS *tanga*, OHG *zanga* st/wkf; Alb *danë, darë* *tongs*†; PIE *denk̂-* may be a nasal-infixed form of *dek̂-*.

P 1959:191,201.

T4. *taihswa adja δεξιός *right* Mk 10.37, f *taihswo*; **taihswa fō* (only dat sg *-wai* Mk 16.5, Col 3.1) ἡ δεξιά *right hand*. Nom sg *taihswo (handus)* L 6.6 is the only example of a feminine with *w* to an adj in *u*; otherwise *-ja-* in f, as in acc f *þaursija handu* L 6.8, Streitberg 1891 BGDSL 15:490, 1906 IF 19:214, Sommer 1916 IF 36:222, Meillet 1931 BSLP 32:[art]18.

OLF *tesewa*, OHG *zes(a)wa* wkf *right hand*; OHG *zeso, zesawēr* adj *right*; possibly Du *Texel* GN.

PIE *dek̂s-* *right*, though *deks-* according to Peeters 1977 ZVS 90:8-11, with various suffixes: + *-wo-* (as in Gk σκαιός : Lat *laevus*; Gk λαιός : Lat *laevus left*) Gk δεξιός ← **δεξι̯ϝος*, as in Myc *de-ki-si-wo* PeN, Frisk 1960-72 I: 366-67; Alb *djathtë* ← **dek̂si̯o-* + *-t*-suffix, Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36:291, Huld 1984:53; OIr *dess*, Wel *deheu* *right, south* (cf NE *Yemen*, Ar *yáman* *right hand, south* [Arabia]); + *-no-*, Skt *dákṣinas*, Av *dašinō*; Lith *dẽšinas*, OSl *desnъ* *right*; Lith *dešinė̃* *right hand*; + *-tero-* as in **aftaro**, Gk δεξιτερός : Lat *dexter* *right*;

based on PIE *dek̑- take*, as possibly in ***tewa***.

P 1959:189-91.

T5. taihun cardinal number δέκα *ten* L 19.13; in teens formation, see *fidwor-taihun* δεκατέσσαρες *fourteen* G 2.1, ***fimf-taihun*** *fifteen*, as opposed to ***ainlif*** *eleven*; ***taihunda*** ordinal (only acc sg f *afdailja taihundon dail* ἀποδεκατῶ *tithe, give a tenth* L 18.2); for decades see **taihuntehund**, **hunda** *hundred*.

CrimGo *thiine*, Stearns 1978:157; OI *tīu*, OE *tīen(e)*, *tēon*, OFris *tian*, OS *tehan*, OHG *zehan*, NHG *Zehn ten*† Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:20-21. OI *fjōrtān*, OE *fēowertȳne*, OFris *fiūwertīne*, OHG *fior-zehan fourteen*†. In teens formation: CrimGo *thiin-ita 11*, *thune-tua 12*, *thune-tria 13*, misprinted for *thii-*; these reordered according to OV sequence under Turkic influence, Stearns 1978:104-05; OI *-tjān*, OE *-tīene*, *-tēne*, OFris *-tine*, OS *-tein*, OHG *-zehan -teen*† in *13-19*. Ordinals, OI *tīund*, OE *tēoþa*, OFris *tianda*, OS *tehando*, OHG *zehanto tenth*†; also OS *tehan-fald*, OHG *zēnfalt ten-fold*†.

PIE *dekm̥*: Skt *dáśa*, Gk δέκα, Lat *decem*, OIr *deich n-*, Wel *dec*, Arm *tasn*, TochA *śäk*, B *śak ten*. PIE *dekm̥t-*: Lith *dešimtìs*, Latvian *desmits*, OSl *desętь*, Alb *dhjetë ten* Huld 1984: 60. PIE *dekm̥-mo-*: Skt *daśamá*, Av *dasəmō*, Lat *decimus*, Gaul *decametos*, OIr *dechmad tenth*, where Celt has both **-mo-* and **-to-*reflexes; on archaic status of **-mo-* and innovating character of **-to-*, Meillet 1929 BSLP 29:[art]29; cf also Szemerényi 1960:67-114. PIE *dekm̥-to-*: Skt *daśát-*, Gk δέκατος, Gaul *decametos*, Lith *dešimtas*, Latvian *desmitais*, OPruss *dessīmts*, OSl *desętz*, TochA *skänt*, B *śkante tenth*; cf Lejeune 1929 BSLP 29:[art]109-16 on pre-Gk **-to-*, inner Gk relations with ordinal -στο-, and relics of the origin of the decimal system; on the role of the ordinal in language, Benveniste 1948:145-60; but note Hitt ordinal **-yo-* only, and in lower digits, Kronasser 1966:364-65; thematic **-o-* as most archaic, Szemerényi 1960:77ff; 1964:118-22 on associated collectives and fractions in Gk; on relation between ordinal and participle in both **-no-* (cf Hitt *-anna* ordinals) and **-to-*, Benveniste 1962:83-84. In decade formations: Lith *-dešimt* in *20-90*, OSl *desętz* with inflectional variants in *20-40*.

PIE *dek̑m̥* may be from *de-kont- two hands* W/H 1938-56 I:327-29, Szemerényi 1960: 69, with references and discussion. Or from PIE *k̑m̥tóm* (see **hunda**) by contrast with the traditional derivation of *k̑m̥tóm* from *dek̑m̥*. **k̑m̥tóm* may have signified *unit*, *de-k̑m(t) two units* (cf Lyc *sñta unit of 10 or 100* Carruba 1979:192, and Hom ἑκατόμβη *sacrifice of *k̑m̥tom oxen*, cf Iliad VI.93 where only twelve are then noted); on semantic reinterpretation, Justus 1986.

P 1959:191-92, Watkins 1985:11, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:846.

T6. taihuntehund indecl cardinal number (only L 15.4; *taihuntaihund* L 16.6,7) ἑκατόν *hundred*; cf **hunda** *hundred*; ***taihuntaihund falþs*** (only *-falþ* acc sg n ἑκατονταπλασίονα L 8.8) *hundred-fold*; *-tehund* upper decade formative *-te-hund*: *sibun-tehund* ἑβδομήκοντα L 10.1,17 *seventy*†; *niuntehund ninety*†, cf **niun** nine. Segmentation disputed: (1) *sibun-tehund seven* plus (a) ordinal, (b) lengthened grade collective, (c) Gmc reformation of decade and teen formative *-tēhunda*, G Schmidt 1970 ZVS 84:111ff, with references; (2) *sibunte-hund*, **-km̥t*-suffix on (a) ordinal, (b) gen pl form of cardinal, Brugmann 1890a :11-17, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:35-36; (3) **sibun-e-hund seven* + juncture vowel and **km̥t*-reflex, Szemerényi 1960:31-40 with references, G Schmidt 1970 ZVS 84:103; (4) *sibun te hund* where *te* is an orig adverb, *seven on the way to hundred* Lühr 1977 MSzS 36:64-67; or perhaps (5) *sibun-te-hund* where *-te-* corresponds to OS *-ta*, Go ***tigu-*** of lower decades.

Variant dialect formations in Gmc: OI *tīu tiger*; OE *hundtēontig 100*; OHG *zehanzo* beside OI *hundraþ*, OE *hundred hundred*†; OE *hundtwelftig long hundred, 120*; cf also OI

ellifo tiger, OE *hundændlæftig 110*; Sommer 1951:57ff, esp 64-69 rejected relation of the long hundred system with orig duodecimal or sexagesimal system. See now Justus 1986 PIE relations are correspondingly disputed: formal parts are taken as variants of *dekm̥, dekm̥t-*; cmpds as probably Gmc innovations; cf **taihun**.

T7. *taihun-teweis adj*ja* (only dat pl *fimf hundam taihun-tewjam* πεντακοσίοις *500* 1C 15.6) *of the ten series*; cf **taihun** *ten*, ***tewa** arrangement*. Probably a gloss introduced into the text, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II: 271, 1920:137. Explicit designation of decimal by contrast with the long hundred. May be a Go neologism.

T8. taikn n*a* ἔνδειγμα *token*, only 2Th 1.5, nom or acc sg (if acc, to *taikns*, Scardigli 1973:368); *taikns* f*i* σημεῖον *token, miracle* (both meanings side by side, as in Gk original, 2C 12.12); ***taiknjan*** wkvI δείξειν *show, manifest* Mk 14.15; ***ga-taiknjan*** ὑποδεῖξαι *teach*, only 3sg prt *-knida* L 3.7; ***us-taiknjan*** ἀποδείξειν, ἐνδείξασθαι *exhibit, render* L 10.1, also in caus with two acc, and with *sik* refl constructions, M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:137-40; *us-taikneins* f*i/ō* ἀνάδειξις *revelation*, ἔνδειξις *token, proof* Ph 1.28.

PGmc ***taikna-*** n*a* *mark, sign, token*†, frequently in magico-religious sense, as borrowed in Finn *taika divination, portent*: OI *teikn* and *jar-te(i)gn, -tein*, Vries 1962:291, OE *tāken*, OFris, MLG, MDu *tēken*, OHG *zeihhan* stn *sign*; OI *teikna*, OE *tācnian*, OFris *tēknia*, OS *be-tēknōn*, MLG *tēkenen*, OHG *zeihhanan(-onōn)* wkv *mark, indicate, (de)note*.

PIE *de/oyĝ-* may be a variant of PIE *deyk-show*, in ***ga-teihan**; possibly in Gk inflection and derivation: perf middle δέ-δειγ-μαι; δεῖγ-μα n *sample, pattern* Gdr 1897-1916 I:630-31, though generally taken as paradigmatic variants, Frisk 1960-72 I:355-56, as Noreen 1894:165 assumed for Gmc. The morphologically difficult Lat *digitus finger*, if related (see ***tekan**), may have its *-g-* from voicing dissimilation in ****dic-itus***, W/H 1938-56 I:351.

Finn *taika* borrowed from a pre-form of OHG *zeiga* wkf *demonstration, exposition*, according to Thomsen 1870:174, Collinder 1928-29 APS 3:203-05, 1932-33 APS 7:204-15, from Gmc *taikna-* according to Karsten 1926:65-69, 1930-31 APS 5:193-200, who questions the pre-OHG etymon. The proposed development of *-kn-* and the assumption of Gmc unshifted or semi-shifted consonants at the time of borrowing are weak spots in Karsten's hypothesis; see Kylstra 1961:146,176 fn3.

T9. *tainjo f*n* κόφινος *(large) basket*, only nom/acc pl *-ons* L 9.17; on relation between Gk and Go terms see W Schulze 1966: 498-99,504-05,512.

PGmc *tainijōn-* derivative of PGmc *taina-*, OI *teinur* f pl *basket, creel, teina-stæði* n *place where creels are put*, OHG *zeinna*, MHG *zeine*, NHG dial *Zaine, Zein(e) basket, net*; OE dim *tǣnel wicker-basket*, Lang *zaina basket* → It *zana basket* Meyer-Lübke 1935: 9596; cf ***tains**.

T10. *tains m*a* κλῆμα, only gen pl *-ne* J 15.2; *weina-tains, (vine-)twig or -branch* J 15.4,5.

OI *teinn twig, sprout*, OE *tān twig*, (cf NE *mistle-toe*, Onions 1966:582), OS *tēn staff*, Du *teen withe*, MLG *tēn thin metal rod*; OHG, MHG *zein* stm/n, *zein(n)i* (*-ja*-stem), MHG *zein(e)* st/wkf NHG dial *Zain, Zein reed, branch, pole, rod* (also *metal-*).

Etymology disputed; may be from PIE *di-*, doublet of PIE *dwi- two* (in cmpd and derivation → *twis-*, **dis-**) cf P 1959:228-30; for semantics see OHG *zweig*, OE *twig(ge) twig*†, *twist* (Onions 1966:951), derivation of Gmc *twi-* ← PIE *dwi-*, both with early meaning *branching-point or -object* Solmsen 1902 BGDSL 27:363.

Less likely to PIE *deyH-*, Grienberger 1900:207, posited for linear as well as circular verbs of motion: Skt *dīyati fly, soar*, Gk δίεμαι *hasten*, δινέω *whirl*, Latvian *diêt dance* W/P

1927-32 I:774-76, P 1959:187; unity of root defended by Wood 1899 PMLA 14:334, but Chantraine 1968-80:285 has doubts. Other hypotheses in Vries 1962:585-86. Gk δόναξ *reed*, Latvian *duonis rush* is phonetically inapplicable, Frisk 1960-72 I:409. Nor is relation plausible to Skt *dâti cut*, *dáyate divide*, Gk δαίομαι *distribute* Kroes 1955 GRM 36:346, as if **tains* were a cut-off branch. Gmc loan in Finn *taina sprout* Thomsen 1870:174.

T11. taitrarkes m = Gk τετράρχης *tetrarch* L 3.19.

T12. taleiþa f = Gk ταλιθά *little girl* ← Aram *taljethā* (emphatic form), *telīthā*, only Mk 5.41.

T13. *talzjan wkvI παιδεύειν *correct, chastise*, νουθετεῖν *instruct, admonish* 1Th 5.14; **ga-talzjan teach* (only 3sg opt pass *-jaindau that they may learn* 1T 1.20); *talzjands* prpl as noun *nd* ἐπιστάτης *teacher* L 5.5; **talzeins* f*i/ō* παιδεία *instruction*, only dat sg *-nai* 2T 3.16; **un-tals* adja ἀπειθής *ignorant, undisciplined* 1T 1.9.

Denom of Go **taliz-* (PIE *-o/es*-stem); rest of Gmc has different formations: PGmc *tala-*; OI *tal* n *talk, tale, list*, OE *tæl tale, number, series, ge-tæl*, OS *gi-tal number, series, reckoning*; OE *ge-tæl*, OFris *tel*, OS *gi-tal*, OHG *gi-zal quick, ready*; PGmc *talō(n)-* f: OI *tala*, OE *talu talk, tale*†, Du *taal speech, language*, OHG, MHG *zal*, NHG *Zahl number* Onions 1966:900, also 901 for NE *talk*; derived with same root vowel: PGmc *talōn*: OS *talōn*, OHG *zalōn* wkv; PGmc *taljan* → OI *telja*, OE *tellan*, OHG *zellan* wkv *(re)count, tell*† Onions 1966:908; -- PGmc *tēlō* f: OI *tāl allurement*, OE *tæl calumny*, OHG *zāla plot, jeopardy*, zero-grade in OE *(be-, for-)tyllan* (PIE *dl̥h-*[?]) *seduce* (cf Onions 1966:929 under *toll*[2]). See also M Heyne in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 XV:36-37, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:158-59, Holthausen 1913 IF 32:341.

PIE *del- aim, compute*: Gk δόλος *wile, bait* borrowed in Lat *dolus*, Osc *dolom* acc sg, W/H 1938-56 I:366-67. Semantic development may have been 'plot (against), lay snares (for)' (Gk δόλος, OHG *zāla*) to 'seduce' (OE *tyllan*) to 'talk effectively (so as to instruct or convert)' (Go **talzjan*, **un-tals*) then 'talk with knowledge, relate accurately' ('tell'), P 1959: 193. For Arm *tol row*, *tołem arrange in a row*, see Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39:372.

Less likely to PIE *del- slit, carve* P 1959: 94-96: Skt *dálati break* (cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:24); Gk δαί-δαλ-ον *work of art*, Lat *dolō hew*, as in Rosenhagen 1920 ZDA 57:189-90 with semantic development 'carve' to 'notch (tally), inscribe (runes[?])' to 'recount, tell', as in NE *score*, Kretschmer 1920 Glotta 10:165-68.

T14. *tandjan wkvI ἅπτειν *light a lamp*, 3sg prs *-deiþ* L 15.8; **ga-tandjan* καυστηριάζειν *brand*, only acc sg f prpl *-dida* 1T 4.2; **in-tandjan* κατακαύειν *burn*, only 3sg prs *-deiþ* L 3.17; **tundnan* wkvIV, only 1sg prs opt *-dnau* 2C 11.29, **in-tundnan*, only inf πυροῦσθαι *burn (in figurative sense), suffer greatly* 1C 7.9.

OI *tenda*, OE *on-tendan*, MHG *en-zenden* wkv, NE dial *tind kindle*; caus to PGmc *tenþnan*, Seebold 1970:502, as in OE *tinnan*, MHG *zinnen* wkv *burn* (figuratively, of persons). OHG *zunten*, MHG *zunden*, *zünden*, NHG *zünden* wkv *kindle*; OHG *zundēn*, *zundōn* wkv *burn* (intrans); OI *tandr* m, *tandre (-ōn-)* (poetic) m *fire*; OI *tundr* n, OE *tynder(e)* f, OHG *zuntara* f, MHG, NHG *zunder* m; OHG *zinsilo tinder*†.

No certain cognates outside Gmc; *tund-* to PIE *dāw- ~ dŭ-* (*dexw-*, *deH*^{w}-) *burn*: Skt *dunóti*, Gk δαί(ϝ)ω, OIr *dōim*, Wel *cynneu* (← **kom-dāu-*), P 1959:179-81, like **standan** to PIE *stā-*, etc. This hypothesis, which relates the Gmc verb to a well-established PIE etymon, despite phonetic difficulties shown by Benveniste 1935a:169-70, deserves to be considered in the broader context of the nasal presents: from instances like PIE *ghu-n-t/d-* (Go ***giutan** and Lat *fundō*), *stH-n-t/d-* (Go *stoþ* and **standan**) a unitary suffix *-nt/d-* may have developed. Less likely, with Thurneysen

1914 AinIF 33:32, by metanalysis ← **(a)t-and-jan*, to OIr *and-, ad-annai*, Wel *ennyn(d) kindle, inflame*, which however has a preferable etymology with pre-Celt *þ-*, Vendryès 1959-:A-75. Other suggestions in F 1939:474.

P 1959:179-81, to be rejected.

T15. *tarmjan wkvI *break forth*, only 2sg imp *tarmei* ῥῆξον G 4.27B.

No Gmc cognates, nor etymology; possibly with *-mo-* from PIE *der- split off* as in ***distairan**, Gk δέρμα *skin* Grienberger 1900:207.

P 1959:206-08.

T16. taujan wkvI ποιεῖν, ποιεῖσθαι, πράσσειν *do, make* M 6.1; *ga-taujan* ποιεῖν, κατεργάσασθαι, πρᾶξαι *do, accomplish, bring about* M 5.36 (on usage see Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:138); **missa-taujands* prpl παραβάτης *transgressor, sinner*, only acc sg m *-jandan* G 2.18; *fulla-tojis* adj*ja* τέλειος *perfect* M 5.48 (calque of Lat *perfectus*, Velten 1930 JEGP 29: 344); *ubil-tojis* adj*ja* κακοῦργος, κακοποιός *evil-doer, criminal* J 18.30; *taui* n*ja* ἔργον, πρᾶξις *work, deed* R 12.3; see also ***tewa**.

PGmc *tawjan prepare, make*, Run 1sg prt *tawido*, 3sg *tawide* (Krause 1971:148; also 157, 159 on doubtful *tauiu, toje-*; extinct in literary OI), OHG *zawjan, zowjan*, MHG *zouwen, zöuwen* wkv *hasten*; PGmc *tōwala-* n, OI *tōl* pl *tools*, OE *tōl tool*; cf also OI *gǫtvar* f pl, OE *getawu*, OHG *gizawa* f sg, MHG *gezouwe* stn/f, NHG *Gezäh(e)* n *tool(s), instrument(s)*; with prefix-accent OE *geatwe trappings*. Various semantic specializations: MDu *touwen*, (PGmc *tawōjan* →) OE *tawian*, NE *taw prepare, dress (skins)*; OE *tow-cræft spinning, tow-līc pertaining to weaving*, OI *tō* n, OS *tou*, MLG *touw tow, oakum*, NE *tow* a borrowing, Onions 1966:934, OHG *zāwa* f *dye(ing)*, see Vries 1962: 593. The meaning *proceed, progress, come off* (MDu *touwen*, OHG *zawēn*), *make haste* (MHG *zouwen* → NHG dial *sich zauen*), although exclusively German, is regarded as original for Continental Gmc by some scholars, but more probably stems from a colloquialism like NE *make it succeed, get there*, or from a more graphic meaning connected with one of the manual activities above.

No accepted etymology. The suggestion of Psilander 1913 ZVS 45:281-84 that PGmc *tawjan* is denom of PGmc *tæwō* → Go ***tewa** still leaves the group isolated; the semantic development would be 'arrange' to 'prepare, make'. Osthoff 1895 IF 5:282-83 proposed derivation from PIE *dew(ā)- (dewH-) (be) remove(d)*: Skt *dūrá-*, Av *dūra- far*, Gk δηρός *long (in time)*, δήν *for a long while* (both ← *dw-*), Lat *dūdum some time ago*, Hitt *dūwa(la)- far* P 1959:219-20. The negative connotation of this root, see also ***tuz-werjan**, points to relationship with Gk δεύω, δεύομαι *miss, want*, rather than δύναμαι *be able* (considered by Frisk 1960-72 I:424, but Chantraine 1968-80: 301 is skeptical) or PGmc *tawjan progress*. Other proposals in F 1939:474-75.

P 1959:218-19.

T17. *tekan stvVII ἅπτεσθαι *touch*, 3sg prs *tekiþ* L 7.39, 2sg opt *teikais* Col 2.21, 3sg prt *taitok* M 5.30; *at-tekan touch* L 6.19.

Perhaps OFris *bi-tech takes away* Seebold 1970:501; with different vocalism OI *taka*, prt *tōk touch, take, seize*, borrowed as OE *tacan, tōc take, took* (orig also 'touch', Onions 1966: 899); Seebold 1970:498-99.

Etymology difficult. According to Vries 1962:580, an innovation in Gmc; correct phonologically since PIE *dēg-*, W/P 1927-32 I: 786, P 1959:183, would have the questionable feature of initial and final media; a potential cognate phonologically, Lith *dagỹs thistle*, related by E Lewy 1907 BGDSL 32:148 fn4, is rather to *dègti burn* ← PIE *dheg^{w}h-*, Fraenkel 1962-65:86. The problematic Gk δάκτυλος, as well as Lat *digitus finger, toe*, possibly here, Frisk 1960-72 I:345, III:67, Chantraine 1968-80: 249-50, though rejected by W/H 1938-56 I:351. Nor is remodeling of PIE *tag-* likely, Gk τεταγών aor ppl *seizing*, Lat *tangō touch*, perf *tetigī*, which P 1959:1054-55 hesitantly posits as PIE *teg-* on the basis of OIr *tongu swear*; see also Vendryès 1959-:T-106-08. For a semantic

parallel see Skt *ámīti grasp, swear* K Hoffmann 1969 ZVS 83:193-210. For other hypotheses see F 1939:475.

T18. telich CrimGo 'stultus' *foolish.*

Not Gmc, but borrowed from Turkish *telyg, delyg,* current Turkic *deli insane*; see Stearns 1978:156 also for attempts to provide a Gmc source; Scardigli 1973:260,262.

T19. Tervingi [name of the West Goths or a portion of them]; see also **Wisi**, *Wesi, Wisi-gothae.* N Wagner 1967:235-53 provides the early sources, with copious documentation.

Interpreted by Zeuss 1837:407 fn as '[those Goths] inhabiting wooded regions', cf Sl *Derevljane,* as opposed to the **Greotingi** or *inhabitants of sandy or steppe areas,* the **Ostrogothae**; further, related to ***triu*** by Zeuss, though Grimm 1868:449 pointed out its Gmc meaning 'wood, tree' rather than 'woods', and though *Terv-* has normal rather than zero grade of the root. Hermann 1931:282 proposed instead relationship with OI *tjara,* OE *teoru,* OFris *tera,* MDu *tar,* MLG *tere,* NHG dial *Zehr* tar†, derived from PGmc *teru- resin,* then 'pine, fir', so that the *Tervingi* are *inhabitants of pine-tree areas*; adopted by Guxman 1958:9 and Krause 1968:12.

T20. *tewa fō τάγμα *(proper) order,* only dat sg *tewai* 1C 15.23, less probably from ***tews*** fi; ***ga-tewjan*** χειροτονεῖν *appoint,* only papl ***-wiþs*** 2C 8.19; ***un-ga-tewiþs*** only ***ni ungatewidai wesum*** οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν *we were not negligent* 2Th 3.7; also in ***taihun-teweis.***

Formally identical with Lang *zāwa (unlawful) association* OHG *zāwa* f *dye* possibly from 'preparation'; also in OE *ǣl-tǣwe,* OFris *el-te perfect, sound,* OE *tawian* wkv *prepare, dress, tan (skins).*

Etymology unclear. Grienberger 1900:209 assumed PGmc ***tĕhw-***, OI *tē* n *disposal,* as in *yŏr ... ī tē at your disposal,* OE *teoh(h)* f (m/n) *association, band* = MLG *teche,* MHG *zeche* st/wkf *succession, association, company,* OHG *gizehōn put in order, prepare*; Torp and Falk, eds 1909:153, Vries 1962:584, follow Grienberger in assuming connection with PIE *deḱ- take, receive*; cf ***taihswa.*** Scarcely to **taujan** as by Psilander 1913 ZVS 45:281-84; nor to Gk δεῖπνον *meal* (as if from PIE *deyk*^{w}- according to Gdr 1897-1916 I:609), which is of non-IE origin, Frisk 1960-72 I:358, Chantraine 1968-80:258.

P 1959:189-90.

T21. the CrimGo article **tho**; according to Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:134 and F 1939:476 remodeled m replacing Go **sa** and f replacing Go nom *so,* acc *þo*; cf m pl nom *þai,* f pl nom/acc *þos.* Stearns 1978:156-57, however, takes them as variants of a form used for all genders and all cases like NE *the* ← ME *thē,* late OE *þē* (remodeled OE *sē* from the oblique cases); Stearns ascribes the variation to the speech of the informant, not like Loewe 1896:142-43 to quality of the following vowel in the noun.

T22. Theudila [name of a contracting party in DeN, occurring both in the text and signature].

Hypocoristic, like **Merila** and **barnilo**, of a single-element name *Theuda*; Schönfeld 1911: 225-35 lists the two-element names with this component as first member, of which the best known is that of the Ostrogothic king *Theudericus.* Cf the Illyrian woman's name *Teuta* and **þiuda**, Schönfeld 1911:229.

T23. thurn CrimGo 'porta' *door.* Problematic because of *-u-* as opposed to *-au-* of **daur**, and final *-n.* Stearns 1978:158 equates *thur-* with OHG *turi door* and ascribes *-n* to a nom pl ending, or to an acc pl as in Go ***anstins***; he cites other proposals, such as that of E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:14, who took *-n* as a misprint. Not a direct reflex of Go *daur,* as by Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:133, who equated *thurn* to acc sg ***dauron.*** Høst 1985 ZDA 114:42-44, now proposes derivation from Lat *turrem* in the sense 'tower-gate', comparing OFr *torn,* MHG *turn,* NHG *turm tower*; speculative.

T24. thyth name of the *þ*-rune in Sal, corresponding to OI *þurs* m *giant* and OE *þorn* (= ***þaurnus**) *thorn*†. Reflex of Go **þiuþ** *good*, according to Kirchhoff 1854:32-33 and Bugge 1905-13:89; cf Arntz 1944:189-90. Scarcely to Go **þeiþ*: OI *þíðr*, papl, n *þitt thawed*, as by Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:221-22.

T25. *tibr conjecture of Grimm 1893: 63, 1854:36, as well as Ettmüller 1838 ALZ 3: 579 for transmitted **aibr**.

PGmc *tīb(i)ra-*: OE *tīber*, *tīfer* n *offering*, MHG *un-ge-zibere* stn *vermin* from *animals unsuited for offering* Sievers 1885 BGDSL 10:509, Kluge 1886 BGDSL 11:557; possibly also OI *tívurr* m (only Vǫluspá 31) either *god* or *offering*, and OHG *zebar* stn *offering* Vries 1962:590.

Older proposals superseded by Hamp's (1973 JIES 1:322) support for Sievers's etymology; PIE *dīp-ro- sacrificial animal, cattle*, Arm *tvar male sheep, herd of cattle*, *tvar-ac-(akan) shepherd* Lidén 1906:8ff; scarcely to Gk δεῖπνον *meal*, cf ***tewa**; not OI *tafn* n *offering* Vries 1962:579-80 or Lat *daps meal* W/H 1938-56 I: 323-24. Assuming a cmpd PGmc *ti-b(e)r*, Hamp recalls Sievers's etymology, with further support from Lat *artesia water poured as libation to underworld deities* and with relation to PIE *bher-* cmpds in terms for sacrifice, Skt *prá-bhṛtiṣ offering*. Besides providing a PIE term for 'sacrifice' in contrast with Benveniste 1973: 481-88, Hamp here presents further evidence of conservatism in Gmc. OFr *atoivre*, with unclear *a-*, borrowed from Gmc, Meyer-Lübke 1935:8726.

P 1959:128-32,222.

T26. *tigu- *u* lower decade formative (pl only: gen *þrije tigiwe* τριάκοντα *thirty* L 3. 23, dat *saihs tigum* ἑξήκοντα *sixty* 1T 5.9, acc *þrins tiguns* τριάκοντα *thirty* M 27.3, *fimf tiguns* πεντήκοντα J 8.57) *-konta -ty*; cf also **taihuntehund**.

PGmc *tegu-*: OI *-tigr*, pl *tigir* with all decades to '110': *tuttugu*, **tvā-tugu*, *tottogo 20* Vries 1962:601; *þrir tigir 30*, *fiorer tigir 40* ... *ellefo tigir 110* Noreen 1923:306; OE *-tig -ty*† alone in '20' to '60': *twēntig 20*, *þrītig 30* ... *siextig 60*; also with *hund-* '70' to '120': *hundseofontig 70*, *hundeahtatig 80* ... *hundtēontig 100* ... *hundtwelftig 120* Campbell 1959:284-85; OFris *-tich* in '20' to '90': *twintich 20*, *thritich* ... *sextich*, *si(u)guntich* ...; OS *-tig*: *twentig 20* ... *fiortig 40* ... *ahtedeg 80*; in '70-100' also with *ant-* and *-ta*: *a(n)tsibunta* beside *sibuntig 70*, *antahtoda* beside *ahtedeg 80*, *nigonda 90*; OHG *-zug*: *zweinzug 20*, *drīzug 30* ... *sehzug 60*; with *-zo* also in '70-100': *sibunzo 70*, *ahtozo 80* ... *zehanzo 100* beside *sibunzug* ... *zehanzug*.

PIE: *dḱṃtmis*, PGmc *tegunðmiz*, *tegummiz*, cf Skt *daśát(iṣ)*; Gk δεκάς, gen δεκάδ-ος; Lith *dẽšim(t)s*, OSl *desętz decade*, *ten-count* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:37-38; PIE *u*-stem *deḱú*: Lat *decu-ria tenship*; Umbr *dequ-rier decurial*, *tekvias* latinized to *decuviae groups of one tenth of the citizen body* Poultney 1959: 326; cf also W/H 1938-56 I:328-29; in Gmc, distribution with the lower decades, and renewal in the upper decades with PIE *kṃtóm* reflex, beside CrimGo **stega** *score*, points to relation with vigesimal system, Justus 1986.

P 1959:191-92.

T27. til adj*a suitable*, or noun, only acc sg n in *ei bigeteina til* ἵνα εὕρωσιν *that they might find opportune* L 6.7; *ga-tils* adj*a* εὔκαιρος *fitting* Mk 6.21; *ga-tilaba* adv εὐκαίρως *suitably* Mk 14.11; **and-tilon* wkvII ἀντέχεσθαι *be devoted to* L 16.13; **ga-tilon* wkvII τυχεῖν *achieve*, only 3pl opt prs *-lona*, 2T 2.10; **ga-ga-tilon* wkvII συναρμολογεῖν *fit together*, only papl, f sg *-loda* E 2.21, n E 4.16.

OI *tilr*, OE *til* adj *useful, good*, OFris *til good* (unless with Grimm 1890:602 a noun); OI, OE dial, OFris *til* prep *up to, till*†; MLG *til*, OHG *zil* stn *goal*; OI *aldr-tili* stm *loss of life, death*, *ū-tili* m *mischance*; OE *tilian, teolian strive, attempt, till*†, OFris *tilia cultivate*, OS *tilian attain, reach*, OLF *tilōn*, OHG *zilēn*, *zilōn* wkv *hasten*. With other suffixes, OI *tíð*, OE, OFris, OS *tīd*, OHG *zīt* stf, *tidet time*, see

NE *tide*; OI *tīmi*, OE *tīma* m *time*†; see also **Tilarids**.

Etymology disputed; possibly to PIE *dā-, dāy-, dǐ- separate, cut up*: Skt *dā́ti, dyáti cut off, divide*, Gk δαίομαι *separate*; OSl *dělz portion*, though scarcely Go ***dails***; from PIE *dī-*; Arm *ti*, pl *tik' age, time* Lidén 1906:91ff; with *-m-* as in OE *tīma time*, Gk δῆμος *people* from 'section of population', OIr *dām* f *host, retinue*. P 1959:3 derives *til* from PIE *ad-determine*, as in OIr *ad* n *law, adas fitting*, Wel *eddyl* ← ***adilo- duty, goal***, as does Vendryès 1959-:A-13, relating further OIr *ad*, Lat *ad to*, Go **at** etc; *til* would then be separated from OE *tīd* etc, as by Vries 1962:588. Other proposals cited in F 1939:477, as to Lat *diēs day*, which is rejected by W/H 1938-56 I:349-51.

Borrowed as Finn *tila opportunity, place, space* Thomsen 1870:176.

P 1959:3,175-79,193.

T28. Tilarids Run inscription (Kowel) on spear blade, described in detail by Krause 1966 I:77-80, who rejects *-iþs*, as by Arntz 1944:91, as well as *ik Hariŋs*, as by Marstrander 1929 NTS 3:26ff. First component to **til**; second to PGmc *rīdan ride*† or *rēdan* as in ***ga-redan** aim at*; designation then either *rider to* as in OI *Atrīðr who rides to battle* (one designation for Odin) or **attacker** as in OI *tilræði* n *attack, assault*.

OE *Tilred* PeN.

T29. *timrjan (*timbrjan* L 14.28,30) wkvI οἰκοδομεῖν *build (up), strengthen, benefit, edify*; ***ana-timrjan** ἐποικοδομεῖν **build upon***, only nom pl m papl *-ridai* E 2.20; ***ga-timrjan** οἰκοδομεῖν **build up*** M 7.24; ***miþ-ga-timrjan** συνοικοδομεῖν **build together***, only nom pl m papl *-ridai* E 2.22; *timrja* mn τέκτων *carpenter* M 6.3; ***timreins** fi/ō* 1T 1.4, ***ga-timreins** 2C* 13.10, οἰκοδομή *edification*; *ga-timrjo* fn οἰκοδομή *building* E 2.21.

Denom of ***tim(b)r*** ← PGmc ***tem(b)ra-timber***†***(-construction)***, found with the corresponding verb in all Gmc dialects often as 'material', 'building': OI *timbr(a)*, OE, OFris *timber*, OS *timbar building*, OE *timbr(i)an*, OHG *zimber* stn *material, building*; OFris *timbria, timmeria*, OS *timbrian, timbrōn*, OHG *zimbaren, -on* wkv *build*; OS *timbro, timmero carpenter* without *-ja-*, W Schulze 1966:86. -- Detailed survey of formal and semantic variants in H Teuchert in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 XV:1285-87,1338.

PGmc ***tem(b)ra-*** ← PIE ***dem-ro-*** based on PIE ***dem-, demH- join, construct*** (→ Gk δέμω, perf δέδμηκα), probably also in ***ga-timan**, ga-temiba*. Comparison of PGmc *temra-* with Gk δάμαρ, gen δάμαρτ-ος, Aeol, Hsch δόμορτις· γυνή f ***wife*** is possible only if *-αρτ-* is suffixal, Pedersen 1893 ZVS 32:244, with orig meaning '(female) figure', cf Gk δέμας ***body, stature, form***; quite uncertain, Frisk 1960-72 I:345-46, Chantraine 1968-80:250. Analysis as ***dem-ŗt-house-manager*** preferable, W Schulze 1966:364; Gk ἀρτύω *arrange*, Lat *ars*, gen *artis art*.

PIE *dem-* is usually connected with a widespread term for 'house' (for a different view see below), orig a root-noun, nom sg *dṓm*, Schindler 1967 ZVS 81:300-03: Skt *dám-* (gen pl *damā́m*), Av *dam-* (loc sg *dąm, dami*; Av acc sg *uši-dąm* is unrelated, Kellens 1974:212-14), Hom δῶ (if *house*; alternatively ppn, Frisk 1960-72 I:428-29), Arm *tun*, gen *tan* (could also be *-n*-stem); cf esp the combination of gen sg PIE *dém-s* with *póti-s lord, master* : Skt *dám-pati-* (also *pátir dán*) = Av *dəŋ paiti-* (Kellens 1974:392-95), Gk δεσπότης (*-póti-* replaced by *-pótā-*) ***master of the house***. Cmpds with zero-grade: Hom δάπεδον ***floor, leveled ground*** Snell, ed 1955:210-20, Frisk 1960-72 I:347-48, ← PIE *dm̥-pedom* ***place for a house, building-site***: OI *topt* f, Sw *tomt site, homestead* ← PGmc *tumfeti-*, cf **fotus**, Lith *dimstis farmstead, estate* ← PIE *dm̥-sti-*, cf **standan**, Fraenkel 1962-65: 95; With thematic enlargement: Skt *dáma-* m = Gk δόμος, Lat *domus* f; also *-u*-stem, OSl *domъ* m, Vasmer 1953-58 I:361; other stems in Gk δῶμα n, probably Av *dəmąna-, nmāna-* n, Skt *mā́na-* m ***building, house*** Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:

622-23; Fraenkel 1962-65:482-83, Lith *nãmas* ***house***, with many references.

Benveniste 1955 BSLP 51:[art]14-29, while distinguishing PIE *demā-*, *demH-* ***subjugate, oppress, tame***, **ga-tamjan** from *demH-* ***build***, also argues for a distinction from PIE between the set Gk δέμω ***construct (esp a wall), lay bricks*** (δόμος ***house, course of bricks***), PGmc *tem-* on the one hand, and the 'house' set on the other.

P 1959:198-99, Watkins 1985:11, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:742.

T30. tiuhan stvII ἄγειν ***lead, bring***, 3pl prt *tauhun* J 18.28, papl *tauhans* L 4.1, ὁδηγεῖν ***guide***, L 6.39 ἀπάγειν ***lead away***, 2pl imp *tiuhiþ* Mk 14.44; *af-tiuhan* ἀπάγειν ***lead away*** L 5.3; *at-tiuhan* φέρειν, (ἐισ)αγαγεῖν ***bring (in)***, 3sg prt *attauh* J 18.16; **inn-at-tiuhan* εἰσαγαγεῖν ***lead in***, only 3pl prt *innattauhun* L 2.27; *bi-tiuhan* περιάγειν ***go around*** M 9.35, ***take along*** 1C 9.5; **ga-tiuhan* ἄγειν ***bring*** J 9.13, ἀπάγειν ***lead off***; **miþ-ga-tiuhan* συναπάγω, only papl *-tauhans* ***warþ was carried along*** G 2.13; *us-tiuhan* ἐξάγειν, ἐκβάλλειν ***lead out***, ἀναγαγεῖν, ἀναφέρειν ***lead up***, τελεῖν ***bring off, accomplish, end*** J 10.3; *us-tauhts fi* κατάρτισις, τέλος ***perfection, fulfilment, end*** R 10.4.

PGmc inf *teuxan*, prt sg *taux*, prt pl *tugun*, papl *tugans*: Go *tiuhan*, **tauh*, 3pl *tauhun*, papl *tauhans* with generalization of *-h-*, OE *tēon*, *tēah*, prt *tugon*, papl *togen* → NE golf term *tee*, OFris *tiā*, OS *tiohan*, OHG *ziohan*, prt sg *zōh*, prt pl *zugun*, papl *gi-zogan*, MHG, NHG *ziehen*, prt MHG *zo(c)h*, NHG *zog*; only papl OI *toginn*, papl only, ***draw, pull***. Also OI *tjōa* ***help*** ← PGmc *teuhōn* or *teuhan*, Vries 1962:592; OI *teygja* wkv ***draw*** = OE *tīegan* ***tie***†; OI *taug* f = OE *tēag* ***rope, tie***†; OI *taumr*, OE *tēam*, OFris *tām*, MDu *toom*, OHG *zoum* stm ***bridle, rein***; OI *toga*, OE *togjan* ***tow***†, OHG *zogōn* wkv ***pull***, also with expressive gemination, Meid 1967:243; OHG *zucken*, *zocchōn* wkv ***snatch***, ME *togge* ***tug***†; OI *tog* ***rope, line, cord***, OE *tyge* ***pulling***, OHG, MHG, NHG *zug* stn ***draught, march***, etc; OI *tygill*, OE *tygel* ***strap***, OHG *zugil* m ***rein***; OE *tyht* m, OHG, MHG *zuht* stf ***upbringing, breeding, conduct***.

Also OHG *gi-ziug*, MHG *ziuc*, NHG *Zeug* stn ***provisions, stuff, things***, MHG *ziugen*, NHG *zeugen* wkv ***provide, get, produce***; MHG *(ge-)ziuc*, NHG *Zeuge* wkm ***witness*** (abstract and concrete); OHG *gi-ziugōn* wkv ***state one's case*** is probably a parallel development from 'adduce (as witness)' rather than 'hale', since OE *tēon* ***accuse*** belongs elsewhere (***-teihan**). OE *here-toga*, OS *heri-toga*, OHG *heri-zogo*, NHG *Herzog* stm ***duke*** either loan translation of Gk στρατηγός ***commander*** or native word, Much 1933 Teuthon 9:105-16; OI *tjōðr*, OE *tēoder* ***tether***† not here, Vries 1962:592.

PIE *dewk-* ***lead***: OLat *doucō*, Lat *dūcō* ***lead***, *ab-*, *ad-*, *con-dūcō* = Go *af-*, *at-*, **ga-tiuhan*; Lat *dux* ***leader***, acc *ducti-m* ***with a drawing action*** = PGmc *tuxti-*; Lat *ē-dūcō* ***bring up***; OBret *duc* 'porte, emporte', (Fleuriot 1964:153), Corn *dog*, MWel *dwc* ***carry, bring***; PIE *dewk-* is probably a Gmc-Lat-Celt regional pastoral term, Ernout and Meillet 1967:186: *dewk-* ***'lead' animals in front*** versus *ag-* ***'drive' from behind***. Here also Hsch δαιδύσσω ← ****day-duk-yō***, with intensive reduplication[?], ***rub, drag*** (Gk δαιδύσσομαι ***be distracted***), Boisacq 1950:161-62, Frisk 1960-72 I:20,337-38,512, Chantraine 1968-80:19,245,346. Alb *nduk* ***pluck (hairs)*** is doubtful, Collitz 1912:84, though not W/H 1938-56 I:377.

P 1959:220-21, Seebold 1970:503-05,508, Watkins 1985:12.

T31. trauan wkvIII πεποιθέναι ***trust*** M 27.43; **ga-trauan* πεπεῖσθαι, πεποιθέναι ***trust*** R 8.38; *trauains fi* πεποίθησις ***trust, confidence*** 2C 7.4; **trausti* ***nia*** διαθήκη ***covenant***, only gen sg *-teis* E 2.12. *triggwa* to adj **triggws**.

OI *trūa*, OE *trūwian*, NE *trow* (archaic), OS *trūōn*, OHG *trū(w)ēn* wkv ***trust***, denom of PGmc *truwō* f ***faith, trust***, OI *trū*, OE *truwa* m, MLG *trūwe*, OHG *trūwa* f ***belief, trust***. OI *traust* n ***firmness, confidence, support, trust***

borrowed as ME *trust, trost*, OFris *trāst*, MDu *troose*, OHG *trōst*, NHG *Trost* stm *comfort, consolation*; on emergence of religious sense, U Pretzel et al in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971 XI.1.2:901-02.

Based on PIE *derw-, drewH- firm, true; tree, oak*, which has many derivatives, as in **triggws**, ***triu**: Gaul (-Lat) *drūtas firm*, Lith *drūtas strong*; OPruss *druwis belief*, from which OPruss *druwīt believe* may be a calque of the Gmc verb, Stang 1972:20,78, Toporov 1975- I:381-85; NPers *durust hale* is only indirectly related, ← PIran *druvišta-*, superl of *druva-*, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:117. See **triggws**, ***triu**.

P 1959:214-17, P Friedrich 1970:142-43.

T32. triggws adj*a* πιστός *trustworthy, faithful* L 16.10; *triggwaba* adv *surely, firmly* L 20.6; *un-triggws* ἄδικος *unjust* L 16.10; *triggwa fō* διαθήκη *covenant* R 11.27.

OI *tryggr trustworthy, faithful* ← PIE *drewH-* plus a thematic suffix, with (*-gg-*) from *-wH-*, WP Lehmann 1952:36-46; see also Coetsem 1970:74, Mikkola 1924 *F2* Streitberg:269. As f abstract term OFris *triūwe, triōwe*, OS *treuwa*, OHG *triuwa* stf *faithfulness*; H Kunisch et al in Grimm and Grimm 1845-1971: XI/I/II:282-85, based on f underlying Go *triggws*, Meid 1967:65; with *-i-* or *-ja-*suffix, OE *trēow, (ge-)trīewe*, OFris *triūwi, trouwe*, OS *triuwi*, MLG *trūwe*, OHG *gi-triuwi*, MHG *(ge-)triuwe*, NHG *treu faithful, trustworthy, true*†; Onions 1966:946-47, OE *un-trēowe*, OHG *un-triuwi unfaithful*. Cf ***triu**.

T33. *trigo f*n* λύπη *regret*, only dat sg *us trigon* ἐκ λύπης *reluctantly* 2C 9.7; λύπη is elsewhere translated *gauriþa*, ***gaurei***, **saurga**.

OI *tregi, trega*, OE *trega* m *grief*; OE *tregian* wk *afflict, grieve*, OS *tregan* stv *trouble*; OI *tregr reluctant, slow*; OE *trāg evil, bad*, OS *trāg(i)*, OHG *trāgi*, MHG *træge*, NHG *träge slow, sluggish*.

No certain cognates outside Gmc. Possibly to Lith *diřžti toughen*, intrans *dreždti be unwilling, averse, rueful* Fraenkel 1962-65:97,106, not F 1939:480; a Gmc-Balt-Sl etymon ***dreĝh-***, P Scherer 1941:26. P 1959:226-27.

T34. *triu n*wa* ξύλον *stick*, only dat pl *triwam* Mk 14.43,48; *weina-triu* ἄμπελος *vine* J 15.1, ἀμπελῶνα *vineyard* 1C 9.7. Go for *tree* is **bagms**; ***triu** is perhaps *branch* opposed to ***tains** *tendril* J 15.4; ***triweins** adj*a* ξύλινος *wooden*, only nom pl n *-weina* 2T 2.20.

OI, OFris *trē*, OE *trēo(w) tree*†, *wood, beam*, OS *trio, treo* stn *tree, beam*. Gmc has preserved thematic full grade I in PGmc *terwōn*: OI *tjara*, OE *tierwe, te(o)ru* n, LG *teer* f *tar*† Vries 1962:591. OE *trēowen of a tree, wooden*; Nor *treen hard*. Comparable though not identical, Av *drvaēna-*, OSl *dřěvěnz, dřěvьnz wooden*; but Gk δρύινος *oaken*, with short *-i-*, Meid 1956 IF 62:283.

PIE *deru-, drewo-, dr(e)w-(H)- tree*: Gk δέν-δρε(ϝ)ον *tree* Chantraine 1968-80:263. From PIE *doru-*, Skt *dā́ru-* (*-ā-* by Brugmann's law), Av *dāuru- wood(en object), log* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:36, Gk δόρυ *wood, beam, spear*, Hitt *taru- wood* J Friedrich 1952:217; probably TochAB *or wood* Windekens 1976- I:340; for loss of *d-* see Winter 1962 IF 67:33-34 and ***tagr**. Also Gaul GN *Dervus Oakwood* P 1959:215, OBret *deru-*, Fleuriot 1964:128, Wel *derwen oak*, OIr *derucc acorn*; Lith *dervà* f *resinous wood*, Latvian *dārva tar* Fraenkel 1962-65:90-91; OSl *dřěvo*, Russ *derevo tree* Vasmer 1953-58 I:342, OSl *sъ-drav*, Russ *zdorovyj healthy* ← PIE *su-dorwo- of strong wood*; PIE *dru-*, Skt *dru-padá- post, stake, dru-ṣád-* (probably) *perching on a branch, su-drú- of good wood*, Lith *sūdrùs, sūdrus luxuriant, thick (of plants)*, Fraenkel 1937 *F* Pedersen: 447; PIE *-mo-*, Skt *drumá-* m *tree*, Gk δρῦμός *forest* (*-ū-* from δρῦς), δρυμά n pl *wood, forest*, Russ dial *dromz thicket*; here also Gaul PeN *druides* pl, OIr *drūi* (← PIE *dru-wid-*) *'knowing certainly', Druid*. Gk δρῦς f *tree, oak* based on PIE *drwH-*, as is Lith *drūtas strong* Meillet 1902-05:372, Hirt 1921-37 II:172, WP Lehmann 1952:42. Other ablaut grades in OIr

daur, dair (← **darik-*, gen *darach*), Wel, Corn, OBret *dar* *oak* Fleuriot 1964:128-29; Macedonian δάρυλλος *oak*, Arm *targal spoon* (← **derw-*[?] cf OI *dārvi-* f *ladle*). OI *tyrvi* n *resinous fir-tree*, Alb *dru* f *wood, tree* Huld 1984:56. Lat *larix larch-tree* is perhaps a borrowing from Gaul **darik-*, although details are unclear, W/H 1938-56 I:765-66.

The meaning 'oak', is regarded as orig by Osthoff 1901:98-180, specifically the English oak (*Quercus robur*) by P Friedrich 1970:146, who ascribes the meaning 'spruce', suggested by Hirt 1892 IF 1:477-78, to later developments. From the concrete meaning 'oak', 'tree', and also the 'hard parts of a tree' arose words denoting 'steadfastness', 'fidelity', as established in a celebrated study, "Eiche und Treue", Osthoff 1901:98-180. P Friedrich 1970: 142 rightly objects to a development of meaning from 'hard' to 'tree' etc, as by Grassmann 1873:595; Specht 1939 ZVS 66:58-59, Benveniste 1971:256-59. See **triggws, trauan.**

W/P 1927-32 I:804-06, P 1959:214-17, W/H 1938-56 I:384-86; P Friedrich 1970:140-49, 160, Watkins 1985:12, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:612-13.

T35. trudan stvIV πατεῖν *tread* L 10. 19, 3pl pass *trudanda press (grapes)* L 6.44, where the Gk text has τρυγῶσι *they gather*; Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:71,115 regards the final *-a* as added to 3pl act *-and*; on the semantic discrepancy see Scardigli 1973:130; **ga-trudan* καταπατεῖν *tread down*, only papl n *gatrudan warþ* L 8.5.

PGmc *trud-* also in OI *troða, trað, troðinn*; other dialects have *tred-*: OE *tredan*, OFris *treda*, MLG, (M)Du *treden*, OHG *tretan*, MHG, NHG *treten* stv *tread*[†]. Of the two root-forms, *tred-* is one of the Gmc transfers to the *e*-grade thematic conjugation, Meillet 1916 BSLP 20:[art] 25; *trud-* a survival ← PIE *dṛt-*; also in OI *(a-)troð treading*, OE *trod* n, *trodu* f *track*, OHG *trota*, MHG *trot(t)e* wkf, NHG dial *Trotte wine-press* from 'treading'; OHG *trotōn* wkv *press*; OI *troð* f *cow-pen, fenced lane*; OS *trada*, MLG *trade treading, track*, borrowed as NE *trade*, Onions 1966:935, OHG *trata treading*, OE *tredel* m *sole*, OI *treðja*, OE *treddan tread upon, trample, treddian* wkv *tread, step, walk upon*; Seebold 1970:505-06.

Derivation from *drew- run* is also semantically possible, despite doubts, as in F 1939: 481. Verbs of motion are modified in meaning readily, cf OE *wealcian roll* : NE *walk*, OI *skand- leap* : Lat *scandō climb*; the modification of *trudan* may have come from the practice of making animals run about a piece of ground to harden it; cf OI *troð*, Vries 1962:598, 600, though scarcely to OI *trē* as in Vries 1962: 597. Pre-Gmc *dru-t-* may have been a nominal form, reinterpreted with zero-suffix, as in Skt *dyut- shine* by way of *dyu-t-* f *sheen*.

PIE *drew-, drem-, dreH-, dreb-*, based on PIE *der-*, Benveniste 1935a:156, Skt *drávati run*; *drâmati run about*, Gk aor inf δραμεῖν, δρόμος m *course*, OE *trem, trym* n *step*; Skt *drâti run, gallop*, Gk (ἀπο-)διδρᾰ́σκω, aor ἔδρᾱν *escape*; OI *titra*, OHG *zittarōn tremble*. PIE *drew-* and *drem-* are very widespread in the Old European hydronymy, Krahe 1954:174, P 1959:205. See ***ana-trimpan.**

P 1959:204-06.

T36. *tuggl na *star, constellation*, only dat pl *(uf) tugglam* G 4.3A, as gloss to *(uf) stabim* (*þis fairhaus*) (ὑπὸ) τὰ στοιχεῖα (τοῦ κόσμου), Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:356; *(to the) elemental spirits.*

OI *tungl moon, himin-tungl constellation*, OE *tungol*, OS *(heƀan-)tungal*, OHG *(himil-)zungal* stn *(heavenly) body, constellation*; without *-lo-* OHG pl *(himil-)zungun constellations* Graff 1834-46 V: 682.

No etymology. Hardly from a collective 'heavenly bodies' like OHG *gi-stirni star, constellation* to Lith *dangùs*, OPruss *dangus sky, heaven* as by Grienberger 1900:210-11; see Lith *deñgti cover* Fraenkel 1962-65:88-89. Other proposals also unsatisfactory; cf F 1939: 481-82.

T37. tuggo fn γλῶσσα *tongue* L 1.64.

OI *tunga*, OE *tunge*, OFris *tunge*, OS *tunga*, OHG *zunga* wkf *tongue*†.

PIE *dn̥ǧhu*, *dn̥ǧhwā* *tongue* (with widely varied reflexes owing to taboo, Havers 1946:60, 124; taboo explanation preferable to proposals cited and questioned by F 1939:482): OLat *dingua*, Lat *lingua* (*d* modified to *l* from Lat *lingō* *lick*, cf ***bi-laigon***); Lith *liežùvis* (modified after *liẽžti* *lick*); Arm *lezu* (also influenced by PIE *leygh-* *lick*); for Skt *jihvā*, Av *hizvā-* f, *hizū-* m *tongue*, see Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:436-37; Gk γλῶσσα scarcely from PIE *dl̥(ə)ǧhwa* as by Pisani 1954 IF 61:141ff; cf Chantraine 1968-80:229-30, with no explanation; OIr *tengae*, MWel *tauawt*, OCorn *tauot*, MBret *teaut* *tongue* ← pre-Celt *tn̥gʷhāt*, Vendryès 1959-:T-50-51; TochA *käntu* pl, B *käntwā* *tongue*, with metathesis of stops by taboo, Benveniste 1936 *F* Hirt II:235 fn1, Pisani 1937 ZVS 64:100-03. As with other words modified by taboo precise explanation is difficult, leading to speculation; Winter 1982 JIES 10:167-86.

P 1959:223; W/H 1938-56 I:806-07.

T38. tulgus adju στερεός, ἕδραῖος *firm, steady* 2T 2.19; *tulgjan* wkvI 2C 2.8, *gatulgjan* στηρίξαι *fortify* R 15.8; *tulgiþa* *fō* ἀσφάλεια *firmness, certainty* 1Th 5.3.

OS *tulgo* adv *very*, OE *tulge*, *tylg* adv *rather, tylgest mostly*.

PIE *dl̥gh-*, *delēgh-* *long*: Skt *dīrghás* *long*, comp *drāghīyān-* *longer*, *drāghāyati* *lengthen*; Av *darəgō*, OPers *darga-* *long*, Av *drājō* *length*; Gk δολιχός *long*, ἐν-δελεχής *continuous*; Lat *indulgeō* *be long-suffering, complaisant, indulge*; Wel *dal(a)* *hold* E Zupitza 1899 BKIS 25:90-91; OSl *dlьgъ* *long*; Hitt *dalugasti-* *length*, *daluki* *long*. Also Lith *ìlgas*, Latvian *ĩlgs* *long*, where absence of *d-* is unexplained, Fraenkel 1962-65: 183-84.

P 1959:196-97.

T39. *tunþus* mu ὀδούς *tooth* M 5. 38.

Based on zero grade cons stem, which becomes a *u*-stem, like **fotus**; OE *tūsc*, OFris *tusk* m *tusk*†. Other Gmc forms have *o*-grade: OI *tǫnn* f (A Sturtevant 1932 JEGP 31:248), OE *tōþ*, OFris *tōth*, OS *tand*, OHG *zan(t)* stm *tooth*†. Relic cons stem forms also in OI pl *teθr*, *tennr* OE nom pl *tēþ*; possibly also OI *tindr* *tip, tooth on a wheel*; OE, MLG *tind*, MHG *zint* stm *prong, tooth*, cf NE *tine*; also MLG *tinne*, OHG *zinna* wkf *pinnacle* Brugmann 1900 IF 11:285-86, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:459-60.

PIE *(e)dont-*, *dn̥t-* *tooth*: zero grade also in Skt *datás* gen, Av *datā*; Lat *dēns*, gen *dentis* (though possibly *e*-grade); OIr *dēt* n, Wel *dant* *tooth*. Elsewhere *o*-grade: Skt *dán*, acc *dántam*; Av *dantan-*; Gk ὀ-δούς, gen ὀ-δόντος, Ion ὀ-δών, Aeol pl ἔ-δοντες (on problems, esp with *o-*, Chantraine 1968-80:776); Lith *dantìs*, gen pl *dantũ* (cons stem) *tooth*.

Starting from Aeol ἔδοντες (for ὀδόντες according to the Classical grammarians) *teeth*, the set has been derived from PIE *ʔed-* *eat* as in **itan** by J Schmidt 1893 ZVS 32:329, Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36:97, W/H 1938-56 I:340-41, as already by the ancients. So also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:698,814-15, assuming PIE *et'-* *eat*. But Bartholomae 1890 BKIS 16:265-66, 1891 BKIS 17:98-99 objected, on the basis that teeth 'bite' rather than 'eat'. Others related it to PIE *denk̂-* *bite*: Skt *dáśati*, perf *dadáṁśa*; Gk δάκνω *bite*; OI *tǫng*, OE *tang*, OHG *zanga* wkf *tongs*† P 1959:201. Adopted by Benveniste 1931 BSLP 32:[art]74ff, who assumes PIE *den-* suffixed with *-k̂-* in δάκνω, Hom ὀδάξ *biting with one's teeth*, or with *-t-* in Go ***tunþus*** etc; Arm *a-ta-mn* from PIE *-dn̥-* + *-mn̥-*.

P 1959:289.

T40. *tuz-werjan* wkvI *doubt*, only 3sg opt prt *ni tuzwerjai* μὴ διακριθῇ Mk 11.23; *un-werjan* ἀγανακτεῖν *be unwilling* Mk 10.41; *un-werein* acc sg f ἀγανάκτησις *unwillingness* 2C 7.11, *-ei*, not *-eins*, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:161.

Cmpd of *tuz-* and *-werjan*. *tuz-* (*s* → *z* in unaccented prefix, Kluge 1883 ZVS 26:71,

Streitberg 1894 IF 3:400ff, Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:178,195-96), OI, OE *tor-*, OHG *zur-* as in OI *tor-tryggr*: OHG *zur-triuwe suspicious*, OE *tor-begīete difficult to attain*, OHG *zur-wāri suspicious* (= Go **tuz-wers*); PIE *dus-* in Skt *duṣ-*, as in *dur-manās without courage, troubled*, Av *duš-*, *dužˇ-*, as in *duš-manah malevolent*; Gk δυσ- as in δυσ-μενής *evil-minded*; OIr *du-*, *do-*, as in acc pl *do-chlu inglorious*; Arm *t-*, as in *t-gēt ignorant*. On relics in Balt and Sl, Fraenkel 1937 *F* Pedersen: 453. Also in Lat *dif-ficilis difficult* J Wackernagel 1926-28 II:296-97, supported by phonological, morphological and semantic argumentation.

-werjan: OE *ge-wǣred allied*, only in glossary, Bosworth/Toller 1882-98:443,1156-57; OFris *wēria*, MLG *be-wēren*, OS *gi-wārōn*, OHG *(bi-)wārjan* wkv *prove*; derived from PGmc *wēra-*: OI *værr comfortable*, *Vār*, *Vǫr* [PeN of a goddess]; OFris *wēr*, OS, OHG *wār true*; OI *vārar* f pl *oaths*, OE *wǣr faithfulness*, OHG *wāra* f *truth*; OHG *mite-wāri friendly*, *un-miti-wāri hostile*. On the semantic development of PGmc *wēra- true* see OHG *ala-wāri*, MHG *al-wære simple, innocent*, NHG *albern silly* and Go ***alla-werei** *simplicity*.

PIE *wer-(H)- be friendly*, *wēro-s true*, *trustworthy*: Gk ἥρα acc sg *kindness* Chantraine 1968-80:415, though doubted by F 1939:484, ἐπιήρανος *pleasant*; Lat *vērus true*, *se-vērus stern*, *severe* (from 'without friendliness'); OIr *fīr*, Wel *guīr true*, Gaul PeN *Co-vīros*. OSl *věra faith*, a Gmc borrowing, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:337, opposed by Meillet 1902-05:169 though with erroneous etymology. Lengthy discussion in Wissmann 1932:115-21, who separates PGmc *wēra pact* from OHG *wār* etc *true*; F 1939:484.

P 1959:1165-66. Scarcely to *wer- fence about*, as by Vries 1962:645, following Trier 1951:76.

T41. twai decl cardinal number, m M 8.28, *twos* f M 5.41, *twa* n M 27.51, gen *twaddje* δύο *two* J 8.17; ordinal cf **anþar** *second, other*; teen formation, *twa-lif* decl cardinal number, acc *twalif* M 10.1, *twalib* L 6.13, gen *twalibe* J 6.71, dat *twalibim* δώδεκα *twelve* J 6.67; *twalib-wintrus* adj (only nom sg m ἐτῶν δώδεκα L 2.42) *twelve years old*; also ***ainlif** *eleven*; decade formation: only dat pl *miþ twaim tigum þusundjo* = μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων *with twenty thousand* L 14.31. Cf ***fidwor-tigjus**, **taihun**, **þusundi**.

CrimGo *tua*, Stearns 1978:159; OI *tveir*, *tvǣr*, *tvā*, OE *twægen*, *twēgen*, *twā*, *tū*, OFris *twēn(e)*, *twā*, OS *twēne*, *twā*, *twō*, *twē*, OHG *zwēne*, *zwā*, *zwō*, *zwei* m, f, n, NHG *zwei twain*†, *two*†. For gen Go *twaddje*, OI *tueggia*; OE *twēg(e)a*, OS *tweio*, OHG *zwei(i)o*, see WP Lehmann 1952:45, Lindeman 1964:88, and **ada**, ***daddjan**; Holtzmann's law forms here possibly by influence from **bai**. Go dat *twaim*, OI *tueim*, OE *twǣm*, OS *twēm*, OHG *zweim*. Go acc *twans*, OI *tvā*, replaced elsewhere in Gmc by forms identical with the nom; summary in P Ramat 1981:115; see also Krause 1968:189. CrimGo *thunetua* for ***thiine-tua** *ten-two* Stearns 1978:104,158, (also *thune-tria thirteen*) an OV type teen numeral as opposed to OI *tolf*, OE *twelf*, OFris *twelef*, OS *twelif*, OHG *zwelif twelve*†, literally 'two-left'. Decade formation: OI *tuttugu*, OE *twǣgentig*, *twēntig*, OFris *twintich*, OS *twentig* etc, OHG *zweinzug twenty*†; see also CrimGo **stega** *twenty*, NE *score*, beside ***fidwor-tigjus** *forty*.

PIE *do* (*di*), *wo* (*wi*), Benveniste 1962:86; cf also E Sturtevant 1927 AJP 48:247-57,248-49: OIr *da* m/n, *di* f, TochB *wi*, A *wu* m, *we* f *two*; Hitt *da-iuga two-year-old*, *dan*, *tan second*, *dammai- other* (otherwise, Puhvel 1978 ZVS 92:99ff); cf also Skt *vim̐-śatíḥ*, Gk εἴκοσι, Dor etc ϝι-κατι from ***wī-kmt-ī**, Chantraine 1968-80:317; Lat *vī-ginti*, OIr *da fichit two score*, *i n-dib n̓-uarib deac in 12 hours*; TochA *wiki*, B *ikäṃ twenty*, B *śak wi*, A *śäk wepi twelve*, literally 'ten-two'; cf also Lith *vè-du*, Go **wit** *we two*; possibly also Gk διά, Lat *dis apart, in two directions* E Sturtevant 1927 AJP 48:248, Go ***twis-standan** *separate*.

PIE *du-i*, Carruba 1979:199, *other* + adj *-i-*: Skt *dvitā́ twice, double, dvitíya- second*; Gk δίς; Lat *bis twice*, Lith *dù, dvì* f, Latvian *divi two*, Lith *dvì-dešimt twenty*, cf Skt *dvi-pád-*, Gk δί-πους, Lat *bi-pēs*, OE *twi-fēte two-footed*†; Arm *erki-* in *erkeam two-year-old*; Hitt *duiyanalli- second-ranked official* ← **dwiyono-*, Benveniste 1962:81-84; Lyc *cbi-, tbi- two, other, cbijêtezi second, cbi sñtãta other unit, two* Carruba 1979:191,193,198.

PIE *dwō(u), dwai* f, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:8-11; cf also J Wackernagel and Debrunner 1896-1954 III:341-46 on cardinal, ordinal, and cmpd forms; further etymological suggestions, such as distal deictic, Stewart 1906 BKIS 30:234-36: Skt *dvā́, dvaú, duvā́* m, *d(u)vé* f/n; Gk δύο, Lat *duo*, OSl *dzva* m, *dzvě* f/n; also Skt *dvā́daśa*, Gk δώδεκα with long vowel beside Gk δυο-καί-δεκα, Lat *duodecim*, OSl *dzva ia desęte*, Arm *erko-tasn twelve*, literally 'two (and) ten'; OSl *dzva desęti twenty*. On phonological correspondences and relative archaicity, Szemerényi 1960:24; on inherited indecl Gk δύο, Schwyzer 1939-50 I:588-89; on Hitt *da-iuga*, Puhvel 1978 ZVS 92:99ff; Benveniste 1962:78-86 separates Lith *dveigỹs two-year-old animal*.

P 1959:228-32, Watkins 1985:15-16.

T42. *tweifls ma [?] *doubt*, only acc sg *tweifl* Sk 2.14 / IIb.24; *tweifljan* wkv *cause doubt* Sk 6.10 / VIb.11, see M Jellinek 1919 AinZDA 38:160; **tweifleins fi/ō* διαλογισμός *doubt*, acc sg *-ein* 1T 2.8.

OFris *twīfil* m, MLG *twīvel*, OHG *zwīval* stm/n, *zwīvo* wkm *doubt*; OS *twīflian, twīflōn*, OHG *zwīvelen* wkv *cause to doubt*; OS *twīfli*, OHG *zwīfoli doubtful*; with PIE *-k-*: OE *twēo* m, OS *tweho*, OHG *zweho* m *doubt*; OE *twēogan*, OS *twehōn*, OHG *zwehōn* wkv *doubt*; OI *tvī-faldr twofold*†, *double*; OE *ge-twǣfan* wkv *separate, rob*. See Brugmann 1907:68, G Müller and Frings 1968:15-16,21 fn1 on Gmc borrowings.

Cmpd based on PIE *dwey-, dwi-* two- and *-plo- -fold* Thurneysen 1921 ZCP 13:107 and Pedersen 1909-13 I:237, like OIr *diabul* ← PIE *dwey-plo- double*; also Gk δι-πλός, Lat *du-plus double* J Schmidt 1867 ZVS 16:431, W/H 1938-56 I:383-84, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:706, 779-80; cf Skt *dvi-pád-*, Gk δί-πους, Lat *bi-pēs*, OE *twi-fēte two-footed*†; OIr *dē-riad pair of horses*, MWel *dwy-flwydd* f *biennium*; Serb *dvîze two-year-old*, Lith *dveigỹs two years old* Berneker 1908-14:247-48; OHG *zwīg* stm *twig*. For PGmc *-fla-* see Gk ἁ-πλός (← **sm̥-plo-* or according to Brugmann 1917-20 IF 38:128ff ← **-πλοος*, **πλοῑος* after δοιός *twofold*; other suggestions in Chantraine 1968-80:97), Lat *simplus simple*; Cz *oba-pol from both sides* to Sl *pols side, half* Grienberger 1900:211; cf **ainfalþs**. Scarcely as by Solmsen 1902 BGDSL 27: 358ff an *-l-* enlargement of the multiplicative suffix in Lith *dvejópas twofold, trejópas threefold*, etc.

On the semantic development see Skt *dvayás*, Gk δοιός, Lith *dveĩ*, OSl *dzvoi two*; Skt *dvayám falseness*; Gk δοίη *doubt* : OI *tȳja* f ← **twīja doubt*. Cf **twai, *tweihnai**.

P 1959:228-32,802-03.

T43. *tweihnai collective numeral *two each*, in dat *miþ tweihnaim markom* ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων *between both borders* Mk 7.31; distributive in acc *nih þan tweihnos paidos haban* μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν *not to have two cloaks each* L 9.3.

OE dat pl *be-twēonum* (*be sǣm twēonum between the seas*) *between*, nom **twēon* ← **twīhnai*, OFris *twīne two each*, based on PGmc *twīh(a)-n*, in OE *twēo*, m *doubt*, cf ***tweifls**; OE *mid unc twīh between the two of us, (be)-twīh, be-twēox betwixt*†, *between*†.

PIE *dwey-, dwi-, dwis-* + suffixes: with *-k-*, Skt *dvi-kás consisting of two, dvakás paired*; Russ *dvójka pair* Brugmann 1907:36-37; with *-n-*, Lat *bīnī two each* (← PIE *dwis-no-*, W/H 1938-56 I:106), Lith *dvỹnas, dvỹs*, Latvian *dvìnis twin*; OI *tvennr, tvinnr* ← **twiz-na- twofold*, OE *ge-twinn* m *twin*†, MHG *zwirn* stm *twist, thread* W/H 1938-56 I:106.

P 1959:228-32, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:8-11,64, 78.

T44. *twis-standan stvVI, only prpl *-dands* ἀποτάσσεσθαι *part* from 2C 2.13; **twis-stass* fi διχοστασία *discord*, only nom pl *-seis* G 5.20, calque, as is also **af-stass**.

twis- **apart** also in OI *tvis-var*, *tys-var*, OSw *twis-wær*, *tys-wa(r)*, OE *twi-wa*, *twi-ga*, OFris *twi-ra*, OHG *zwir-ōr*, *zwir-o*, MHG *zwis*, *zwir twice*†. For explanation of the forms see Bezzenberger 1883 BKIS 7:77. (← **twiz-wōz*), Kluge 1913:260, A Kock 1894 ANF 10:297-98, Loewe 1916 ZVS 47:99ff. OI *tvistra* wkv *separate*; OFris, MDu, OS *twist*, MHG *zwist* stm *division*.

PIE *dwis- twofold*: Skt *dviṣ*, Av *biš*, Gk δίς, OLat *duis*, Lat *bis*, MHG *zwis twice*; Skt *dviṣṭhas ambiguous*, probably an inner-Ind development, Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:86; Gk διστάζω *doubt* Chantraine 1968-80:287. With *-k-*: OS *twisc two each*, OFris *twiska(a) between*, OHG *zwisk twofold*, dat pl *(en) zwisken between*. On *dwi-*, *di- two* see ***tweifls** and Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:10, Brugmann 1904a:478. On the *-s-*, see Magnien 1929 *F* Schrijnen:617ff.

P 1959:229-32.

T45. tyz in the Go Runic alphabet of Sal, name of the *t*-rune = OI *tȳr*, OE *tī*, *tīr* (Scandinavian influence [?]); *y* = Go *iu* according to Kirchhoff 1854:32 and Bugge 1905-13:49. -- *tyz* = Go **tius*; according to Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:217, 1899 ANF 15:5, 1921 Anglia 45:213 *tyz* = Go **teiws* with syncope of *w*, OI *Tȳr* [name of a god], *(Sig-)tȳr* [god of victory], Vries 1962:603, OE *Tīig* = *Tīg Mars*, gen *Tīwes* Sievers 1884 BGDSL 9:203, OHG **Ziu*; also in OI *tivar gods*. OE *Tīwes-dæg*, OHG *Zios-tac Tuesday*†. The name of a goddess, *Alateivia*, must be treated with caution as possibly Celt, or even rejected, Schönfeld 1911:11.

PIE *deywos god*: Skt *dévas god*, Av *daēvō demon*; Lat *deus*, OIr *dīa*, Lith *diẽvas*, OPruss *deiwas god*. Based on PIE *dey- shine*, as is *dyēws sky, sky-god*: Skt *dyáus*, acc *dyām heavens, sky*; Gk Ζεύς, acc Ζῆν; Hitt *Sius sun-god* Neu 1974:116-31 with many references.

P 1959:183-87, esp 185.

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Þ1. þad-ei rel prn adv οὗ *in which, where* L 10.1, ὅπου *where* J 8.21, J 6.62, ὅπου ἐὰν Mk 14.14; *þishvaduh þei* ὅπου ἐὰν *wherever* M 6.10. An inner Go creation; cf Gk τό-τε *then* as parallel to Go **þaδ*.

Þ2. *þagks m[?] χάρις, only acc sg *þank* L 17.9A; **ga-þagki* n/a *thanks, care*, only dat sg *us gaþagkja* φειδομένως *carefully, sparingly* 2C 9.6; *þagkjan* irreg wkvI βουλεύεσθαι *think, plan* L 14.31 (δια)λογίζεσθαι *think, deliberate* Mk 11.31, L 20.14, 2C 10.7, συμβαλεῖν *consider, ponder* L 2.19, (δι)απορεῖν *be uncertain, confused, wonder about* J 13.22, L 9.7, 3sg prs *þankeiþ* L 14.31, 3sg prt *þahta* L 9.7, 3pl prt *þahtedun* Mk 11.31; **and-þagkjan consider, know*, 3sg prt *andþahta* + *sik* = ἔγνων L 16.4, prpl gen sg m *andþaggkjandins sik* Sk 7.1 / VIIa.3-4, prpl nom sg m *andþaggkjands* Sk 7.5 / VIIa.18-19; **bi-þagkjan consider*, only 2pl prs *-keiþ* διαλογίζεσθε L 5.22; cf also **anda-þahts, *þugkjan.**

OI *þǫkk f i gratitude, reward, joy*, OE *þanc*, OFris, OS *thank*, OHG *thank* stm *thanks†, favor*; OI *þakka*, OE *þancian*, OFris *thankia*, OS *thankon*, OHG *t(h)ankōn* wkv *thank†*; prs with umlaut, OI *þekkja notice*, prt *þātta* ~ *þekta*, OE *þencan*, prt *þōhte*, OFris *thensz(i)a*, OS *thenkian*, OHG *t(h)enken* wkv *think†, thought†*.

PIE *tong- think, feel* (attested primarily in Gmc); Lat *tongēre know*, Osc *tanginom* = Lat *sententiam thought*, (Osc *tanginúd* = *sententiā*), Ernout and Meillet 1967:695; on phonological difficulties, see W/H 1938-56 II: 690. Possibly also Wel *tanc f peace*, as in PeN's *Tancorix, Tanconus, Tancinus*, Loth 1924 RevCelt 41:225; cf meaning of OI *þekkr*, ODan *tak-nem pleasant*; scarcely here TochA *tuṅ(k)-*, B *taṅ(kw)- love*, in spite of Holthausen 1948: 313. Nor OIr *tongu swear*, *-n-*prs of PIE *teg- touch*; Vendryès 1959-:T-106-08; Wood 1908 ClassP 3:85-86, with assumed parallel NHG *greifen grasp, begreifen comprehend*; rejected by F 1939:487.

P 1959:1088.

Þ3. *þahan wkvIII σιγᾶν *keep secret* L 9.3, σιωπᾶν *be silent* L 1.20, φιμόω *behave quietly*, 2sg prs imp *þahai* Mk 1.25, 3sg prt *þahaida* Mk 14.61; **ga-þahan* σιγᾶν L 20.26, σιωπᾶν *be silent, hold one's peace, keep secret* Mk 10.48; cf Lloyd 1979:148,275,279-81; **þahains f i* ἡσυχία *silence*, only dat sg *-nai* 1T 2.12.

Gmc cognates with suffix accent, Meillet 1908-09 MSLP 15:351-52: OI *þegja* wkv *be silent*, *þagna* wkv *become quiet*, OS *thagian, thagon*, OHG *thagēn* wkv *be silent, githagēn grow silent*.

PIE *tak-ē-, tak-yo-*, (only Gmc and Italic, Porzig 1954:107): Lat *tacēre be silent*, Umbr *tases, taçez* perf ppl *silent(ly), in a murmur* Poultney 1959:326. Possible relation to OIr *tachtaid suffocates*, proposed by Prellwitz 1896 BKIS 21:162, tentatively admitted by Vendryès 1959-:T-4-5, rejected by F 1939:487-88, as are also Gk τήκω *melt*, πτήσσω *frighten* (to πέτομαι, πίπτω *fly, fall* Chantraine 1968-80: 1113,949), on semantic grounds.

P 1959:1055.

Þ4. *þaho f n πηλός *clay*, only gen sg *þahons* R 9.21.

OE *þōhe, þō*, MLG *dā*, OHG *dāhā*, NHG *Ton* f *clay*; OHG *dāhīn* adj *of clay*; scarcely OI *þēl* f *file*, as an instrument for applying clay to walls, as by Trier 1951:16; cf Vries 1962:608; nor OI *þēttr*, OE *þiht*, NHG *dicht* adj *firm, thick†*, in spite of Trier 1951:16-23 and Vries 1962:609 or P 1959:1068, who posits as source PIE *tenk- coagulate, become firm*: Skt *tanákti cause coagulation, takrám buttermilk mixed with water*; OIr *tēcht solid* Vendryès 1959-:T-40-41; Lith *tánkus thick*; OSl *tǫča downpour, snow flurries*; ORuss *tuča cloud, storm, rain*; Arm *t'anjr thick*. These, like Go **þeihan**

thrive, may be from PIE *tenk-*, but the words for 'clay' may have a non-IE origin, in view of the lack of direct cognates elsewhere and the semantic problem.

P 1959:1068.

Þ5. þairh prep διά spatial *through* M 7.13, means/causal *whereby* M 8.17, Gk dat Col 2.22, ὑπό *by* 1C 10.29; temporal preverb διά *throughout* L 5.5; cf also *naht þair-wakands* δια-νυκτερεύων *spending the night* L 6.12; **þairh-galeikon*, *þairh-leiþan*; cmpds also with **gaggan**, **salƕan**.

OE *þerh*, *þorh*, *þurh through*†, *during*, *by means of*; OFris *thruch*, OS *thurh*, *thuru*; OHG *thuru(c)h*, *dur(h)* *through*, *derh* 'pertusus' *perforated*. Cf also **þairko**, OE *þyrel*, n *hole*, *opening*, cf NE *nostril*, OHG *durihhil perforated*; OE *þyrlian bore through*, cf NE *thrill*.

PIE *ter-que*, Thumb 1900 ZVS 36:198-201: Skt *tiraś-cá*, Av *taras-ča crosswise*; Skt *tirás over*, *across*, *apart*, Av *tarə̄*, *tarō over*, *to*, OPers *ta[ra]*, NPers *tar*; PItal prpl *tr-ānts*: Lat *trāns*, Umbr *traf*, *traha(f)* *across*; OIr *tar*, *dar* *across*, *above*, Wel *traw*, *traws*, Bret *treuz*; OIr prep, preverb *tre*, *tri* *across*, *during*, *because of*, Wel *trwy*, Bret *tre* *across* Vendryès 1959-:T-28-29,T-125-26; Arm *tar-* *outside*, *away from*; also Skt *tárati* *cross over*, *overcome*; *tiryáñ* *horizontal* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:480,503-04. Separate from PIE *ter-* *rub*, *bore through*; cf **þriskan*; nor to Lith *trū́kti* *tear apart* as by Persson 1912:858.

P 1959:1074-76, Watkins 1985:70.

Þ6. þairko nn *eye*, *hole (of the needle)*, only acc sg *þairko neþlos* τρυμαλιὰ (τῆς) ῥαφίδος L 18.25, Mk 10.25.

Zero grade, Du *durk* *hollow*, *cavity*; MLG *dork* *keel room* H Schröder 1906 ZDP 38:527; Vries 1962:145.

PIE *ter-*, *ter-g-* *rub*, *pierce through*: Gk τρώγλη *hole*, τράγος *goat*, τρώγω *gnaw*, aor inf δια-τραγεῖν *gnaw through* Kretschmer 1905 ZVS 38:136; Lat *tergeō* *wipe off*; Arm *t'urc*, gen *t'rcoy* *chin*, *aracem* *pasture*, Lidén 1906:33-36; TochAB *trāsk-* *chew*; see Beekes 1969:246-47 on vocalism of suffixes in Gk.

P 1959:1073.

Þ7. þan logical connective ptc, adv, conj, δέ *but*, *on the other hand* M 5.31; μέν *on the one hand* J 11.6; antithetical *þan* ... *þan* μέν ... δέ 1C 11.21; τότε J 13.27, οὖν *then* J 13.27, M 27.17; γάρ *for* M 6.32; ἄρα *then*, *thus*, *so* 1C 5.10; ἰδού *behold!* M 27.51, ὅταν *whenever* M 6.2; correlative *þan* ... *þan* ὅταν ... τότε M 9.15, ὅτε *when* M 7.28, *þanuh* δέ M 9.32, τότε *then* M 25.45, J 11.6, ὅτε in *þanuh þan* ὅτε δέ M 9.25, καὶ ἰδού *behold then* M 9.2; *þan-nu* ἄρα *then*, *indeed* Mk 4.14, ἃ οὖν *thus*, *then* R 9.16, μενοῦνγε *indeed* R 9.20, ὥστε 1C 4.5 *so that*. Cf Go *þa*-forms: **þar**, **þaþro**, **þau**, **eiþan**, **miþþan**; **ƕan**.

OI *þā* (*-n* lost, Noreen 1923:221), OE *þan* OFris *than*, OS *than*, OHG *dana* *then*, *yet*; extended in OE *þonne*, OFris, OS *thanna*, OHG *than(n)e* adv, conj *then*†; with *-n(a)* as in Go *innana*, OI *þanan*, OE *þanon*, OFris *thana*, OS *thana(na)*, OS *thana(na)*, OHG *danana* *from then*. On semantic interrelations of logical connectives in language generally, such as developments of temporal from spatial, causal from temporal, and on historically attested lexical sources for logical connectives, Traugott 1982:245-71, with references; on early IE sentence connectives, WP Lehmann 1974: 118ff.

PIE *to-* dem ptc, cf **þata**, **þe**; for *-n* see **ƕan**, OIr *can*, MWel *pan* *whence* Solmsen 1897-98 ZVS 35:469-70, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2: 736, Kieckers 1928:84 fn1,170-71; Skt *tadā́*, Av *taδa*; Lith *tadà* ← **tadān* *then*. Not as by Skutsch 1909 Glotta 1:305-06 to Lat *tum* *then*, which is an Italic innovation; F 1939:489.

P 1959:1086-87, Watkins 1985:71.

Þ8. þana-mais adv ἔτι *still*, *further*, *yet* Mk 14.63, with **ni**, μηκέτι R 14.13 'non amplius' *no longer*, *no more*, οὐκέτι οὐδέν *still (did) not* Mk 15.5, τοῦ λοιποῦ *henceforth* G 6.17; cmpd of *þana*, from PIE *to-* with ablatival *-no-*, Dal 1971:86-128, 1938 NTS 9:208,215,

and **mais**; cf also **þan**, *þana-seiþs* adv *still*, and with **ni**, under ***seiþus**.

OI *pā en meira*, OE *þon mā*, OS *than mēr*, OHG *dana mēr*, *mēr dan further*; a frozen comparative construction of OV pattern, like *ni þe* **haldis**; modified to VO sequence, with standard following comparative, in OHG, and also in cognates of *þana-seiþs*, OI *sīðan*, OE *sīþan*, MLG *sīden since then*.

A Gmc development, independent of instr *-na*, as in Skt *ena*, *tena*, Dal 1971:124.

Þ9. þana-seiþs adv positive only in *ha þanaseiþs swe* τί ὡς *how much more?* Col 2.20; otherwise, neg *ni þanaseiþs* οὐκέτι *no more, no longer* J 14.19, J 16.21, μηκέτι *not again* Mk 11.14; see **þana-mais**, **þan**, ***seiþus**.

OI *sīðan*, OE *sīþ-þan* adv *later, afterward, since*†; cf also OI *sīð*, OE *sīþ(ra)*, OS *sīð*, *sīðor*, OHG *sīdor* adv *later*, *sīð* prep, adv, conj *after, later, since*.

Þ10. þan-de (*-ei* six times) temporal conj with durative sense, ἕως *while, as long as* J 12.35; with temporal-causal sense ἔπει *when, since, because* L 1.34; ὅτι *because, since* J 9.16; with temporal-conditional sense εἰ δέ *if, when, but if* M 6.30, R 11.16; causal-conditional εἰ γάρ *for if* R 11.21.

Go **þan**, and PGmc *-dē*: OE *þen-de-n* adv *while, as long as*, OHG *thanta* conj *because, that*; also OS *hwanda*, OHG *hwanta since, because*, cf Go **hwan**.

Source of PGmc *-dē* unclear; not to *-dō* of Lat *quan-dō when*, as by Hirt 1896 IF 6:69; rather from PIE *-dhē*, W/H 1938-56 II:398.

Þ11. þan-ei conj, rel adv ὅτε *when* J 9.4, rel conj ἐφ' ὅσον *to the extent that* M 25.40, cmpd of **þan** and **ei**. Cf also **þar**, *þar-ei*.

Þ12. þar adv ἐκεῖ *there*, only L 9.4, Mk 6.10, anaphoric resumptive of preposed rel; with **ei**, *þar-ei* rel adv (33 occurrences) οὗ *from where* J 11.41, *where* L 4.16, ὅπου *where* M 6.19; cf also **þa-dei** *where*; with **-uh**, *þar-uh* deictic adv (over 70 occurrences) ἐκεῖ *there* M 6.21, anaphoric resumptive of rel *þar-ei*; discourse deictic ἰδού *behold!* M 9.18, δέ *but, then* J 6.20, οὖν *then* J 6.5; cf WP Lehmann 1972b: 261-62 on lack of direct reflexes of PIE rel *$k^{w}o/e$-* in PGmc.

OI *þar*, OE *þǣr*, OFris *ther*, OS *thar*, OHG *thar* adv *there, then*; with PGmc *-ō* or *-ē*: OHG *dara to there*; with lengthened vowel in OE *þāra*, *þǣr there*†.

PIE **to-* with loc *-r*; Skt *tár-hi then* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:487.

P 1959:1087.

Þ13. *þarbs adj*a* ἀναγκαῖον *necessary*, χρείαν ἔχων *having need of*, only nom sg n *þarb* Ph 2.25, acc pl m *þarbans* L 9.11; cf **ala-þarba**; used as noun, **þarba* πτωχός *the poor*, only gen pl *þarbane* J 12.6, dat pl *þarbam* J 12.5, Mk 10.21. **þarba* fō ὑστέρησις *want, need*, ὑστέρημα *necessity*, only dat sg *þarbai* Ph 4.11, dat pl *þarbom* 2C 8.14, acc pl *þarbos* 2C 11.9, also *þarbos þulan* ὑστερεῖσθαι *suffer want, be in need* Ph 4.12; *ga-þarban* wkvIII, only inf 1T 4.3, 3sg prs *gaþarb[a]iþ* ἀπέχεσθαι 1C 9.25A, ἐγκρατεύεσθαι *abstain from, exercise self-control*.

OI *þarfr necessary, useful*, *þarfi needy*, OE *þearfa poor*; OI *þǫrf*, OE *þearf*, OFris *therve*, OS *tharf*, OHG *darba* stf *need, lack*; OI *þarba*, OE *þearfian*, OS *tharbōn*, OHG *darbēn* wkv; OI *þarfna* wkv *need*. Seebold *1970:509-10*; Torp and Falk, eds 1909:182; ***þaurban** *need*.

Þ14. *þarihs adj*a* ἄγναφος *unshrunk*, only gen sg in *fanan þarihis* ῥάκους ἀγνάφου *unshrunk cloth* M 9.16; cf parallel, *fanins niujis* = ῥάκους ἀγνάφου *new piece of cloth* Mk 2.21, *snagins niujis* = ἱματίου καινοῦ *new coat* L 5.36; derivative in *-(a)hs*, according to Trautmann 1905 BKIS 29:310-11, though preferably *-reihs*, cf Lat *-īc-*, Ebbinghaus 1981 GL 21:19.

If not to Du *derrie peat-soil* Wijk 1909 IF 24:36-37, no Gmc cognates; Vries 1971:112 for variant possibility.

Possibly PIE *ter-*, *ter-u-*: Skt *táruṇas young, tender*, Av *tauruna- young*; Gk τέρην

tender; also Lat *tener young, tender*, if modified after *tenuis*, W/H 1938-56 II:665, though rejected by Chantraine 1968-80:1106-07; Sabine ***terenus tender*** Ernout and Meillet 1967:684; also Arm *t'arm young, fresh, tender*. 29:23.

P 1959:1070-71.

Þ15. þata n nom/acc sg prn τό *the, that* M 5.4, M 6.23 (art, dem, rel), οὗτος *this* M 7.12, αὐτός *the one, it* M 7.13, τοῦτο *this* M 8. 9; *þana* acc sg m τόν *the (one), who* M 5.16; *þans* acc pl m τούς *the ones, those* M 5.44; cf m nom sg **sa**, gen sg **þis**. *þata* based on PIE *tod* + *-ō*, Kieckers 1928:140.

OI *þat*, OE *þæt*, OFris *thet*, OS *that*, OHG *t(h)az, daz*, prn conj *that*†, *so that*; OI *þā* acc pl m prn; OE *þā* nom/acc pl *the, these*.

PIE *to* discourse ptc (+ prn): Skt *tád*, Av *taṭ*, acc sg m *tám*, pl *tấn*; Gk τό, acc sg m τόν, pl τούς (τόνς); Lat *is-tud*, ***is-tod***, W/H 1938-56 I:722, OLat *topper* ← ***tod-per quickly***; OIr *tō* interj *yes*, not from PIE *tod* according to Vendryès 1959-:T-82; Lith *tàs*, Latvian *tas the, this (one)*; OPruss *s-ta that*; OSl *da but, and* Pedersen 1938:64, *to*, Russ *tot the (one), that one*; TochA *täm*, B *tu the, it*; B *te this one, the, it*, A *täṣ*, B *te this one*; Alb *këta this one, të* (proclitic) *if, when* Pedersen 1900 ZVS 36: 310; Hitt *ta* sentence initial ptc with prn encl *-at it* E Sturtevant and Hahn 1951:60,108-09, Dillon 1948 TPS 1947:15-24, WP Lehmann 1974:118-20,214-16.

P 1959:1086-87, Watkins 1985:71.

Þ16. þat-ain adj ἕν *one (thing)* J 9. 25, τοῦτο μόνον *this alone* G 3.2; *ni þatain ... ak jah* οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί *not only ... but also* M 5.47; *þatain-ei* adv μόνον *only* M 5.47; **þata** and **ains**; **ei**.

Þ17. þat-ei conj ὅτι *that* J 6.46; (alternating with **ei**) εἰ *whether* 1C 7.16; *niba þau þatei* εἰ μήτι *unless* L 9.13; based on **þata** + **ei**; n prn to **sa-ei**, with declensional forms *in þammei, in þizei*; *þata þeilos þei* = *þat-ei, þana dag ei* = *þat-ei, fram þamma daga ei* = *fram þammei*, W Schulze 1966:561-67; cf also **þei**.

Þ18. þaþro spatial, temporal adv ἐντεῦθεν *from here* J 7.3; ἔπειτα *then* G 1.21; *þaþroh* : *þaþro* + **-uh** spatial, temporal adv ἐκεῖθεν *from there* L 9.4 = **jain-þro** ἐκεῖθεν Mk 6.10; ἔπειτα J 11.7, G 2.1, εἶτα *then* L 8.12, 1C 15.6, ἀπὸ τότε *after that* L 16.16; *þaþro-ei* rel adv ἐξ οὗ *from where*, only Ph 3.20. Functional comparison with Lat *hinc, ibi, inde*; OI *her ofan af, þar, þadann*, OE *heonon*, OS *hinan*, OHG *hina from here, from there* W Schulze 1966:570-71.

OI *þaðra*, OE *þæder* adv *there, that way*; cf also OE *þider there, thither*†, contamination of *þæder* and *hider*, cf Go **hidre** *from here*.

PIE *to-tro*: Skt *tá-tra there, thither*.

P 1959:1087.

Þ19. þau adv, ptc ἤ L 5.23, ἤπερ *than, but, instead* J 12.43, ἄν L 9.46, *þauh* ἄν J 11. 32 contingency ptc; κἄν *even though* J 11.25; cf A Sturtevant 1928 MLN 43:242-44 on disjunctive adverbial use and use as a ptc in double interrog, *þau ... -uh* M 11.3, ἤ (*þau ni-u wituþ* ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε *or don't you know?* R 7.1); *þauh* in variant text, *þau(h) ni-u kunnuþ* ἢ οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκετε *or don't you know?* 2C 13.5; *þauh-jabai* conj εἰ καὶ *if also, even though*, only 1C 7.21, 2C 4.16, Sk 4.21 / IVc.25.

OI *þō*, OE *þēah*, OFris *thāch*, OS *thōh*, OHG *tho(h)* adv, conj *yet, however, though*†.

Skt *tú, tű now, but*; Av *tū* encl ptc; possibly to Skt *tá he, this* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I: 507. Suggested weakened form of 2sg pers prn *tū*, Osthoff 1881:268-72; formal dual, Hiersche 1963 ZVS 78:155-60; G Schmidt 1962:78-85 proposes ptc's PIE ***yo***, ***no***, ***to*** with ***-u*** for PIE *you* or *yau*, zero grade *yu*; Lith *jaũ*, Latvian *jàu*, OPruss *iau*, OSl *(j)u(-zě) already* Fraenkel 1962-65:190; parallels PIE *to-u*, *to-u-k^{w}e* : Go **þau**, *þauh*.

P 1959:285,1097.

Þ20. *þaurban* prt-prsIII, 1sg prs *þarf* L 14.18, 1pl *þaurbum* M 26.65, 1sg prt *þaurfta* Mk 2.25, χρῄζειν *need* M 6.32, ἔχειν ἀνάγκην *have to, must* L 14.18, χρείαν ἔχειν

have need of M 9.12; **þaurfts** adj*a* ὠφέλιμος *necessary, useful* 2T 3.16, only nom pl m *þaurftai* ἀναγκαῖα 1C 12.22, nom pl f *þaurftos*; *ga-þaurbs* adj ἐκρατής *self-controlled*, only Tit 1.8; comp *þaurftozo* ἀναγκαιότερον Ph 1.24; *þaurfts fi* χρεία L 19.34, ἀνάγκη *necessity, need* 1C 7.26; cf also *þaurfte gataujiþ* ὠφελεῖται *is of use, benefits* L 9.25; cf also ***þarbs** *necessary*. One of the few examples of grammatical change in Go verbs; cf *aih* : *aigum, filhan* : **fulgins*.

OI inf *þurfa*, prs sg *þarf*, pl *þurfom*, prt *þurfta*, OE *þurfan*, prs sg *þearf*, pl *þurfon*, prt *þorfte*, OFris *thur(v)a*, prs sg*thōr*, pl *thurvon*, prt *thorste*, OS *thurƀan*, prs sg *tharf*, pl *thurbun*, prt *thorfta*, OHG *durfan*, prs sg *darf*, pl *durfun*, prt *dorfta need, lack*; NHG *dürfen be permitted, allowed, dare, Bedarf want, need*. OI *þurft*, OS, OHG *thurft* stf *necessity, need*; OS, OHG *thurftig* adj *poor, needy*; OHG *durft* adj *necessary*; *durftigheit* stf *poverty*.

PIE *terp- be satisfied, enjoy*, though disputed on semantic grounds; semantic basis found through Skt *asu-tŕp- life-robbing, paśu-tŕp- cattle stealing*; Av *trəfya-, tarəp- steal* Bartholomae 1904:643; also Kluge 1879:76, 1881 ZVS 25:311-12, justifying PIE *terp-*, not PIE *terbh-* as in OSl *trěba use*, but distinguishing PIE *tŕp- rob* from PIE *tŕp- enjoy*; Saussure 1892 MSLP 7:83-84 proposes semantic relation between 'take away' and 'enjoy', including 'need' with OPruss *en-terpo be of use* as link; PIE *terp- that which gives satisfaction* to 'that which is useful' to 'that which is needed'; also Meid 1971:26: 'enjoy, use' to 'need'; Seebold 1970:509-10. Skt *tŕpyati enjoy, satisfy oneself*, Av *frąfšō satisfied*; Gk τέρπομαι *enjoy*; Lith *tařpti thrive, prosper*, Latvian *tārpa strength* Grienberger 1900:213-14; Wood 1905 MLN 20: 102-04 includes PIE *terep- press, rub*, perf *worn out, exhausted* to *wanting, lacking, needy, poor*; Collitz 1905 MLN 20:105 proposes PIE *térpō satisfy one's appetite, become satiated* to *enjoy, satisfy oneself*; perf *have enjoyed, be still longing for, still feel appetite*, adducing Lat *torpēre be inactive, as satisfaction is carried to extreme*; rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:692, Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:299-300. PIE *tŕp-ti-*: Skt *tŕptiṣ satisfaction*, cf also Gk τέρψις *satisfaction* Chantraine 1968-80:1108; on archaic character of Go *-ti*-derivatives from simplex (stative) verbs, *þaurfts*, **mahts** *power*, ***magan** *be able* Benveniste 1960 Sprache 6: 169-71.

P 1959:1077-78.

Þ21. *þaurnus mu ἄκανθα *thorn-plant* L 8.7; **þaurneins* adj*a* ἀκάνθινος *thorny, of thorns*, only acc sg f *-neina* Mk 15.17, acc sg m *-neinan* J 19.5.

OI *þorn*, OE *þorn*, OS *thorn*, OHG *thorn*, stm *thorn†*; OE *þyrnen* adj *thorny*; OI *þyrnir* m, OE *þyrne* f *thornbush*; OI *storð* f *grass, stalk, stem*; *stirðr* adj *stiff*.

PIE *(s)ter-n-* in words for sharp, pointed plant parts; extended from *ster- be stiff*: Skt *tŕṇam grass, straw*; Khotanese Sacian *tarra-*, NPers *tarrah grass* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:522; Hsch τέρνακα· τῆς κάκτου τοῦ φυτοῦ καυλόν *stem of cardoon fruit* Frisk 1960-72 II:881, but Chantraine 1968-80:1107 doubts the relation; OSl *trъnъ thorn-plant, strъnъ stalk*. On PIE *ster-, ter*-variants, Persson 1912:430,429ff; cf ***and-staurran**.

P 1959:1031,1022-27.

Þ22. þaurp *na*[?] ἀγρός *land, lived-on property*, only acc sg Neh 5.16; on Go *þaurp*, **land** as opposed to uninhabited **akrs**, ***haiþi** *field, land* W Schulze 1966:524, Scardigli 1973: 291-92.

OI *þorp farm, estate, grave mound*; OE *þorp, þrop* m; OFris, OS *thorp*, OHG *thorf, dorf* stn *village, estate*, archaic *thorpt*. OI *þorp troop, band, þyrpast* wkv *flock, crowd together* Vries 1962:617-18; OI *þrep earthen mound, landing*, OE *þrep vault, -þrep estate*, OFris *þerp village*, cf NE *terp*.

Etymology disputed; scarcely to PIE *terb-clear*: OSl *trěbiti purge, cleanse*, then PGmc *þurbo- cleared place (in the forest), village*

Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:215-18; cf Vasmer 1953-58 III:133-34; more likely to PIE *treb- building, dwelling place*, which is found only in Italic, Celt, Gmc and Balt; Lat *trab(ē)s beam, rafter*; *taberna* ← **trab-er-na residence*, Umbr *trem-nu* 'tabernaculo' *(augural) tent, trebeit remain* Solmsen 1905 ZVS 38:456-58; Osc *trííbom (ekak)* 'domum (hanc)' *(that) house, tríb-arakavum* 'aedificare' *build* Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:112; OIr *treb habitation, family, tribe*, though not *trebaid cultivates, works, dwells* P 1959:1071; Gaul EN *A-treb-ates the Settled (ones)*; Wel *tref-*, *Tre-*, Corn *trè-* in GN's for hamlet, village, Wel *a-dref at home*; borrowed as OProv *trevar inhabit* Vendryès 1959-:T-126-28; Lith *trobà house, building* Fraenkel 1962-65: 1127-28; Gk τέραμνα, τέρεμνα *house, dwelling*, probably of substratum origin, Frisk 1960-72 II: 877, Chantraine 1968-80:1105. Not here Lat *turba trouble, disorder, crowd*, (Gk τύρβη probable loan from Lat, Ernout and Meillet 1967: 707-08) but from PIE *twer- turn, whirl* P 1959: 1100-01.

P 1959:1090.

Þ23. *þaursjan wkvI διψῆν *be thirsty* impersonal J 6.35, personal 1C 4.11; *af-þaursiþs (wisan)* διψῆν *be thirsty* M 25.42.

OI *þyrst-r* (Go **þaursiþs*) *thirsty*; cf ***þaurstei, þaursus**.

PIE *ters-* + *-ye/o-*, *-e/o-*: Skt *tṛṣyati be thirsty, tṛṣṇā*, Av *taršna- thirst*; Gk τέρσομαι *become dry*, aor act trans τέρσαι, prs τερσαίνειν *make dry* Frisk 1960-72 II:882; Lat *torrēre parch* (= Skt *tarṣáyati cause to become dry*, OI *þerra*, OE *ā-þierran*, OHG *derren parch*); Arm *t'arš-am-im, t'aṙ-am-im fade, wither* Lidén 1906:46, Alb *ter dry off*.

P 1959:1078-79, Watkins 1985:70:71.

Þ24. *þaurstei fn δίψος *thirst*, only dat sg *-tein* 2C 11.27.

OI *þorsti*, OE *þurst*, OS *thurst*, OHG *thu(r)st, durst* stm *dryness, thirst*†; OI *þyrsta*, OE *þyrstan*, OS *thurstian*, OHG *t(h)ursten* wkv *be thirsty*.

PIE *ters-* + *-t*-suffix, as in Skt *tṛṣ-ṭás rough, harsh, hoarse*; Lat *tostus parched*, papl from *torreō dry, scorch*, OIr *tart dryness, thirst, tartaid dries* Vendryès 1959-:T-35; Arm *crašt* (← **trašt*) *drought*.

P 1959:1078-79.

Þ25. þaursus adju ξηρός, ἐξηράμμενος *dried up, withered*, only sg nom f *handus ... þaursus* L 6.6, acc f *þaursja ... handu* L 6.8, acc m *smakkabagm þaursjana* Mk 11.20; cf ***ga-þairsan**; **ga-þaursnan* wkvIV ξηραίνεσθαι *dry up, be parched, wither*, only 3sg prs *-niþ* J 15.6, 3sg prt *-noda* L 8.6, Mk 4. 6, 5.29, 11.21.

OI *þurr*, OE *þyrre*, OHG *thurri* adj *dry*†, *arid*; OHG *thurri* stf *desert*; OI *þorna*, OE *þyrran* wkv *dry*† *up, dry out*.

PIE *ters-*, *tṛsu- dry, barren*; old *u*-stem, Skt *tṛṣú- greedy, desirous*, Av *taršu- dry*; Lat *torrus*, OIr *tur* adj *dry, dried out* Vendryès 1959-:T-183; OIr *tīr* n *(dry) land, tīrim* adj *dry, tīraid makes dry* Vendryès 1959-:T-74-75; Lat *terra dry land*, rejected by Ernout and Meillet 1967:688, though strongly upheld by W/H 1938-56 II:673-74; an Italic-Celt isogloss, Porzig 1954:101. See also Gk ταρσός *contrivance for drying (as for cheeses)*; Arm *t'aṙ pole for drying grapes, hen roost*, OHG *darra place for drying fruit*, NHG *darre* f *a wooden structure to dry hops on* Lidén 1906: 45-46; old technical term, Frisk 1960-72 II:857-58.

P 1959:1078-79.

Þ26. þe only in *ni þe haldis by no means* Sk 4.22 / IVd.4; and as encl on prep **bi**, **du**, conj **jah**, forming logical connectives: **biþe** adv τότε *then* M 5.24, ὕστερον *afterward* J 13. 36, μετὰ ταῦτα *after that* L 17.8; conj ἐπεί L 7. 1, ὅτε M 11.1 *when, after*, ὅταν *when(ever)* etc, M 6.16, J 7.27; **duþe** adv, conj εἰς τοῦτο *for that (reason)* L 4.43, Mk 1.38, διότι *for, because* L 1.13; correlative *duþe ... unte* διὰ τοῦτο ... ὅτι *wherefore ... that* J 8.47; *duþei* διό *for, because* L 7.7; *jaþþe* conj εἴτε *even if* 1C 14.27, εἴτε ... εἴτε *whether ... or* 1C 12.13, on dem value, W Schulze 1966:563; see **hve, swe, þei**; compare

productive pairs: **þan** *then*, **þan-ei** *when*; **sa** *he, sa-ei who*; **ik** *I, ik-ei I who*; **þata** *it, that*, **þat-ei** conj *that*, also **þan-de**.

Instr of PGmc *þa-*, Dal 1938 NTS 9:193; in ablaut relation with PGmc *þō*, Go **þau**, Hiersche 1963 ZVS 78:155-60; possibly also innovations, **þe** from **þa-e(i)* parallel with **þa-u** *than*, **þan** *then, when*; cf A Sturtevant 1928 MLN 43:242-44 for functional analysis of **þau**, in which he compares its adversative uses with the interrog value of encl ptc **-u**. -- Many attempts have been made to sort out particles and clitic elements: (1) PIE *to* dem + ptc *ĕ, ŏ*, or *to + e, ei*, or *i*: Hom το-ί *to be sure*, τοί-γαρ *so then* (clause initial); OSl *to-i* emphasizing ptc, Berneker 1908-14:416; in reverse order, *e-t/so*: Skt *a-sáu that one*; Russ *é-to here, there*. Also with PIE *yo-*: Skt *yád-i if*; with PIE *k^{w}o-*: Lat *ut-ī*, OLat *utei how, in what way*, Umbr *po-ei, po-i who, which, any*; cf also Go **ei** *that, which, who* P 1959:281-85. (1a) PIE *-e/o, -ē/ō*: ppn's as in acc sg Go *þana* (**sa** *he, she*, **þata** *it, that*), G Schmidt 1978:68ff. (1b) PIE instr *-ē, -ō*: Skt *paśca* ← **posk-ē behind*; Lat adv *-ē*, eg *certē certainly*; Go **hve**, OS *hwō how* Beekes 1969:146-47. (2) PIE *tō*: Hom τῶ *then, therefore*; τῆ *here, where, as* P 1959:1086-87. (3) PIE 'I'-deictic *de-, do-*: Gk -δε, eg ὅ-δε *this one*, ἐνθά-δε *here, now*, οἰκόν-δε *homeward*; δέ *but, on the other hand* Denniston 1954:162ff on connective, continuative, and adversative value; also Go **þan-dei** *when, while, since* P 1959:181-83. For a general statement on the derivation of logical connectives from spatial markers, and the development of textual markers from lexical items indicating content, Traugott 1982:248ff.

Þ27. þe-ei rel conj after neg; only *ni þeei* οὐχ ὅτι *not that* J 12.6, οὐχ ἵνα *not so that* 2C 2.4; *nih þeei* οὐχ ἵνα *not so that* J 6. 36 *that, so that*.

Þ28. þei rel ptc, conj ὅτι *that* J 13.35, M 6.26, ἵνα *so that* J 6.7; *ei þishvah þei* ὅτι ὅσα ἄν *that whatever* J 11.22; *þata hveilos þei* ἐφ' ὅσον *while* M 9.15; *þishvizuh þei whatever* Mk 6.22; *þishvammeh þei to whomever* L 4.6, W Schulze 1966:564-65, Musić 1929 BGDSL 53: 228-62.

OI *þvī*, OE *þī, þȳ* conj *for, therefore*; instr or loc (Dal 1938 NTS 9:193) of dem prn, cf Skt instr *tena*, Dor τεῖ-δε *here*; PIE loc *tey* based on *to*; or inner Gmc creation from dem **þa-* + ptc, in Go **ei**, cf **sa-ei, þat-ei**.

PIE *to*: Skt *ta-* (versus *sa*); Gk τόν (versus ὅ); Hitt ptc *ta* (versus *nu, su*), Kammenhuber 1973:2-4; Gk τῆ, Lith *tè* interj *here! see here!* distinguished from instr by Fraenkel 1962-65: 1071.

P 1959:1087 **to-*, 284 **ei* loc.

Þ29. þeihan stvI προκόπτειν *thrive, succeed* 2T 3.9, συμβιβάζεσθαι *come together, cooperate* Col 2.19, 3sg prt *þaih* L 2.52; **ga-þeihan* ἀναθάλλειν *prosper, progress* Sk 4.10 / IVb.10-12, Ph 4.10; **ufar-þeihan excel, surpass*, only prpl nom sg f *-handei* Sk 3.21-22 / IIId.5.

Unclear etymology, though probably from PIE *tenk- become firm, thrive* (with loss of *-n-* before PGmc *-χ-* and lengthening of stem vowel, followed by other restructuring), Seebold 1970:512-14, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:179-80, 184; Coetsem 1972:183 on Gmc shift from stvIII to stvI; OE *þēon, þāh, þungon* ~ *þigen*; also stvII forms prt sg *þēah*, prt pl *þugon*, papl *þogen*; OFris *thigia* wkv; OS inf *thīhan*, prt *thigun*, papl *-thigan*; OHG *dīhan*, prt sg *dēh*, prt pl *digun*, papl *gidigan* stv *thrive*; with *-n-*: OS *githungan excellent, a-thengian carry out*; OE *þingan make a treaty, determine*, OFris *thingia judge, sue*, OHG *t(h)ingen, dingen* wkv *hope, strive*, possibly OI *þengill*, OE *þengel* m *prince, king (one who judges, carries out)*; Vries 1962:608; also Go ***þaho**.

PIE *tenk- contract, become firm*: Skt *tanákti coagulate*; OIr *tēcht* ← **tenkto- solid* = OI *þēttr tight*; Lith *tánkus compact, tèkti*, Latvian *tikt reach, suffice*; Latvian *tikt* fell together with the class of Latvian *lìeku, likt*, cf Go **leihvans**, **laihv*, Fraenkel 1952 IF 60:131-32, 1962-65:1077.

P 1959:1068.

Þ30. þeihs *na* (B/E 1981:72) χρόνος *occasion, time,* only acc sg R 13.11, acc pl *-sa* καιρός 1Th 5.1; cf also ***þeihvo**.

PGmc *þénhos, þengós* with grammatical change: OI, OE *þing,* OFris, OS, OHG *thing* stn *(people's) assembly, thing*†; OE *þingan* stv *enter into a contract, address, þingian* wkv *intercede, plead*; OS *gi-thingon* wkv *stipulate*; OHG *gi-thingōn decide, t(h)ingōn speak, pronounce (upon).* Possibly also Lang *thinx thing, gaire-thinx gift formula,* in sense of legal release, formal declaration of inheritance, W Bruckner 1895:212; Helten 1902 BGDSL 27: 148ff,404ff; dat sg *Marti Thingso* of the votive inscription on Hadrian's wall may reflect OI *Týr* (cf **tyz**) as deity of the people's court, Dessau, ed 1892:4760. *Thingsus* may be reflected in Finn *tenho manifestation of power, magic,* Est *tänu thanks* [also name of a deity], cf Karsten 1915:14ff.

Etymology problematic; possibly from PIE *ten-, tenk- extend, span (also of time),* Skt *tanóti,* Gk τανύω, τείνω, Lat *tendō span, extend*; cf ***uf-þanjan**; OIr *tan time* Vendryès 1959-:T-25-26. No other reflexes of PIE *tenk-,* unless this is identical with PIE *tenk- contract,* as in **þeihan,** as P 1959:1067 suggests. Lat *tempus time* W/H 1938-56 II:660-61, is derived from PIE *temp- extend, span,* also an extension of PIE *ten-,* P 1959:1064-65. Other proposals rejected by F 1939:494-95.

P 1959:1065-67.

Þ31. *þeihvo *fn* βροντή *thunder* J 12. 29.

Elsewhere in Gmc, reflexes of PGmc *þunra-*: OI *Þunarr, Þōrr,* OE *þunor,* OHG *donar thunder*†, based on PIE *ten-* as in Lat *tonāre thunder* P 1959:1021. Cf WP Lehmann 1968 ZMF 35:8 on doubts about a PGmc thundergod, rejecting with F 1939:495 Grienberger's 1900:215 proposal of PGmc *þen-hwō(n)* in ablaut relation with PGmc *þun-* as origin of ***þeihvo.** Solmsen 1897-98 ZVS 35:479-81 proposed instead relation to **þeihs,** citing as parallel Lat *tempus time, tempestas storm.* More likely to OSl *tǫča rain,* Russ *túča stormcloud* Vasmer 1953-58 III:158-59, Lith *tánkus compact* and **þeihan.**

P 1959:1068.

Þ32. þeins 2sg poss prn σοῦ *of you, your* L 2.35; ὁ σοῦ *the one of you, your* M 5.23, σοι Mk 5.9 (τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι M 7.22), ὁ 1C 7.16 *your*; cf **þu.**

OI *þinn,* OE *þīn,* OFris, OS, OHG *thin your, thine*†, *thy*†; Gmc innovation with *-no-* on dat PIE *tey,* like **meins** *my* G Schmidt 1978: 82-83.

PIE *te-, tew-e-, t(e)wo-, tŭ you, your,* with dialectal innovations, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:383, 405, G Schmidt 1978:136-43; Skt gen *táva,* poss *tvás*; Gk (Att) σός ← PIE *two-,* Dor τεός ← PIE ***tewo-,** Hom τεοῖο ← ***τεεῖο** ← PIE *tewe* + *-syo* (cf WP Lehmann 1981:183-88 on innovating character of *-syo* genitives); Lat *tuī* ← ***tovi** ← ***tew-ī,** Umbr *touer,* Osc *tuvai,* OIr proclitic *do, du,* stressed *taī* ← ***toī,** MWel *teu*; Lith *tavęs, tàvo,* Latvian *tevis* ← ***tew-en-s,** OPruss *twais*; OSl *tebě, tvojь*; TochB *tañ,* A *tñi*; Hitt *tuel* ← ***twe-*; encl *-ta* ← ***te,** encl *-tis,* innovation, Luw *tuwa-* ← ***two-.**

P 1959:1098.

Þ33. þewisa *na* pl δοῦλος *slave, servant* Col 3.22.

Possible PGmc *þēw-* + *-is-a* beside *þewa-,* cf ***þius**; PIE *tek^{w}es-o-,* Brugmann 1906 IF 19: 381-82, from *tek^{w}-*; reexamined by Darms 1978: 61-66; Seebold 1967 ZVS 81:125,130 discusses likelihood of Go *w* ← PIE *k^{w}.*

Þ34. þis gen sg m/n dem prn τοῦ *of him* M 5.35; cf nom sg m **sa,** n **þata.**

OI *þess,* OFris, OS *thes,* OHG *des*; *o*-grade, OE *þæs.*

PIE *t-* gen sg *-e/os,* Watkins 1969:92: Skt *tás-ya*; Hom τέο, τοῖο, Att τοῦ *whose*; OPruss *stesse(i) of it.*

Þ35. þis-hun adv μάλιστα G 6.10, 2T 4.13 (5 occurrences) *especially, above all*; **þis** + **-hun.** See A Sturtevant 1938 MLN 53:121-22 on latent neg force of **-hun,** partitive value of

gen **þis**.

Þ36. þis-ƕad-uh adv *þisƕaduh þadei* ὅπου ἐάν M 8.19, L 9.57, ὅπου ἄν Mk 6. 56; *þisƕaduh þei* ὅπου ἐάν Mk 6.10, οὗ ἐάν 1C 16.6 *wherever*; **þis, ƕaþ**, and **-uh**.

Þ37. þis-ƕah indef prn *þisƕah þatei* ὃ ἐάν *whatever* Mk 7.11; **þis**, **ƕah* n of **ƕaz-uh*.

Þ38. þis-ƕar-uh adv *þisƕaruh þei* ὅπου ἄν Mk 9.18, ὅπου ἐάν Mk 14.9 *wherever*; **þis, ƕar, -uh**.

Þ39. þis-ƕaz-uh indef prn, only nom sg m *þisƕazuh ei* ὅτι ὃς ἄν Mk 11.23 *whomever*, dat *þis-ƕammeh þei* L 4.6, *þisƕammeh saei* ὃς ἄν Mk 4.25 *to whomever*, acc *þisƕanoh saei* ὅστις ἄν *whomever* M 10.33; **þis, ƕas, -uh** ptc, B/E 1981:105.

Þ40. þiuda fō ἔθνος *people, nation* J 18.35; pl τὰ ἔθνη M 6.32, R 15.11, Ἕλληνες *heathen, gentiles, Greeks* J 7.35, 1C 1.24; τελῶναι *tax collectors* M 5.46; **un-þiuda* (only dat pl *unþiudom* R 10.19) οὐκ ἔθνος *not a nation, an un-nation*; partial synonyms, **haiþno, Kreks**, W Schulze 1966:517ff,525f; cf also **þiudisko**; ***Gut-þiuda** *Goths, Gothia* Cal, W Schulze 1966:554, Friedrichsen 1927 MLR 22: 90-91.

OI *þjōð*, OE *þēod*, OFris *thiād*, OS *thiod(a)*, OHG *thiota* st/wkf *people, heathen*; cf also OI *þýðа*, OE *geþiedan*, OHG *diuten* wkv *explain, translate*; OHG *gi-thiuti* adj *in the common language, vernacular*; *gi-thiuto* adv *publicly, before all the people*; *diutisg* adj *belonging to the people*, NHG *deutsch German*; *Theuda* in Gmc PeN's, Schönfeld 1911:227-35.

PIE *tewtā people, tribe, nation* based on PIE *tēw- swell*: Osc *touto*, Umbr *tutas* 'cīvitas' *citizenry, state*, but not *tōtus all* W/H 1938-56 II:695-96; Gaul PeN's with *Teuto-, Touto-*, OIr *tuath tribe, people*, Wel *tud people, country*; Lith *tautà*, Latvian *tàuta people, nation* Senn 1933 JEGP 32:512; OPruss *tauto country*; Hitt *tuzzi- army* Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:749, 943, Szemerényi 1977:103-06; also according to Szemerényi 1977:100-08, *teuto- strength, power*, NPers *tōda heap, stack, hillock*; PeN's, Illyrian *Teut-meitis*, Τεύτα, *Teutana*; Thrac *Tauto-medes*; Macedonian Τεύταμος; Hom Τευταμίδης (Iliad 2.843); Elean Τευτίαπλος, Blumenthal 1931 IF 49:181, Prellwitz 1913 ZVS 45:159, Krahe 1935 Glotta 23:115; PeN collection in Norden 1934:284ff.

Without extension, Skt *tavīti is strong, has authority*, Av *tav-*; OPers *atāvayam be able, tunuvant- mighty*. See Porzig 1954:200 on western word for 'people' as opposed to PIE *weyk-* **2. weihs**, Krahe 1964 IF 69:201-12 on the Old European concept **tewtā community*, and Meid 1965 ZVS 79:291-93 on Sw **-st*-derivatives such as GN *Tjust* beside OI *Þjōð*, ODan *Thiuth*. Vries 1962:613 opposed derivation from PIE *tēw-*, Benveniste 1973:295-98 accepts it, excluding Lat *tōtus* and Hitt *tuzzi-*.

P 1959:1080-85.

Þ41. þiudans ma βασιλεύς *king* M 5. 35, 1T 6.15; *þiudanon* wkvII βασιλεύειν *be king, rule* L 19.14, 1C 15.25; **miþ-þiudanon* συμβασιλεύειν *rule with*, only 1pl prs opt *-danoma* 1C 4.8, 1pl prs ind *-danom* 2T 2.12; *þiudinassus* mu βασιλεία *kingdom, rule* L 1. 33, ἡγεμονία *reign, rule* L 3.1; cf also *fraujinon, reikinon*, **waldan**; on words for 'ruler', Meillet 1932 *F* Glotz:587-89.

OI *þjōðann prince, king* (poetic); OE *þēoden king, lord, God*; OS *thiodan* stm *ruler, lord of the people*. Based on **þiuda** *people*, with *-e/ono-* as in Go **kindins** *governor*, OI *drōttinn prince*, OHG *truhtīn lord, ruler* W Schulze 1966:522 fn2, Green 1965:216-31,528-35; Illyrian PeN **Teutana*, Krahe 1929 Glotta 17:93-94, 1929 IF 47:327; Gaul PeN *Toutonos*, Holder 1896-1907 II:1900.

PIE **-no-*suffixation frequent in Lat indicating *head of a social group, abstracted force*, eg Lat *dominus lord, domus house*; *tribūnus chieftain, tribune, tribus tribe*; *Portūnus gate and harbor deity, portus entry, port*; *Pater Tiberīnus Father Tiber, Tiberis river Tiber*, Krahe 1934 BGDSL 58:284ff, Benveniste 1973:90,246-47; on presuffixal vowel

length variation as index of time by when length was no longer functional, Meid 1956 IF 62:260,279,285.

P 1959:1084-85.

Þ42. þiudisko adv ἐθνικῶς *like the heathen*, only G 2.14; creation of translator with **þiuda**, as in Gk ἔθνη *heathen*, W Schulze 1966:517-18; cf also Go ***haiþiwisks**, **haiþno**; WGmc designation for 'gentile, heathen', OE *hǣþen*, OHG *heidan* stm.

OE *þēodisc* adj *belonging to the people, þēodisc* n *(vernacular) speech*; OS *thiudisca liudi Germania*; OHG *diutisg* adj *German (language), in diutiscūn* n *in German*, NHG *deutsch*; also 8th century MLat *theodisca lingua*, 9th century *sermo theodiscus German language*; on semantic development 'heathen, gentile' to 'vernacular speech (of the people)' to 'German language', Braune 1918 BGDSL 43: 436-45, 1921 BGDSL 45:145; also origin of *Teuton* beside NHG *Deutsch* for German, Weisgerber 1937 RMP 86:97-126, Krogmann 1936. Continued massive discussion, as by Weisweiler 1959:102-03, supplemented by Betz 1959a:122-25.

Þ43. *þiufs *ma* κλέπτης *thief*, ληστής *robber*, only with *-b-* **þiubs** J 10.10; ***þiubi** *nia* Mk 7.22 κλοπή *theft*; *þiubjo* adv λάθρα, ἐν κρυπτῷ *secretly, in secret*, only J 11.28, J 18. 20; cf also **hlifan**, *hliftus*, ***stilan** and Scardigli 1973:24,33 on social concept of 'theft' and 'property'.

OI *þjófr*, OE *þēof*, OFris *thiāf*, OS *thiof*, OHG *thiob* stm *thief*†; OI *þýfi*, OE *þiefe*, OFris *thiūvethe*, OHG *thiuba* stf *theft*†; OE *þēofian*, OHG *gi-thiuben* wkv *steal*; OFris *thiāverīe thievery*†.

Etymology obscure. Scarcely to OI *þopta rower's seat*, as by Torp 1919:792, and P 1959: 1085, from a common sense of 'crouching', with reference to Lith *tūpti cower, kneel down*, and assumption of PIE *tewp- cower*; properly rejected by Vries 1962:616 on semantic grounds. Nor as if the thief were 'one unseen' to Gk τυφλός *blind*, itself obscure, Frisk 1960-72 II:950; nor as by Grienberger 1900:215 to Gk τύπτω *strike*, as if the thief were 'one who strikes another'. OIr *tēol thief* rather with OIr *tlen- steal*, Go ***stilan** than from PIE ***tewplo-**, Vendryès 1959-:T-52,78-79. Probably a Gmc innovation accompanying new ideas on property and theft; the great variety of terms for 'steal' and 'thief' in the IE languages, Buck 1949:789-91, supports such a conclusion.

Þ44. *þius *mwa* παιδάριον, οἰκέτης *boy, (house) servant*, only nom pl *þiwos* Neh 5. 16, gen pl *þiwe* L 16.13; ***ana-þiwan**, ***ga-þiwan**; *þiwadw* n[?] δουλεία *slavery*, only acc sg G 4.24. *þiwi fiō* δούλη *(servant) girl, slave* L 1.38; **magus, mawi**. See **þewisa, skalks**; on status of Gmc servant, Scardigli 1973:31.

PGmc *þewaz*: Run *þewaz servant, vassal* (Thorsberg, Valsfjord), Antonsen 1975:29-30, 46, Krause 1966 I:53-55,123-26, 1971:167,171; OI PeN's *Egg-þēr, Sig-þēr*, OHG *Eggi-deo, Helm-theo* etc, Vries 1962:609; OE *þēo(w)*, OHG *teo* adj *unfree*; OE *þēo(w)* m *servant, slave*. OI *þý*, OE *þeowu*, OS *thiu, thiwi*, OHG *thiu, diu* stf *girl, slave*; with a different suffix, OI *þerna servant girl*, OS, OHG *thiorna* st/wkf *girl, virgin*, NHG *Dirne harlot*. OE *þēowot*, OS *thionast* stn, OHG *thionōst*, stm/n, *deonōstī* stf *servitude*; NHG *Dienst service*; OS *thioliko*, OHG *thio-muati* adj *humble*; *theomuatī* stf *humility, humiliation*; not as by E Zupitza 1896:76-77, to OI *þegn man, free servant*, OE *þegn noble, warrior*; OS, OHG *thegan* stm *warrior*, NE *thane noble, warrior*, which are based on PIE *tek- bear*, P 1959:1057: Gk τέκνον *child* etc, F 1939:498.

PIE *tek^{w}- run, flow*; *tek^{w}o- runner* Solmsen 1897 ZVS 34:2; Skt *tákti rushes along, takvá- quick*; OIr *tech- flee, escape*; Lith *tekėti*, Latvian *tecêt*; OSl *těšti run, flow*; Alb *ndjek chase*; TochB *cake river*; semantic parallel in Gk τρέχω *run*, τρόχις *runner, servant* Brugmann 1906 IF 19:381-82; Seebold 1967 ZVS 81:125, 130, dubious.

P 1959:1059-60.

Þ45. þiuþ *na* τὸ ἀγαθόν *the good* R 13.

3, gen pl *þiuþe* ἀγαθῶν *good things* L 1.53; *þiuþ taujan* ἀγαθοποιεῖν *do good* L 6.33; *un-þiuþ* τὸ κακόν *evil* R 12.21; *un-þiuþ taujan* κακοποιῆσαι *do evil* L 6.9; **þiuþjan* wkvI εὐλογεῖν *bless, pronounce good upon* M 5.44, papl nom sg m *þiuþida* εὐλογημένος *blessed one* J 12.13, voc epithet where wk adj has value of def art, Trutmann 1972:59-60; **un-þiuþjan curse*, only 2pl prs opt *-jaiþ* καταρᾶσθε R 12.14; **þiuþeins fi/ō* only gen sg *-nais* ἀγαθωσύνης *goodness, generosity* 2Th 1.11, dat sg *-nai* εὐλογία *blessing* 2C 9.6, E 1.3; *þiuþeigs* adj*a* εὐλογητός *blessed, praised* L 1.68, ἀγαθός *good, just, perfect* L 6.45, L 18.18; *þiuþeigaim* marginal gloss on *(du waurstwam) godaim for good works* E 2.10A; cf **goþs**.

OI *þȳð-r friendly*, OE *ge-þieþe* adj *good, virtuous*, OS *gi-thiudo becoming, proper*, OHG *gi-thiuto* adv *publicly, truly*; OI *þȳða* f *friendship*; OE *þēaw*, OFris *thāw*, OS, OHG *thau* stm *custom, usage*; OI *þȳða rejoice*, OE *geþiedan participate*, MLG *dieden help*, OHG *untarthiuten* wkv *be subject to*.

Etymology difficult because of cognates homonymous with **þiuda** *people* Vries 1962: 629; possibly PIE *tew- look on in a friendly manner*: Lat *tueor observe, protect, tūtus secure*; OIr *tuath* adj *north, left (when facing east)*; cf *ban-tuath sorceress*, Wel *Morgan Tut Morgan le Fey*, positive sense originally, 'good'; then euphemistic designation of sinister left, Strachan 1893 IF 2:370, Loth 1912 RevCelt 33: 255-57; similar designation elsewhere, as in Av *vairyastara left*; Skt *várīyas- better*; Gk ἀριστερός *left* : ἄριστος *best*; Lat *sinister left* : Skt *sániyas- more profitable*; OI *vinstri*, OE *winstre*, OFris *winster*, OS, OHG *winistar left* : OI *vinr*, OE, OFris *wine*, OHG *wini friend*, also in PeN, eg *Winfred friend of peace*.

P 1959:1079-80.

Þ46. *þlahsjan wkvI ἐκφοβεῖν *frighten*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* 2C 10.9; *ga-þlahsnan* wkvIV διαταράσσεσθαι *be greatly troubled*, only 3sg prt *-snoda* L 1.29.

Origin disputed, as for other Gmc words with initial *l*-cluster. PGmc *fl-* → Go *þl-* before *-h(s)*, Matzel 1962 Sprache 8:236-37; if so, cognate with OI *flæma* wkv *chase away, drive off*, *flæmingr* m *flight* Vries 1962:135; OE *flīeman drive away*, *flēam* m *flight*, OFris *flēma* wkv *lead, take away*.

Possibly to PIE *plāk- strike*; Gk πλήσσω, Lith *plàkti strike* P 1959:832-33. Or PGmc *s*-stem *þlahaz-*, *þlahs* n *blow, stroke, slap* Grienberger 1900:216, who derives it from PIE *tlek- move rapidly, startle, beat*; Wood 1901 MLN 16:311: Lith *telkti gather*, OPruss *tlāku steps* Fraenkel 1962-65:1078; OSl *tlěsti knock* P 1959:1062. Neither proposal well supported.

Þ47. þlaqus adj*u* ἀπαλός *putting out leaves, tender*, only nom sg m Mk 13.28.

No etymology; if to PGmc *fl-*, possibly MDu, MLG *vlac*, OHG *flah flat*, though semantics make this unlikely, even though the set may be related to Gk πλάξ *flat land*, Lat *placidus gentle, quiet* (from 'flat, even') P 1959:831-32.

Þ48. þliuhan stvII φεύγειν *flee* L 3.7; **af-þliuhan*, only 3sg prs *-hiþ* J 10.13; **ga-þliuhan*, only 3sg prt *gaþlauh* Mk 14.52; **unþa-þliuhan* ἐκφυγεῖν *escape* 1Th 5.3; *þlauhs* m(*i*) φυγή *flight*, only nom sg Mk 13.8; cf ***fugls**.

OI *flýja*, OE *flēon*, OFris *fliā*, OS, OHG *fliohan* stv *flee† from*; OI *flugr*, OE *flyge*, OHG *flug* stm, OI *flōtti*, OE *flyht* m, OFris *flecht*, OS, OHG *fluht* stf, OE *flēam* m *flight†*; OI *flō* f, OE *flēah* m, OHG *floh flea†*; Go *þl-* probably from PGmc *fl-* in environment of *-h*, *-hs*, **-k*w*, as in ***þlahsjan**, **þlaqus**, **ga-þlaihan**, but **flodus**, ***flokan**, ***flauts**; dial mixture in Wulfila's speech, Marchand 1956 Orbis 5:149-50; Scardigli 1973:36, on the other hand assumes influence of OI *fljūga*, OE *flēogan*, OHG *fliogan fly†*, on the initial consonant in other dialects.

Etymology unclear; possibly based on PIE *plewk-*, an extended form of PIE *plew- run, fly*, Lith *plaũkti swim*, *pláukas hair*, Latvian *plaûka tuft* Fraenkel 1962-65:608; possibly also

Lat *plūma plume*, but see Ernout and Meillet 1967:516 as opposed to W/H 1938-56 II:324-25, Fraenkel 1962-65:632. Early speculation reported in F 1939:499-50 scarcely cogent.

P 1959:835,837, Seebold 1970:517-18 without etymology.

Þ49. *þrafstjan wkvI παραμυθεῖσθαι *comfort, encourage* J 11.31, παρακαλεῖν *encourage, console, reassure* L 3.18, 2sg imp *þrafstei* θάρσει M 9.2 *take courage!*; **anaþrafstjan* ἀνάπαυειν *relieve* Phil 20; *gaþrafstjan* παραμυθεῖσθαι *bring comfort to* J 11. 19, ἀναπαύειν *give relief, refresh* 1C 16.18, παρακαλεῖν *encourage, make rejoice* 2C 1.4, E 6.22; **þrafsteins* fi/ō παράκλησις *encouragement, comfort*, only gen sg *-nais* R 15.5; *ga-þrafsteins* παρηγορία Col 4.11, παράκλησις *encouragement, comfort* 2C 1.5.

No certain cognates in other dialects; possibly to OE *frōfor* m/f/n, OS *frōfra*, OHG *fluob(a)ra* stf *comfort*; OE *frēfran*, OS *frōbrian*, OHG *fluobiren* wkv *console*; (dissimilation in OHG of *r* to *l*), Braune 1918 BGDSL 43:386-87. Less likely to OI *þrefa quarrel*, OE *þrafian urge, reprove* Wood 1908 MLN 23:147-49.

Etymology obscure. F 1939:500 rejects relation posited by Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30: 316 to Skt *tṛpyati become satisfied*, Gk τέρπω *satisfy*, Lith *tařpti thrive*; also that posited by Falk 1889 *F* Bugge:14 to Gk τρέπω *turn*, though Grienberger 1900:217 favors this with a basic meaning 'turn of the spirit' becoming 'comfort'. Feist also considers doubtful the treatment of *-st-* by Osthoff 1901:130, who posits PGmc *þraf-sti-*, *þraf-st-a* or *-es*-stem *þrafs-sta- state of satisfaction* related to Av *þrąf-s(ča) satisfaction*; Meid 1964 IF 69:246 adds Av *þrąfəδa- satisfies*, Skt *tṛmpáti become satisfied*, beside *tṛpyati*.

P 1959:1077-78.

Þ50. *þragjan wkvI δράμειν, τρέχειν *run* L 15.20; **bi-þragjan* προστρέχειν *run on*, only nom sg m prpl *-jands* L 19.4.

OE *þrǣgan run*, *þrāg* f *period of time, season*; possibly also OI *þræll* m *slave, servant*; OHG *drigil* m *servant* Brugmann 1906 IF 19: 390, who points to semantic parallel in Gk ἀμφί-πολος *servant* and πέλω, πέλομαι *move*; Ir *traill* m *slave*, like OE *þrǣl* borrowed from OI *þræll*, cf NE *thrall*, Marstrander 1925 *F* Haegstad:173-76.

Etymology unclear; may be from PIE *trāgh- run, move*; Lat *trahō pull, bring*, though W/H 1938-56 II:698-99 uncertain; OIr *traig* m *foot*, Gaul (-Lat) *vertragus hunting dog* Vendryès 1959-:T-122-23; Serb *trčati run*, *trâg trace, (foot)print*. P 1959:1089, cites roots similar in form and meaning, which earlier proposals in F 1939:500-01 suggest as source.

Þ51. *þramstei fn or īn ἀκρίς *grasshopper*, only acc pl *-teins* Mk 1.6; **þram(s)-stri*, Sihler 1977 Sprache 23:46.

No direct cognates elsewhere, but from base in OI *þramma* wkv *tramp, walk heavily* Bugge 1879 BKIS 3:121, OS *thrimman* stv *swell* Grimm 1868:236, MLG *drammen make a noise, dram noise, turmoil* Meid 1964 IF 69: 248; WGmc relations questioned by Wood 1907-08 MP 5:288-89, 1920 AJP 41:336.

PIE *trem-, trems- trample, tremble*: Gk τρέμω, Lat *tremō tremble*; Umbr *tremitu cause to tremble*; Gk ταρμύσσω *frighten* Chantraine 1968-80:1094; Lith *treñti throw down*, Latvian *tremt trample*, OSl *tręsti sę*; Alb *tremb frighten*; TochA *träm- get angry*; B *tremi anger*.

P 1959:1092-93.

Þ52. *þrasa-balþei fn *quarrelsomeness*, only acc sg *-þein* Sk 5.11 / Vb.14-15; cf **balþaba**. **þrasa- threatening*[?], Torp and Falk, eds 1909:191.

OI *þrasa*, OS *thrāsian*, OHG *drāsen* wkv *rage menacingly*; OI *Þrasarr* [epithet for Odin] *the raging one*, Vries 1962:620; OE *þrosm* m *smoke*, *for-þrysman choke, strangle*, OFris *thresma* wkv *strangle, throttle*, OHG *drāsōd* m *raging*.

Etymology obscure. Possibly PIE *ter-s-, tres-*; Skt *trásati tremble*; Av *tərəsaiti*; Gk τρέω

fear, ἄ-τρεσ-τος *without fear;* Lat *terreō terrify* ← **ter-s-,* Lith *trišėti shiver, shake,* Latvian *trìsêt shake, quake;* Chantraine 1968-80:1131-32, Fraenkel 1962-65:1125-26.

P 1959:1095.

Þ53. *þreihan stvI θλίβειν *press, throng, crush,* pass θλίβεσθαι *experience difficulty* 2C 4.8, στενοχωρεῖσθαι *be limited* 2C 6.12, 3pl prt *þraihun* L 8.42, papl *þraihans narrow* M 7.14; **ga-þreihan* θλίβειν *distress, trouble* 2Th 1.6; **þreihsl* na στενοχωρία *distress, difficulty,* only dat pl *-lam* 2C 12.10A; on **-slo-,* cf **hunsl, *skohsl, *swartizl, swumfsl;** **faihu-þraihns,* only dat sg *-na* L 16.9,11,13, also marginal gloss *faihuþra,* ie *faihuþra(ihna)* to *mammonin* M 6.24 μαμωνᾶς *gathering of money, wealth; -no-* deverbative, cf PGmc *laihnaz,* OI *lān,* OE *lǣn,* OFris *lēn,* OS, OHG *lēhan* stn *fief,* cf Skt *rékṇas property,* **leihwan** *lend.*

MHG *drîhe needle, shuttle;* elsewhere only forms with nasal and final stress, as well as grammatical change, OI *þryngva,* OE *þringan,* OFris *thringa,* OS *thringan,* OHG *dringan* stv *(op)press, drive,* also caus OI *þrøngva,* OHG *thrangōn* wkv *press, urge;* NHG *dringen force through, drängen press, urge;* OI *þrǫngr* adj *narrow, hard; þrøngd* f *trouble, complaint;* OE *ge-þrang* n *crowd, noisy throng*†; cf also OE *þræstan turn, twist, press, torture, compel;* secondary development as stvI, with Go *þreih-* ← PGmc *þriŋh-,* Pedersen 1893 IF 2:290.

PIE *trenk- push, press on;* Av *þracta-,* gen pl *þractanąm hemmed in (in the line of battle)* Bartholomae 1903 ZDW 4:252; Lat *truncus maimed, mutilated;* Wel *trwch mutilated;* Lith *treñkti push roughly, fling, hurl, trankýti knock loudly, push repeatedly, trankis a push, thrust,* OPruss *per-trincktan stubborn, obdurate.* -- Scarcely with Wood 1907-08 MP 5: 267 to OS *thregian* (only Heliand 5371C), MLG *dreigan threaten,* and to Gk τείρω, Lat *terō rub* P 1959:1071-72.

P 1959:1093.

Þ54. *þreis *i* decl cardinal number τρεῖς *three* (only nom-acc n *þrija* Mk 14.5, acc m/f *þrins* M 27.63, L 9.33, gen m *þrije* 2C 13. 1, dat m *þrim* M 26.75); *þridja* ordinal number τρίτος *third* L 20.31; *þridjo þata* n adv τρίτον τοῦτο *for the third time* 2C 13.1, 12.14; in decade formation, acc pl *þrins tiguns* M 27.3, gen *þrije tigiwe* τριάκοντα *thirty* L 3.23; cf ***fidwor-tigjus.**

CrimGo *tria,* where *t* is a reflex of Gmc **þ,* Stearns 1978:159; OI *þrīr* m, *þrjār* f, *þrjū* n, gen *þriggja,* dat *þrim(r), þrem(r);* OE *þrīe, þrēon,* dat *þrim;* OFris *thrē* m, *thria* f, *thriu* n, OS *thrīe* m, *threa* f, *thriu* n, dat *thrīm,* OHG *trī* m, *drīo* f, *drīu* n, dat *drim three*†; OI gen sg *þriggja,* but no Go **þriddje,* Krause 1966 IF 71:342. Ordinal, OI *þriði,* OE *þridda,* OFris *thredda,* OS *thriddio,* OHG *dritt(i)o third*†. In cmpds OI *þriswar;* OE *þriwa,* OFris *thria,* OS *thrīwo thrice;* OI *þrinnr,* OE *þrinen,* OFris *thrīfald,* OHG *dri-falt three-fold*†; teen formation, OI *þrettān,* OE *þreottyne,* OS *thriutein,* OHG *drī-zëhan thirteen*†; decade formation, CrimGo *trei-thyen* 'triginta' *30,* Stearns 1978:158-59,105; OI *þri-tugr* adj *30-year-old;* OE *þrītig,* OS *thrītig,* OHG *drīz(z)ug thirty*†.

PIE *tre-* (early) + pl *-i-,* Porzig 1954:203; *one above (two), trei-, trī;* or *ter-i-,* Benveniste 1962:87: Skt *tráyas* m, *trī* n, *tisrás* f, Av *þrāyō, þrī;* Gk τρεῖς, τρία n, dial τρέες, τρίς etc, Chantraine 1968-80:1131; Lat *trēs, tria;* OIr *tri, teoir, tēora* f; Lith *trỹs,* dat *trìms,* loc m *trijuosè,* f *trijosè;* OSl *trije, tri* f/n; Arm *erek'*; TochA *tre, tri* f, B *trai, tarya* f; Lyc *tri-,* Carruba 1979:193 with references; PIE *tr-i- upper, above;* last number in pre-manual count system, Carruba 1979:191-201.

PIE ordinal *triy-o-,* (late) *tri-yo-,* post-IE *tri-to-, tri-tiyo-,* Szemerényi 1960:92,81-96; Skt *tritás,* Av *þrityō,* OPers *þritīya-,* Gk τρίτος, Aeol τέρτος; Lat *tertius;* OIr *tress, triss;* Lith *trẽčias;* OSl *tretij̀s;* Arm *eri-r, eri-rord,* Meillet 1936:101; TochA *trit,* B *trite,* Hitt *teriyanna-, *triyana-;* cf also *teriyas third, teriyalla three times, tarriyanallis third rank* Kronasser 1966:

365; cf also Lyc *trijẽtezi* 'Tertius', Carruba 1979:193; on Hitt vocalism as theme I evidence and IE ordinal suffixes, Benveniste 1962:87,83-84. IE teens: Skt *tráyodaśa*, Gk τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, Lat *tredecim, decem (et) trēs*, OIr *a tri deac*, Lith *trýlika*, OSl *trige ia deseţte*, Arm *erek'tasn*, TochA *śäk täryāpi*, B *śak trai thirteen*; IE decades: Skt *tríṃśat-*, Gk τριάκοντα, Lat *trīginta*, OIr *tricho*, gen *trichot*, Lith *trìsdešimt* indecl, or *trỹs dẽšimtys*, OSl *trije deseţte*, Arm *eresun*, TochA *taryāk*, B *täryāka*.

P 1959:1090-92, Watkins 1985:71-72.

Þ55. *þriskan stvIII ἀλοᾶν *thresh*, only prpl, acc sg m *-kandan* 1C 9.9, dat sg *-kandin* 1T 5.18; *ga-þrask* na ἄλων *threshing floor*, only acc sg L 3.17.

OI *þriskja, þryskva* wkv, OSw *þriska*, prt *þrask*, OE *þrescan*, OHG *drescan* stv, NHG *dreschen* **thrash**†, **thresh**†.

Borrowed into Romance languages as Ital *trescare dance, hop around*; OFr *treschier stamp, dance, jump*; Prov *trescar dance*; Catalan *trescar fly in and out (of bees in a large hive)*; Sp *triscar trample with the feet*; others in Meyer-Lübke 1935:8715.

Etymology doubtful; possibly from PIE *ter- rub*, which has many suffixes, Gk τείρω *wear out, tire*; Lat *terō rub*; PIE *trēy-*, Gk τρίβω *rub, thresh grain*; Lat *trībulum threshing sledge*; Lith *trìnti rub through*. See Scardigli 1973:22 for other IE terms for field cultivation. Less likely of onomatopoeic origin, as to Lith *trešketi crackle, crash, chatter, traskėti rattle, clatter*; OSl *trěskz thunderclap*, ORuss *trěskz thunder, crash* Fraenkel 1962-65:1120.

P 1959:1071-74, Watkins 1985:70.

Þ56. *þroþjan wkvI γυμνάζειν *train, practice*, only 2sg imp *þroþei* 1T 4.7; **us-þroþjan* μεμύημαι *I am experienced* Ph 4.12, only nom sg m papl *-þiþs*; *us-þroþeins fi/ō* γυμνασία *training, discipline*, only nom sg 1T 4.8.

Gmc relations uncertain; possibly to OI *þrāðr thread, cord*, OE *þræd*; OFris *thrēd wire, thread*†, OHG *drāt* stm *wire*; derived with PIE *-to-* from stem of OE *drāwan*, OHG *drāen* wkv *turn*, NHG *drehen turn*, cf NE *throw*.

Etymology unclear; possibly based on an extension of PIE *ter- rub*, as in OIr *trebaid cultivate, work*; Lith *trótinti irritate, tease*, OSl *trastę pursue*, Russ *tratitь use* Fraenkel 1962-65:1129; OSl *trěbiti*, Russ *terebitĭ rub, clean*. Older proposals in F 1939:503.

P 1959:1071-72.

Þ57. þruts-fill na λέπρα *leprosy* M 8. 3; **þruts-fills* adja λεπρός *leperous*, only nom pl *þrutsfillai lepers* M 11.5, L 4.27, L 7.22, L 17.12.

OE *þrūst-fell* n *leprosy*, from *þrūts-* + *-fill*, cf ***filleins**. Possibly OI *þrūtinn swollen, þrūtna* wkv *swell up, become proud*, OI *þroti* m *swelling, tumor*; OE *þrūtian swell, threaten, þrota* m **throat**† Vries 1962:624. OI *þrūtinn* is papl to OI *þrjōta* stv *fail*, cf Go ***us-þriutan** *persecute*.

From an extension of PIE *ter-* with *-u-*, as in Gk τρύω *exhaust*, τιτρώσκω *wound*; Lat *trūdō push* W/H 1938-56 II:710; Wel *taraw strike*; Lith *trunėti decay*; OIr *trosc* adj *leperous*, Wel *trwsgl rude, impolite*, Bret *trousk crust, rind* from **trud-sko-* with pejorative suffix, Vendryès 1959-:T-152; on Germano-Celt correspondance, Lane 1933 Lg 9:257, P 1959:1096-97.

Þ58. þu 2nd person prn σύ M 6.6 *you, thou*†; ὁ M 6.9, cf Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:151 on use of Gk article for prn; dat *þus* σοι L 5.23; acc *þuk* σε M 5.25; *þu-ei* 2sg rel prn ὅ R 14.4, M 1.11; cf also *mik* (*mis*), **ik**.

CrimGo *tzo*, cf *tzo vvarthata* 'tu fecisti' *you made, did* Stearns 1978:159; OI *þū*, OE *þu*, acc *þe* acc, OFris, OS *thū*, OHG *t(h)u*, NHG *du you*, cf NE *thou, thee*. PGmc dat *-z*, acc *-k*, Kufner 1972:90: OI *þēr*, OFris, OS *thi*, OHG *dir*, NHG *dir to you*, OI *þik*, OE *þec*, OS *thik*, OHG *dih*, NHG *dich you* (acc).

PIE *tu, te-, t(e)we/o-*; Skt *tú, tú*, Av *tū* ptc *now, but* (where the word has become a ptc indicating emphasis and attention), Av *tū* encl, Skt *tv-ám*, Av *twəm, tum*, OPers *tuvam* (with

-am from 1sg *ahám ĺ*); Gk σύ, Dor τύ, Lat *tu*; Osc *tiium, tiú*; OIr *tū, tu-ssu*, Wel *ti*, Bret *ti, te*, Vendryès 1959-:T-155-57; Lith *tù*, Latvian *tu*, OPruss *toū*, encl *tu*; OSl *ty*, Arm *du*; Alb *ti*, TochA *tu*, B *twe* (*tuwe*), Hitt *zik you*, from acc **te-ĝ(-)*[?] G Schmidt 1978:121-22; Pal, Luw (Hier) *ti*.

PIE dat *toi, tebh-*, G Schmidt 1978:127-36; Skt *tú-bhyam, te*; but see Fairbanks 1977 JIES 5:105 on PIE *-bhi(s)* as dialect case form innovation; Gk σοι, Dor τοι; Lat *tibi*, Umbr *tefe*, Osc *tfei*; OIr *duit, tuit*; Lith *táu*, OPruss *tebbei*; OSl *tebě*, cf instr *tobojǫ*; with undifferentiated dat-acc, Arm *k'ez*, TochB *ci, cu* (obl), encl A *-ci*, B *-c*; Hitt *tuk*, encl *-ta, -du*, J Friedrich 1960:63.

PIE acc *te(-ĝ-)*, suffixless *tu*, G Schmidt 1978:120-27, Skt *tvām, tvā*; Gk σε, Dor τε; Lat *te*, Umbr *tiu, tio(m), teio*, Poultney 1959:108; OIr *thū* (lenited *tū*), atonic affixes, *-t-*; Lith *tavè*, encl *-ti*; OSl *ti*; Arm, Toch, Hitt, see dat above.

P 1959:1097.

Þ59. *þugkjan irreg wkvI δοκεῖν *believe, have an opinion* J 16.2, impersonal *seem* M 26.66, φαίνειν *seem, appear* 2C 13.7, 3sg prt *þuhta* G 2.2; **þuhtus* mu συνείδησις *conscience* 1C 10.29; papl cmpds, *hauh-þuhts* adj*a* τετύφωται *swollen with pride*, only nom sg m 1T 6.4; **mikilþuhts* ὑπερήφανος *arrogant, proud*, only acc pl m *mikil-þuhtans* L 1.51.

OI *þykkia*, prt *þōtta*, OE *þyncan*, prt *þūhte*, OFris *thenza* (with umlaut), OS *thunkian*, prt *thuhta*, OHG *dunken*, prt *dūhta* wkvI *seem, believe*.

PIE *tong-*, cf **þagks*.

P 1959:1088.

Þ60. þulan wkvIII ἀνέχεσθαι *endure, be patient with* Col 3.13, στέγειν *endure, put up with* 1C 13.7; *þarbos þulan* ὑστερεῖσθαι *need, lack, fall short of* Ph 4.12; *ga-þulan* παθεῖν *endure, suffer, resist external pressure* L 17.25, cf Lloyd 1979:260 fn82,284 on nuances of παθεῖν also expressed by **winnan**, **gabeidan endure*; *us-þulan* Sk 2.8 / IIb.5, 1sg prt *us-þulaida* 1T 3.11B, στέγειν *bear, put up with, endure* 1Th 3.1,5, ἀνέχεσθαι *bear with, be tolerant, patient with* 2C 11.1, ἀντέχεσθαι *support, help* 1Th 5.14, ὑπομένειν *stand firm, remain, endure*; **þulains* fi παθήματα *suffering* 2C 1.5, ὑπομονή *patience* R 15.4, *fortitude, perseverance* L 8.15; **us-þulains* ὑπομονή *patience, steadfastness*, only dat sg *us-þulainai* Col 1.11, 2Th 3.5.

OI *þola*, OE *þolian*, OFris *tholia*, OS *tholan*, OHG *dolēn, tholōn* wkv *endure, bear*, archaic, dial NE *thole*. On problems of suffix inheritance, such as PGmc *-āi, ai-* etc, Flasdieck 1935 Anglia 59:56,177-80; Jasanoff 1978: 58,83.

PIE *tel-ə-, tl̥-nā-, tl-ē-* *bear, endure* Strunk 1967:54; Skt *tulā balance, scale, weight, tulayati weigh, compare, lift up*; Gk ταλάσσαι, aor τλῆναι *bear, endure, take responsibility for*; ταλαντιαῖος *weighing a talent*, cf other derivatives in Chantraine 1968-80:1088-89; τόλμη *daring, courage* Chantraine 1968-80:1124; OLat *tulere bring, bear*; Lat *tulī* perf, *lātus* papl ← **tl-*, perf of *ferō bear*; *tollō, tollere, sustulī* perf, *sublātum* papl (beside perf *tollit*) *lift up, raise, carry off*; *tolerāre endure, tolerate*; Ven *tolar* (votive verb), Untermann 1980 Glotta 58: 293-95; OIr *tlenaid* ← **tl-n-ā-ti remove, carry off, steal, tēol* ← **tetlu- theft* Vendryès 1959-:-T-52,T-78-79 who notes preference for relationship with Go ***stilan** *steal* in Pedersen 1909-13 II:649; Lith *tìlti cease speaking, become silent*, Latvian *tilinât pamper, spoil*; OSl *tьlěti spoil* Fraenkel 1962-65:1095 with references; Ross 1961 ZVS 77:281 fn8, Pedersen 1905 ZVS 38: 354,371; Arm *t'ołum* ← **tl̥nō leave, allow, endure*; TochB *täl- lift up, bear*, middle *tläṣtär*, inf *tlässi*, papl *caclu*, Krause and W Thomas 1960-64 II:105.

P 1959:1060-61, Watkins 1985:69.

Þ61. þusundi cardinal number fiō Neh 7.34, pl *þusundjos* Mk 5.13 χίλιοι *thousand*; *þusundi-faþs* mi χιλίαρχος *officer, leader of a thousand*, only nom sg J 18.12 and dat pl *þusundifadaim* Mk 6.21. Cf suffix in

bruþfaþs. Use of suffix in *hunda-faþs, þusundi-faþs,* and **swnagoga-faþs,* independent, not loan translation, despite similarity of formation; Iran *θata-pati,* Arm *hariwra-pet centurion*; Iran **hazahra-pati,* Arm *hazara-pet leader of a thousand*; Arm *žołovrda-pet ruler of the synagogue* Benveniste 1963 BSLP 58:[art]41ff,54-57.

OI *pūsund* f *host, large number, thousand* Cleasby/Vigfusson 1874:751, OI *þūsundraþ 1, 200, 1,000,* Noreen 1923:306; OE *þūsend* n, OFris *thūsend,* OS *thūsundig,* OHG *thūsunt, dūsunt* f/n *thousand*†. PGmc *þūs-hundi* as *strong hundred* rather than **þūs-undi multitude,* disputed, as by Hirt 1896 IF 6:344-46, who accounts for **-hundi* reflexes as folk etymology.

Based on PIE *tēw- swell,* which has many suffixes, P 1959:1081-85. Direct cognates of *þusundi* only in Balt and Sl: Lith *tūkstantis,* Latvian *tūkstuōt(i)s,* OPruss acc pl *tūsimtons,* OSl *tysǫšti, tysęšti thousand*; Finn *tuhansi, tuhat* from Baltic, Fraenkel 1962-65:1135-36. Formation disputed, whether cmpd of PIE *tūs- strong* and *k̂ṃto- hundred* or modified from PIE *tūs- + -sont-, -sṇt-,* with large bibliography, F 1939:505-06.

Semantically, 'thousand' and similarly high numbers develop from forms meaning 'many', 'multitude'. It is therefore not unlikely, for Gmc 'thousand' to have evolved from **þūs-* ← PIE *tewə-es-, tūs- strong, multitude* P 1959: 1083. But that such a development is of PIE date, even dialectal in Gmc, Balt and Sl, (cf Polomé 1972:51 who counts it as one of 8 valid isoglosses linking Balto-Sl to Gmc), does not seem proved by the parallel semantic developments of different roots elsewhere in IE. Rather, the diverse forms in the various IE dialects and evidence of borrowing in many instances suggest that attempts as in Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:48-49 to claim PIE status for the numeral 'thousand' are unsuccessful; so also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:848. While arguing for a PIE date for the decimal system, Szemerényi 1960:1 admits that **ǧheslo-,* reconstructed from Gk χίλιοι, Skt *sa-hásram,* NPers *hazār thousand,* may not have existed in the proto-language. The form and value of the lexical unit for the highest number vary widely in the dialects: Skt *koṭi 10 million* beside *prayúta- million, lakṣá- 100,000, ayúta- 10,000* show non-IE influence. Gk μυρίος *innumerable, immense, 10,000* is the highest Gk number, Chantraine 1968-80:722-23, and like χίλιοι *thousand* may not be of IE origin, Frisk 1960-72 II:271-72,1099-1100; Chantraine 1968-80: 1260 finds the IE relation of '1000' difficult. Lat *mille large indeterminate number, 1000,* is probably also a dialect innovation; Ernout and Meillet 1967:403 find attempts at IE origin more ingenious than convincing; these cited in W/H 1938-56 II:88-89. OIr *mīle 1000* beside *cēta imda many hundreds* Thurneysen 1946: 245, is a Lat loan. Likewise Lith *milyõnas million* Senn 1966:213, is not original; cf also recent Alb borrowings *(një) mijë 1000, (një) milion million* from Ital. OSl *tьma large number, myriad* is an innovation based on a loan; TochA *tmāṃ,* B *tumane,* also based on PIE *tēw- 10,000,* P 1959:1082, + *-m-* as in Skt *túmras abundant,* Lat *tumeō increase* Meillet 1911-12 MSLP 17:292-94. Arm large numbers are loans from Iran; *hariwr 100, hazar 1000, biwr 10,000,* Meillet 1936:101; TochA *wälts,* B *yaltse thousand* is usually related to Go **waldan**; Toch A *lakṣ* (beside periphrastic cmpd *śäk-tmāṃ*) *100,000,* A *kor,* B *koṭi- 10 million* are loans from Indic and Iran, Krause and W Thomas 1960-64 I:160; Hitt Akkadograms *mē 100, limu 1000* give no evidence of IE inheritance.

Numeral symbols in Go show no recursive device for expression of either decades or hundreds, only for the digits, eg *i = 10, k = 20, l = 30; r = 100, s = 200, t = 300,* Tollenaere and Jones 1976:225, a system similar to that of Gk. While multiplication as a process is attested in Gk mathematics, only addition is codified as a principle in the notation system.

The decade formations (cf **taihun** *ten*) suggest nascent codification of multiplication by ten in the linguistic system, but the system of numeral notation does not. Lack of a PIE numeral for 'thousand' and independent dialectal evolution of higher IE numerals is therefore not surprising, cf Justus 1986; also Porzig 1954: 142,159.

P 1959:1083;also 446, **ĝheslo-*; Watkins 1985:71.

Þ62. *þut-haurn na σάλπιγξ *trumpet*, only dat sg *-na* 1C 15.52, 1Th 4.16; **þut-haurnjan* wkvI σαλπίζειν *sound the trumpet*, only 3sg prs *-rneiþ* 1C 15.52; cmpd of *þut-* and **haurn** *horn*.

OI *þytr* m *noise*, *þjōta*, OE *þēotan howl, roar, rage*, OHG *die(z)en* stv *resound*; OE *þēote* f *stream, waterfall*; *þūtan emit sounds*, NHG *tuten toot*†.

Etymology obscure; scarcely to PIE *(s)tewd- push, kick*; Skt *tudáti push*, Lat *tundere*, perf *tutudī push, strike*, cf Go ***stautan** *hit, strike*, as by Osthoff 1881:10, 335; more likely of onomatopoeic origin, like Lat *tutubāre cry*, Lith *tūtúoti toot*, and probably Skt *tumulas noisy*, *tumulam* n *noise*, Lat *tumultus tumult*. Similarly onomatopoeic, though of different origin, Lat *tussis cough*; cf Froehde 1877 BKIS 1:208 on Lat *st* and *ss*, Lat *tuba straight trumpet* Prellwitz 1897 BKIS 22: 106, W/H 1938-56 II:712,721. Vries 1962:615, P 1959:1097.

Þ63. þwahan stvVI νίπτειν *wash* J 9. 7, 3sg prt opt *þwohi* 1T 5.10; *af-þwahan* νίπτειν *wash (off)* J 9.11, **bi-þwahan* νίπτειν *wash*, only nom sg m prpl *-hands* J 9.11; **us-þwahan* νίπτειν *wash* J 13.12,14; **un-þwahans*, only dat pl f *-naim* ἀνίπτοις *unwashed* Mk 7.2, 5; also **þwahl**.

OI *þvā wash*, papl *þveginn*, OE *þwēan wash, anoint*, prt *þwōg*, OS *thwahan*, prt *thuog*, OHG *thwahan*, prt *dwuog* stv *wash*; OI *þvāttr* m *washing*.

No etymology; P 1959:1098 lists PIE *twak- bathe*, citing also OPruss *twaxtan bathbrush*. Not with Grienberger 1900:219 to Lith *tvoskóti, tvaskėti strike* Fraenkel 1962-65: 1151; nor to Skt *tujáti, tuñjáti move quickly* Kuiper 1937:125-26.

P 1959:1098.

Þ64. þwahl (na) λουτρόν *washing, cleansing*, acc sg Sk 2.8 / IIb.4 (ms variant *þwalh* scribal error, W Schulze 1966:553), dat sg *-la* E 5.26. Sievers 1928 BGDSL 52:148-50 assumes syllabicity of final liquid, but W Schulze 1966:551-53 disagrees, as does Ebbinghaus 1970 JEGP 69:580-83; cf also ***sitls**, **þwahan**.

OI *þvāl soap*, OE *þwēal* n *washing, bath, soap*, OHG *dwahal bath*; also OE *þwǣle*, OHG *dwahila* st/wkf *towel*. Frankish *thwahlja* borrowed into OFr *toaille*, OProv *toalha*, and from OFr to ME *towaile towel*† Meyer-Lübke 1935:8720. See **þwahan**.

Þ65. þwairhs adja ὀργίλος *quick-tempered* Tit 1.7, ὀργισθείς *angry* L 14.21; *þwairhei* fn ὀργή *anger* E 4.31, *(fear of) retribution* R 9.22, παροργισμός *anger* E 4.26, θυμός *passion* Col 3.8, (pl) ἔρεις *quarrels* 2C 12. 20; *in þwairhein briggan* ~ *gramjan* R 10.19/ Col 3.21 παροργίζειν *make angry, resentful*.

OI *þverr cross, troublesome*, OE *þweorh crossways, hostile*, OFris *thweres* adv, OHG *dwerah crossways*; also OE *þwēorian* wkv *oppose*, OHG *gi-thweran* stv *mix, mingle*; *thwer transverse*; ME *þwert, þweort a-thwart*†; NHG *quer crosswise, überzwerch* adj *cross, unpleasant*.

Possibly from PIE *terk- turn*, with initial based on PIE *twer- twirl*: Skt *tarkú- spindle, tarkáyati intend* (metaphor from 'turn'); Gk ἄτρακτος *spindle*, Lat *torquēre turn, wind, torquēs necklace*; OPruss *tarkue strap*, Trautmann 1910:446. Grienberger 1900:219 proposes extension of PIE *-k-* to PGmc *þwer-* as in OI *þverr*, OHG *twer*, NHG *quer crooked*.

P 1959:1077, 1100.

Þ66. þwastiþa fō ἀσφαλής *safeguard*, only Ph 3.1; **ga-þwastjan* wkvI καταρτίζω *set right, restore* G 6.1.

No etymology; scarcely to OI *þverst* n ***lean flesh under the blubber of the whale***, as by Grienberger 1900:220, itself uncertain, Vries 1962:629.

Derivation from PIE *tēw- **swell***, with reference to Gk σάος, σῶς ***healthy***, has little basis, though listed in P 1959:1084. Mezger 1952 ZVS 70:153 compares Skt *távásā* inst ***strength, power***, *távasvant- **strong***, also from this root; the derivation would be comparable to substantivized adj abstracts in OSl *-ostь*, *-ota*; OSl *dobrъ **good***, *dobrostь*, *dobrota **goodness***; *dlъgъ **long***, *dlъgota **length*** and Hitt *daluga **long***, *dalugasti- **length*** J Friedrich 1960:38, Leskien 1909:85; in view of the lack of cognates in Gmc, highly uncertain.

Þ67. *þwmiama *ma* = θυμίαμα ***incense, incense offering*** L 1.10,11. See W Schulze 1966:511 fn1 on the role of Lat in religious loans.

U

U1. -u (*-uh*) encl interrog ptc, attached to first word, usually a verb of an interrog clause or after the prefixes *bi-*, *ga-* (*ga-u-laubjats* M 9.28), also between prep and object (*ab-u þus* J 18.34, *uz-u waurstwam* G 3.2); Jones 1958 Word 14:213-23; B/E 1981:134.

PIE *au-*, *u-* *that; on the other hand*: Skt *u*, *ū* *and, also* (after verbs and prns), J Klein 1978; *u-tá ... u-tá* *both ... and*; Av *u-tă* *and, also*; Gk -υ in πάν-υ *very much*, ἠ-ύ-τε *just as*, Osthoff 1881:252ff; Brugmann 1894:63-64; W/H 1938-56 I:87; cf **auk**.

In consideration of Skt *tú*: Go **þau** one may also relate with ablaut Gk αὖ *again, further*, αὖ-τε *but*, Ion αὖ-τι-ς, Gortynian αὖτιν *again*; Lat *au-t* *or, au-tem*, Osc *au-t*, *au-ti* *again, but*, Umbr *ute, ote* *but*.

P 1959:73-75.

U2. ubils adj*a* κακός *bad, evil* M 7.18; *ubilaba* adv κακῶς *badly, evilly* J 18.23.

OE *yfel*, OFris *evel*, OS, OHG *ubil* *evil*†.

PIE *upélo-s* *bad* : OIr *fel* *bad* Stokes 1900 ZVS 36:274-75; based on PIE *upo* *at bottom, upwards, beyond*, as in **uf**, Grienberger 1900: 220 + *-elo-* Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:367; orig an 'overstepping', Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:126. See **ufar** and Run *Ubaz* PeN *treacherous* (Järsberg, Krause 1966 I:157); OI *ūfr*, *ȳfinn* *unfriendly, haughty*; OHG *uppi* *wicked*, *uppe* stn *trivia*, *uppa* wkf *in vain*; OIr *ūall* *insolence*, Vendryès 1959-:U-6. Scarcely pertinent in spite of Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:317, Skt *úpalas* *stone*, var of *úparas* *lower*, cf **ufar**; *úpalā* *upper mill-stone* : Gk ὀπάλλιος, Lat *opalus* *opal*. Not OIr *ad-bal* *strong* Vendryès 1959-:A-16-17 in spite of Pokorny 1924 *F2* Streitberg: 292-93, which is not cited in P 1959:1106-07.

In view of the poorly supported etymology, proposals to relate Hitt *huu̯ap(p)-* ~ *hup(p)-* *treat badly, huu̯appa-* *bad* lack conviction see; Tischler 1983- I:331-32 with comments on Watkins 1969:30 and others.

U3. *ubizwa f ō στοά *portico*, only dat sg *-wai* J 10.23.

OI *ups* f, *upsi* m *vestibule of a church*, OE *æfes*, *yfes* f *eaves*†, OFris *ose*, MLG *ovese* *gutters*; OHG *obasa* st/wkf *eaves-trough*, NHG *obs(t)en* *vestibule of a church*; Go influence [?]; cf Frings 1966:33.

PIE *upes-* + *-wā-* as in **widuwo**: possibly Skt *upás-*, *upás-thas* *lap*; Av *upas-puþrī* *pregnancy*, see Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:106; Gk ὕψος *height*, ὕψι *high* also problematic, Chantraine 1968-80:1164; *eup*, cf **iup**, in OIr *ōs*, *ūas* ← **oups-*, Wel *uch* *over*, OIr *uasal*, Wel *uchel* *high* Vendryès 1959-:O-31-32,U-10; Gaul *Uxellos*, *Uxello-dunum* GN *high-city*; OSl *vyso-ks* ← **ūpso-ko-* *high*. An extended form of PIE *upo* *upward, over* as in **uf**, but see also ***auhuma**. Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:326 ascribes *-s-* to final accent.

The Gmc word stood for the porch of the megaron, a vestibule with roof supported by posts, K Schuchhardt 1926:198-99. Older references in F 1939:508-09.

P 1959:1106-07.

U4. uburt CrimGo in *iel uburt* 'sit sanum' *may it be well.*

Problematic; cf Stearns 1978:161-62. Interpretations assume *ub-* = *uu-*. Massmann 1841 ZDA 1:363 interpreted **uuurt* as prs opt of **wairþan**, Go *wairþai*; Loewe 1896:75 as prt opt *waurþi*; with Go *hail* this would be *may it be healthy*. Stearns 1978:162 prefers Loewe's interpretation, noting further that *-t* reflects PGmc *-ŝ-*, as in *vvingart*, maintaining grammatical change, unlike Go. Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:124 analyzed *uburt* as a noun = OE *wyrd*, OS *wurd*, OHG *wurt* stf *fate, luck*, taking the phrase as equal to Go **haila waurþ* or **hailawaurþs* = *good luck!*.

U5. uf prep *under* M 8.8, PGmc *uƀ*, cf Go *ub-uh* in *ub-uh-wopida* *and he cried out* L 18.38.

OI *of over*, OE *ufe-weard upper*, OHG *oba up*; OI *upp*, OE *upp(e), up*, OFris, OS *up*, OS *uppa up*†, *upwards*, with emphatic gemination, K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:239ff; OHG *ūf up*, with lengthening as in OSl *vysokъ*; cf ***ubizwa**.

PIE *upó*: Skt *úpa upward, towards*; Av *upa*, OPers *upā- toward, near*; Gk ὑπό, ὕπο; Lat *sub under* ← PItal *s-up*, W/H 1938-56 II: 616, objecting to Brugmann 1904a:463 ← ***ads-up*; OIr *fo*, OWel *guo-*, Gaul *vo-, ve- under*; Arm *i ver upward*. Hitt *up- rise (of the sun)*.

P 1959:1106-07, Watkins 1985:72-73.

U6. ufar prep πέραν, ἐπί, ἐπάνω *over* M 6.14 (*a* ← *e* before *r* in middle syllable, Kieckers 1928:17); *ufarassus* mu περίσσευμα, ὑπερβολή *abundance* 2C 1.5, *-assus* as in *ibnassus*; *ufarassjan* wkvI περισσεύειν *be abundant* 2C 9.8; *ufaro* adv *over it* Sk 4.13 / IVb.22, prep ἐπάνω *over* L 10.19 (for *-o* see **aftaro**).

OI *yfir*, OE *ofer*, OFris *ovir, ūr*, OS *ōbar*, MLG *över*, OHG *ubar(i), ubir(i)* prep *over*†; OI *ofarr* adv; OE *yferra*, OHG *obaro* adj *higher up*.

PIE *uper(i)*: Skt *upári*; Av *upairi*; OPers *uparīy*; Gk ὑπέρ; Lat *s-uper above*, with *s-* as in *sub*; Gaul *ver-* (in *vertragus agile dog*, PeN *Vercingeto-rīx* etc, with loss of *-p-*, Thurneysen 1946:513); OIr *for on, over*, Wel *gor*, influenced by ***wo under* Pedersen 1909-13 I:35; Skt *úparas lower, later*; Av *uparō upper*; Gk ὕπερος *pestle*; Lat *superus superior*.

P 1959:1105-06, Watkins 1985:72-73.

U7. *ufar-munnon wkvII ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι *forget* Mk 8.14, based on PGmc *munnō memory*; cf **1. *munan** and PIE *men- remember*; Wissmann 1932:149.

Probably from PIE $m_{e}n$- + suffix in Skt *manuté think*, which is *-new-* ← *-neγ-*; Bethge 1900b:347 and T Jensen 1906 ZVS 39:591 fn2, however, derive it from PIE *-nā*, as in Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:311. Cf Wel *mynna*, Corn *mynnes, mynnas to want, mennaf I want* Pedersen 1909-13 II:451; OSl *po-mę̨nąti remember*; TochA *mnu thinking*, B *mañu desire*.

P 1959:726-28.

U8. *ufar-trusnjan *sprinkle over*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* Sk 3.16 / IIIc.9-10; W Bennett 1960:61, with emendations, none persuasive; Frantzen 1921 Neophil 6:43-44 suggests ***-trusg-jan strew over*, comparing **intrusgjan** *graft*.

Cognates in other Gmc dialects uncertain; possibly OI *tros* n *dry twig*, NI *trosna split up, fray*; OE *trūs* n *fallen leaves and twigs*; OS *gi-trusnōd* ([?] Heliand 154 *withered*) Grienberger 1900:221-22; dubiously, OHG *gi-tros of wine, trosena, trus(a)na dregs, er-druasnita defecated* -- with unexpected *ua*; these rather to Du *droesem*, MHG *drusene* f *grape-skins, dregs*, cf Franck 1912:136.

Etymology unclear; possibly to PIE *deru-, dru-, tree*, as in Nor *tryssja clean the floor*. Scarcely to Gk δρόσος *dew* (itself uncertain, Chantraine 1968-80:298-99), as by Fick 1879 BKIS 3:164; nor to δρῖλος *earthworm* (unknown source, Chantraine 1968-80:298); scarcely as by Fick 1887 BKIS 12:161 to OE *teors penis*, MLG *ters*, OHG *zers nail, peg*, to **tairan**, Holthausen 1934a:346; nor with Grienberger 1900:222 to Lith *drunėti sleep long, lie about*, Latvian *drunêt rot, wither*; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:107, 1132.

P 1959:214-17, esp 216.

U9. *uf-bauljan wkvI τυφοῦν only nom pl m papl *-lidai inflated, haughty* 2T 3.4.

OSw *bolin*, Nor dial *bolen swollen*, OFris *būlen*, MDu *buylen swell*; OI *bōla* f *boss of a shield, blain* (Vries 1962:48; for *Beyla* [PeN of Freyja's servant], ibid:34), Nor dial *bōla*, OE *bȳl(e)* m, OFris *bēl*, MLG *būle*, OHG *būlia, pūlla*, MHG *biule* st/wkf *bump*.

PIE *bh(e)ŭ-, b(e)u- blow up, inflate*: Skt *buriṣ* = Lith *bulìs buttock*, though see Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:439-40; OIr *bolach* ← ***bhulāk-boil* Stokes 1890 ZVS 30:557-58; Arm *boil*, gen pl *buliç multitude, herd* Meillet 1903 MSLP 12: 431, Petersson 1916 ZVS 47:276-77, with fur-

ther data; Slov *búliti swell.* Scarcely with Osthoff 1899:66-67 an extension with *-lo-* from PIE *bhew- grow,* though the two roots may have overlapped; cf **bauan** and **bagms,** and also OSl *bylьje, bylъ weeds* Berneker 1908-14:112-13. Other speculation cited in F 1939:511.

P 1959:98-102.

U10. *uf-blesan stvVII φυσιοῦσθαι *(be) boast(ful), be puffed up,* 3sg prs pass *-sada* 1C 13.4, papl *-sans* 1C 4.6, Col 2.18.

OI *blāsa,* MLG *blāsen,* OHG *blāsan* stv *blow;* OE *blǣs* n *blowing,* OHG *blāsa* f *bubble;* *s*-extension of PIE *bhlē-* as in OE *blāwan,* OHG *blāan* wkv *blow*†; OI *blāʀ* m *gust of wind;* + *-sti-* as in **ansts**: OI *blāstr,* OE *blǣst,* OHG *blāst* stm *blast*†, *breath;* OE *blǣstan* wkv *blow.*

PIE *bhel-, bhlē- blow up, swell up*: Gk φλην-έω *be talkative;* Lat *flāre blow* (PGmc *ǣ,* Go *ē* : Lat *ā* as in OI *blār,* OFris *blāu,* OHG *blāo bluish*† : Lat *flāvus golden yellow* W/H 1938-56 I:513-14); prs *flō* from alternate base PIE *bhlā-* as in Lat *flātus blowing, breath* (: OE *blǣd,* OHG *blāt* m *blowing*). Simple root + *-no-* in Gk φαλλός *penis,* Lat *follis leather bag;* OIr *ball* m *penis, part of body;* PGmc *ballu-* ← PIE *bhol-nu-* in OI *bǫllr ball, testicle;* OE *bealloc testicle,* OHG *balla* st/wkf *ball*†. Go ***bloma** probably from a homophonic root *bhel- bloom.*

P 1959:120-22, Watkins 1985:6-7.

U11. Ufitahari signature of a Go priest of the St Anastasia church in Ravenna, DeN; known as 'Optarit, presbyter' in the Lat version of the text.

According to Grimm 1843 ZDA 3:147ff and Grienberger 1900:222 for **Ufta-hari* with svarabhakti *i.* The *-hari* is from **harjis** with loss of *-s,* Wrede 1891:177-78. According to Grimm 1843 ZDA 3:147ff and Förstemann 1900:1475, *Ufta-* (: Lat *Opta-,* OHG *Oft-* in PeN *Oftarīth, Oftila*) is cognate with **ufto**. Cf also the PeN Ὄπταρις in Procopius, De bello Gothico 1.11, which like *Optarit* is from Go **Ufta-reiþs* or *-reþs,* Arwid Johannson 1932-33 APS 7:144; see Scardigli 1973:281.

U12. ufjo f or n *superfluity,* or adv; only in *ufjo mis ist* περισσόν μοί ἐστιν *it is superfluous for me* 2C 9.1.

OI *of* n *large quantity,* adv *of over;* cf H Kuhn 1929, Dal 1929, 1930 NTS 4:179-210 on *of* as expletive ptc, replacing earlier unaccented prefixes.

A derivative of **uf**; cf *ufarassus* with similar meaning and OHG *uppa, uppī* f *emptiness, in uppon* adv *in vain, uppīg superfluous, empty, vain.*

U13. *uf-swalleins f*i/ō* φυσίωσις *being puffed up, vanity* 2C 12.20, derivative of **uf-swalljan* with *-eins* as in ***ahmateins.**

OI *svella,* OE *swellan,* OFris *swella,* OS, OHG *swellan* stv *swell*†; OHG *bi-swellen* wkv *cause to swell;* OE *swyle* m, MLG *swele, swul swelling;* OHG *swilo* m, *swil* ← **swiliz* n *callous;* MHG *swulst* stf *tumor.*

No etymology; found only in Gmc. Not to Lat *īnsolēns insolent* W/H 1938-56 I:704-05; nor to Gk ἅλις *enough,* as by Sommer 1905: 112, cf Chantraine 1968-80:61-62; nor to other proposed cognates, W/P 1927-32 II:531, eg TochA *ṣul mountain* Windekens 1941:118.

U14. ufta adv πολλάκις *often* J 18.2.

OI *opt,* OSw *ofta,* OE *oft,* OFris *ofta,* OS *oft(o),* OHG *ofto often*†.

No certain etymology; according to Wood 1898 JEGP 2:214 to PIE *upo* (cf **uf**) with meaning *squeezed together compactly;* similarly Grienberger 1905 ZDP 37:548, *ufta-* in PeN = Gk πυκνός *compact, frequent,* as in **Ufitahari**; scarcely to Skt *uptás scattered, sown,* or Skt *vápati strew, scatter* as by Uhlenbeck 1902 BGDSL 27:133, 1905 BGDSL 30:318, which itself is obscure, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:144; nor to PIE *op-* in Lat *opus work, opēs treasures* as if *ufta* meant 'abundantly', as by Meringer 1905-06 IF 18:210.

U15. ufto adv *possibly,* only in *ibai ufto* μήποτε *lest* M 27.64.

Probably a scribal error for **aufto,** as noted by Loewe 1922 BGDSL 46:52; scarcely with Streitberg 1920:71 comparable to relation-

ship of Go *baitrs : OHG *bittar bitter*, here *aufto* : *ufto*.

U16. *uf-þanjan wkvI ὑπερεκτείνειν *stretch out, strive for* 2C 10.14.

Simplex in OI *þenja*, OE *þennan, þenian* (late), OS *thennian*, OHG *den(n)en* wkv *extend*.

PIE *ten- extend*: with PIE *-eyo-*, Skt *tānáyati*; Gk τείνω ← *τενϳω *extend*; Lat *teneō hold*; + *-u-*, Skt *tanóti be extended*; Gk ταν(ϝ)ύω *stretch out*; Av *tan- extend*, as in *us-tān-āiš zastrāiš with extended hands* Bartholomae 1904:633; NPers inf *tāftan, tābīδan turn* Lidén 1906 IF 19:331ff; with *-d-*, Lat *tendō stretch, extend* (cf Skt *tandate yield*); OIr *tan time*; adv *when*, Wel, OBret *tan under* Vendryès 1959-:T-25-26; OIr *tēt*, Wel *tant string (of musical instrument)* Vendryès 1959-:T-55; Lith *tìnti swell*, Latvian *tît wrap* Fraenkel 1962-65:1099; Alb *ndër spread out*.

Adj with *-u-*: Skt *tanú̱*; Oss *thänäg*, Gk ταν(ϝ)- (in ταν(ϝ)ύ-γλωσσος *with extended tongue*) *thin*, ταν(ϝ)ός *slender*; Lat *tenuis*; OIr *tanae*, MWel *teneu* (with unexplained *-e-*; Vendryès 1959-:T-26 cites proposed explanations) *thin*; Lith *tę́vas*, Latvian *tiêvs slender*; OSl *tъnъ-kъ* (: Skt *tánu-kas*) *thin*; OI *þunnr*, OE *þynne*, OS *thunni*, OHG *dunni* (← PGmc *þunu̯i̯o-*, cf Lat *tenuis*) *thin*†.

With *-s-* in *at-þinsan *draw towards*.

P 1959:1065-66, Watkins 1985:70.

U17. ugkis (*uggkis*) dat acc du 1st person prn ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς *us two* L 7.20 (E 6.22 contains *mik*, not *ugk*, which is then unattested; Braun, cited by Streitberg 1920:118).

OI dat acc *okkr*, gen *okkar*; OE *unc(er)*, NFris, OS *unk(ero)*, OHG gen *unker* (*zweio*) Otfrid; also possibly adj OI *okkarr*, OE *uncer*, OS *unka*, OHG *unker of us two* = Go *ugkar*; cf *igqar.

Brugmann analyzes *ugk-* into *un-k-* with *un-* ← PIE *n̥-* as in **uns**, and *-k* ← PIE *-ge* as in **mik**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:384, supported by Lotspeich 1931 JEGP 30:150; according to Petersen 1930 Lg 6:185, 1934 JEGP 33:65 *n̥* is from the pl.

P 1959:758, PIE *ne-*.

U18. -uh, **-h** (sandhi variants, with *-h* after vowels, Gdr 1897-1916 II.3:981-82) encl ptc καί, οὖν *and, then* L 15.26 (labial element from PIE *k*ʷe* lost when final vowel dropped).

Not found in other Gmc dialects.

PIE *u + k*ʷe*: Skt *u* encl; cf **-u**; Skt *ca*, Av *ča*, OPers *čā*; Gk τέ; Lat *-que and, ne-que*, Osc *ni-p, ne-p*, Umbr *nei-p, ne-p and not*; OIr *nach* (sandhi form of *na*), Wel *nag not*, Vendryès 1959-:N-14; Phryg κε, Kretschmer 1899 WZKM 13:359; Illyrian *-ke* in *aimoi-ke*, Sommer 1924 IF 42:122-27. Not cognate with *-ce* in Lat *ecce behold*; Brugmann 1904b:65 fn2, W/H 1938-56 I:192-93. In spite of phonological problems, Hitt *-ki* as in *kuiski* **anyone** belongs here, Tischler 1983- I:564-66, with extensive survey; also *-ku* as in *takku if*, 601-02.

Of explanations for *-u-* rather than *-au-* before *-h*, Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:173ff is most likely, as patterned after *nu, duhþe* etc; similarly *nih* because of *ni*; approved by Loewe 1927 BGDSL 51:266. Streitberg 1920:71 ascribes it to intonation. Hirt 1894 BGDSL 18: 299 and Lidén 1888 ANF 4:99ff assume *uh* from PIE *n̥-k*ʷe*, an unlikely source.

P 1959:74,635-36.

U19. *uhtwo *fn dawn*, only dat sg in *air uhtwon* πρωί ἔννυχον λίαν *early in the morning* Mk 1.35; *uhteigs* adj*a*, only nom pl m in *ei uhteigai sijaiþ* ἵνα σχολάσητε *so that you have time to, you may devote yourselves to* 1C 7.5A; *uhteigo* adv εὐκαίρως *in season* (only 2T 4.2A, in Cod B *ohteigo*); *un-uhteigo* adv ἀκαίρως *out of season* (only 2T 4.2), from PGmc *uht-u- + *-eigs*, as in *anda-nemeigs*; *uhtiugs* adj*a opportune*, only n in *biþe uhtiug* ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ *when it is appropriate* 1C 16. 12B. Probably a scribal error for *uhteig*, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:318; among other proposals, a derivative of *uht-u-* with normal grade *-eu-*, L Meyer 1857 ZVS 6:4; F Kauffmann 1887 BGDSL 12:202. Grienberger 1900: 224-25 assumes *uhti-ug* (acc adv), with first

constituent to **biuhts** as also in **uhteigs* and *-ug* as zero grade of **wigs** = *by an appropriate way*, removing both adj's from **uhtwo*.

OI *ōtta* stf, OE *ūht* stm, *ūhta* wkm, OS, OHG *ūhta* stf, OHG *uohta* wkf *dawn*.

PIE *n̥ktw-ā*, based on *nek*-(t-) night*; cf Lat *noctu-*, Osthoff 1895 IF 5:284 fn2: Skt *aktúṣ* m *last part of the night, the darkness just before dawn*; Gk ἀκτίς *ray* disputed, Frisk 1960-72 I:61, Chantraine 1968-80:52; Lith *anksti* adv *in the morning* Fraenkel 1962-65:11, Toporov 1975- I:87-88, Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:15. Cf **air** for the phrase *air uhtwon*.

P 1959:762-63.

U20. *ulbandus fu κάμηλος *camel* L 18.25.

OI *ulfaldi*, OE *olfend(a)* stm, OS *olbundeo* wkm, OHG *olbanta, olbenta*, MHG *olbende* stf, *olbent* stm *camel*.

Presumably of the same origin as OE *elpend, ylpend, ylp*, OHG *elafant, helfant* stf *elephant*, borrowed from Lat *elep(h)as*, acc *elep(h)antem* = Gk ἐλέφας, gen ἐλέφαντος *elephant*. On the form see OE *ambor* m/f, OHG *ambar* stm *jar, vessel* from Lat *amphora*, Sievers 1885 EngS 8:154. The same transfer of meaning is found in OAr *ibl*, now *bil camel* in Egypt after MPers *fīl* (: MInd *pi-l*) : Assyrian *pīru elephant* Vollers 1896 ZDMG 50:652; but the word is also found already in Sabaean. On the meaning change 'elephant' : 'camel' see also OPruss *weloblundis mule* (if the meaning is correct in the Elbinger Vocabulary) from Pol *wielbłąd camel*; also OSl *slonz elephant* possibly from Turkic *arslan lion* Vasmer 1953-58 II:663-64.

PGmc *elpandus* was influenced by the suffix *-and* in animal names like OE *wesend*, OHG *wisant* stm *bison*†, OE *þrōwend* stm *scorpion* Petersson 1914 ZVS 46:131, Lidén 1906 IF 19: 347 fn3.

According to Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 I: 553 relationship with Lat *elephantus* is dubious; rather the word was borrowed from Asia Minor, as the pre-Gk ending *-ndus* suggests (cf Gk ἀσάμ-ινθος *bathtub*, ἐρέβ-ινθος *chick-pea*). -- OSl *velьbǫdz camel* was borrowed from Gmc, with modification by folk etymology from OSl *velii large* Stender-Petersen 1927: 359, Vasmer 1953-58 I:184. -- There is no possibility of early relationship between **ulbandus* and Gk ἐλέφας, Grienberger 1900:225; yet such a proposal was made again by Kretschmer 1951 AÖAW 88:307-25. Proposing PIE *lebhr̥*, a neuter noun like Skt *yakr̥t liver*, he derives from it Skt *íbhas elephant* as well as Lat *ebur ivory*, and Go **ulbandus*. Dubious, as noted by Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:90. Now once again by Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:524-25, who derive **ulbandus* from PIE *l̥bhont*; imaginative, yet disputed.

U21. Ulfila (also *Wulfila*) oldest form of the name of the Bishop to the Goths, recorded by his student Auxentius, bishop of Dorostorum (for his statement see Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:xiii-xix). Therefore it is recognized as the authorized form by Fick in G Kaufmann 1883 ZDA 27:244, Luft 1900 ZVS 36:257-58 (hypocoristic to **wulfs**); E Schröder in C Müller 1917 ZDA 55:76 fn1 and 1921 *F* Bezzenberger: 132ff; A Kock 1924 ANF 40:314ff. Further support proposed through inscription on the Corfu seal (with a wolf as grip for the hand): gen ΟΥΡΦΙΛΑ, R Henning 1908 ZDA 49:146ff, Fiebiger 1913 BGDSL 38:564. On the origin of such names, a hypocoristic like *Attila*, see Förstemann 1900:1639ff. E Schröder 1917 ZDA 55:76 fn1 ascribes the loss of initial *w-* to PIE suffix accentuation, A Kock 1924 ANF 40:314ff to unstressed position of *w-*.

The forms *Vulphilas* in Cassiodorus, *Vulfila* in Jordanes 127,6, *Gulfilas* (Isidore of Seville with Romance *gu-* for Gmc *wu-*) reflect the form *Wulfila* which is widely taken as a more accurate rendition, as by W Scherer 1890: 32 (*Ulfilas* is the Gk form); Streitberg 1920:13-14, with copious references; see also K Klein 1952 ZVS 70:154-76, Ebbinghaus 1971 GL 11: 13-16, B/E 1981:345-46, Scardigli 1973:2,72, 286.

U22. un- inseparable negative prefix; cf **ni**.

OI *ō-*, *ū-*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *un-* **un-**†.

From zero grade *ṇ-* of PIE *ne*: Skt, Av, OPers *a-*, *an-*; Gk α-, αν-; Lat *en-*, *in-*, Osc, Umbr *an-*; OIr *in-*, *ē-*; Arm *an-*; TochAB *a(n)*, as in Skt *ájñātas*, Gk ἄ-γνωτος, Lat *ī-gnōtus* ← **iŋ-gnōtus*, OIr *in-gnad*, TochA *āknats*, B *aknātsa*, Go *un-kunþs* ***unknown***; before vowels, Skt *an-udrás*, Gk ἄν-υδρος ***waterless***; Skt *án-āptas* ***unattained*** : Lat *in-eptus* ***unsuitable***; OIr *ē-tromm* ***easy, not difficult***. According to Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:105-06 *ne* predominates over *ṇ* in Balt and Sl, so that zero grade in OSl *ne-ję-věrz* ***unbelieving***, is scarcely acceptable; also Meillet 1902-05:168-69, though not Vondrák 1924-28 I:676.

P 1959:756-58.

U23. *un-biari *nia* θηρίον ***wild animal***, only nom pl *-rja* Tit 1.12.

Unexplained. According to Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:318, Wijk suggested **un-hiurja* in an Amsterdam dissertation of June 11, 1902; cf OS, OHG *un-hiuri* ***gruesome, terrible*** to PGmc *heurja-* in OI *hȳrr*, OE *hēore*, *hȳre* ***friendly***, MHG *ge-hiure* ***gentle, gracious***; OHG *un-gi-hiuri* ***uncanny, sinister***. PGmc *heurja-* based on PIE *ḱeywo-* + *-r-* (cf ***heiwa-frauja**): Skt *śévas* ***dear***, *śivás* ***kind, friendly***; OSl *po-sivz* ***kindly***. -- Not with Grienberger 1900:225-26 as **-bi-ari* ***domestic animal, draught ox for plowing*** to ***arjan** ***plow***.

P 1959:539-40.

U24. und prep ἥως ἄχρι ***up to***, ἀντί ***for*** M 5.18. The form *unþa-* in cmpds like **unþa-þliuhan* ἐκφυγεῖν ***escape*** indicates PIE *ṇto-*, PGmc *únþa*, A Sturtevant 1952 GR 27: 53-55, also with meaning ***away from***.

OI *unz* = *und* ***es until***; OE, OFris, OS, OHG *und* ***until*** Lühr 1979 MSzS 38:117-54; OHG *unt-az*, *unzi* ← *unt-zi* ***until***; also in OE *oþ-* ***until*** (← **unþ-* or unaccented form for *ūš-*[?]), Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:803. Go **unþa-þliuhan* : OHG *int-fliohan* ***escape*** indicate that OHG *ent-*, *int-* ← PIE *ento* ablauting with PIE *ṇto* → *und* according to F 1939:517-18. Yet P 1959:48-49 posits derivation from PIE *ant-s* ***front*** as in Skt *ántas* ***limit, end***.

PIE *anta* ***up to*** also in Lith *añt*, earlier *anta* ***up to*** Fraenkel 1962-65:11; also PIE *anti* ***opposite***: Skt *ánti* ***before, near***, Gk ἀντί ***opposite***, Lat *ante* ***before***, Osc *ant* ***up to*** Brugmann 1903-04 IF 15:72-73; Hitt *hanti* ***in front*** Tischler 1983- I:149-53; Go **and** ***up to, towards*** (probably not with Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:836 from PIE *en*, *ṇ* as in **in**; nor to Skt *ádhi* ***over, on*** as by Prellwitz 1931 Glotta 19:105-06; cf P 1959:312).

P 1959:48-50.

U25. undar prep ὑπό ***under***, only Mk 4.21; *undaro* prep ὑποκάτω ***under*** Mk 6.11 (with *-o* as in **alja-leiko**); **undaristo* conjectured for *undaraisto* τὰ κατώτερα μέρη ***the interior, lower parts*** E 4.9A. On *-a-* ← PIE *-e-* before *r* cf **aftaro**.

OI *undir*, OE, OFris *under*, OS *undar*, OHG *untar(i)* (as in Av *aδairi*, Michels 1902 ZDP 34:116) ***under***†; without affix in OI *und* ***under***.

PIE *ṇdhos* ***under***: Skt *adhás*, Av *adə-*, Arm *ənd*, TochAB *añč* ***under***, cf OI *und*; with PIE *-ero-* as in comp: Skt *ádharas*, Av *aδarō* ***one below, under***; PIE *ṇdh-*: Lat *infernus* (after *supernus*) ***underneath, lower***; with PIE *-mo-* as in Skt *adhamás*, Lat *īnfimus* ***lowest***. -- Scarcely Gk ἀθερ-ίζω ***despise*** Chantraine 1968-80:27, in spite of Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:323, II.2:859, Güntert 1910 IF 27:47.

P 1959:771.

U26. *undar-leija *mn* ἐλαχιστότερος ***least***, only dat sg *-jin* E 3.8.

Cmpd of **undar** and **-leija*, which Bezzenberger 1879 BKIS 3:81 relates to Latvian *lejš* ***situated in a low place***; cf Latvian *leja* ***valley*** Fraenkel 1962-65:366, P 1959:309.

U27. *undaurni-mats *mi* ἄριστον ***midday meal*** (earlier, ***morning meal***), only acc sg *-mat* L 14.12.

OE *undern-mete* stm ***breakfast***.

Cmpd of *undaurni-*: OI *undorn* m ***mid-***

forenoon, mid-afternoon, OE *undern forenoon, noon*; OS *undorn, undern forenoon*, MLG *undern*, OHG *untarn, untorn* stm *noon*; with assimilation of *-r-*: OFris *unden, ond forenoon* and **mats.**

Either to **undar** + *-no-* (Brugmann 1910: 359 fn1, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:270) or following L Meyer 1869:560 as 'mid time' to Skt *antár within, between*; Av *antarə*; OPers *antar*; Lat *inter*; OIr *eter*, Corn *ynter*; OHG *untar between* Behaghel 1897:151-52; Hitt *andurza*; TochB *etsar within*; cf Lat *inter-nus internal*, with the same *-no*-suffix, Brugmann 1913-14 IF 33:304. Go *au* before *r* (rather than *-ar-*) because of secondary accent, Gaebeler 1911 ZDP 43:57 fn3, though B/E 1981:32 equate it with OS *undorn*.

P 1959:313; KH Schmidt 1957-58 IF 63: 294-98.

U28. *un-ga-stoþs adj*a* only nom pl m *-þai* ἀστατοῦμευ *homeless* 1C 4.11; with base of **standan** found in prt *stoþ*; cf **ana-stodeins.**

OI *stœða* wkv *bring to a standstill, confirm, -stœðr standing firmly*, OFris *stōð*, OE *stōd stud*†, MLG *stōd, stōt pen*, OHG *stuot* stf *stud*. Cf **staþa.**

P 1959:1004-10,esp 1007.

U29. *un-ga-tass adj*a* ἄτακτος *undisciplined, idle*, only acc pl m *-tassans* 1Th 5.14, adv *-tassaba* ἀτάκτως *in idleness*, only 2Th 3.6,11.

MDu *on-get(h)es* adj *restless* Verwijs and Verdam, eds 1885-1952 V:710, Martin 1877 AinZDA 3:106, to *ge-tes accommodating, fitting* Verdam 1886 TNTL 6:300ff.

PGmc *tad-* + PIE *-to-* → *-tass*; cf OI *taδ* n *(spread out) manure, teδja* wkv *manure*, NE *ted spread out (hay)*, OHG *zetten* wkv *strew, spread out.*

PIE *dā-* : *də-* *distribute*: Skt *dâti distribute, cut off*; Gk δαίομαι, δατέομαι *distribute* Fick 1910 Glotta 2:128; but Gk new formation, Schwyzer 1939-50 I:676; uncertain, Chantraine 1968-80:254, ἄ-δαστος ← PIE *n̥-dət-to- undistributed*, Gk δάσμα *portion*; TochA *tät-k separate, cut up.*

P 1959:175-79, esp 177, Vries 1962:579.

U30. *unkja mn *land measure*, borrowed from Lat *uncia twelfth, ounce*, only gen pl *-jane* DeA.

OE *ynce inch*†, later *undse ounce*†; late borrowing, OHG *unze*, MHG *unz(e)* st/wkf *ounce*. W/H 1938-56 II:815-16; Onions 1966: 468,636.

U31. un-ledi n*ia* πτωχεία *poverty* 2C 8.2; *un-leds* adj*a* πτωχός, πενής *poor* (only this nom sg L 16.20; elsewhere medial *d*); according to J Wackernagel 1926-28 II:285 *without inheritance*, ἄκληρος; according to Weisweiler 1923 IF 41:331-32 orig 'at a lower social station'.

OE *un-lǣdu* f *misery*, *un-lǣd poor, unlucky* ← PIE *n̥-lēto-* with prefix accent; cf **un-**; second element in OI *lāδ*, OE *lǣþ* stn *land, property*; OI *lōδ* f/n *yield from land.*

Etymology disputed: possibly from PIE *lē(y)- to grant, property*: Gk λάτρον *payment*, Hom λάτρις, λατρεύς *day laborer, hireling* (etymology rejected by Chantraine 1968-80: 622-23; tentatively accepted by Frisk 1960-72 II:89-90), though not λήιον *seed, grain*, which is related to ἀπο-λαύω *enjoy* Frisk 1960-72 II: 115; OSl *lětь it is permitted*. Not Lith *líeta matter, affair, use* Fraenkel 1962-65:367-68. Grienberger 1900:227 proposed Go **leδa-* ← PIE *lētóm what was left*, and PIE *lēy-* as in **letan* (which P 1959:665 suggests may be the same root as *lēy- grant*). Other less cogent etymologies cited by Vries 1962:343.

U32. *un-mana-riggws adj ἀνήμερος *wild, cruel* 2T 3.3, only nom pl m *-riggwai* Cod B, *-rigwai* Cod A.

In E Schulze 1848, J Grimm, Vorrede VII, compares OHG *unmanaluomi monstrous, immense*; further, OE *un-mann* m *evil man, demon*, MHG *un-man* m *evildoer*; cf **1. manna.**

-riggws is etymologically obscure, though derived by P 1959:332 from PIE *er- set in*

motion, like OE *rēow fierce, wild* (in spite of Grienberger 1900:228); base *(e)r-ew-*: Skt *ṛṇóti*, Gk ὄρνῡμι *move*; ὀρούω *plunge, storm*; Lat *ruō hasten*; MIr *rūathar attack, charge*; OI *ǫrr hasty*, OE *earu*, OS *aru rapid*. PGmc then *rew-H-* as in **triggws**. Other proposals cited and rejected by F 1939:522.

U33. uns, *unsis* acc dat pl of **weis** = ἡμᾶς, ἡμῖν *us* M 6.11, 8.25 (on the distribution of the two forms see Dickhoff 1913 ZDA 54: 466-74, M Jellinek 1926:122, B/E 1981:100); *unsar* possibly prn *our* M 6.9; *unsara* gen pl of **weis**.

OI *oss*, OE dat *ūs*, acc *ūs-ic*, OFris, OS *ūs*, OHG dat *uns*, acc *uns-ih* us†. OE *ūser*, *ūsse*, *ūre*, OFris *ūse*, OS *ūsa*, OHG *unsar*, *our*†, possessive adj (from *uns* with PIE *-ero-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:404; cf ***igqar** on *-ar*). See also **ugkis**.

PIE *ne*, *n̥-*, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:383-84,409: Skt *nás*, Av *nō*, Lat *nōs*, OIr *ni* (Pedersen 1909-13 II:168-69), OSl *ny*, Alb *na*, Hitt *-nas we, anzas us*, dat and acc; TochA *näṣ*, B *ñiś I* (shift to sg); OPruss *noūson* ← **nōs-sōm* gen pl; OSl *nasъ our*. From PIE *n̥s-me-*: Skt *asmá-*, Av *ahma- us*; Gk ἡμεῖς, Aeol ἄμμες *we*.

P 1959:758; also H Jensen 1930 IF 48:122 and Petersen 1930 Lg 6:179, Watkins 1985:44.

U34. *un-skaus *sober*, only nom pl m *unskawai sijaima* νήφωμεν *let us be sober* 1Th 5.8B.

Possibly to OI *ørskār careful, thoughtful* Vries 1962:484,509, *skygn clear-sighted*; OE *scēawian*, OFris *skawia*, OS *scauwōn*, OHG *scouwōn* wkv *see*.

PIE *kew-, skew note*: Skt *kaví- wise, poet*; Gk κοέω *note, hear*; ἀκούω *hear*; cf **hausjan** *hear*; with *s-*: MIran *škōh splendor*; Gk θυοσκόος *officiating (scanning the offering) priest*; Arm *çuçanem show* ← *sku-sk-*, Meillet 1894 MSLP 8:297; see also ***skauns**. See Grienberger 1900:228, who derives set from PIE *(s)kew- cover*, as in **huzd**, as if **un-skaus* = *not beclouded* to *sober*; cf **skauda-raip**. P 1959:951-53; less credible.

P 1959:587-88.

U35. un-suti n*ja(ia)* ἀκαταστασία *confusion*, only dat pl *-tjam* 2C 6.5.

Etymology uncertain. Possibly after Uhlenbeck 1900:158 to **sutis** *fitting*; cf OE *un-swēte*, OS *un-swōti*, OHG *un-suozi not sweet*†, *not pleasant*. See Mayrhofer 1954 ZVS 71:75.

U36. unte conj; temporal ἕς *until*, as *long as* M 5.18, causal γάρ, ὅτι, ἐπεί *since* M 6. 14.

OS *unt(i)*, OHG *unz(i)*, *unza until*†.

Cmpd of **und** and *-te*: Lat *dē from*; OIr *dī from*, also privative ptc; in origin, inst of dem prn PIE *de-, do-*; a derivative with ablaut, OE, OFris, OS *tō*, OHG *zuo to*†; cf Lat *dē-nique finally*: **dō-ne-que* → *dōnec until* W/H 1938-56 I:371; *quan-de from where*: *quan-dō when*. Other reflexes, Gk -δε in Hom δόμον-δε *(to) home*, Att ἐνθά-δε *from where*; Lat *in-de from there*, *dum* ← **dom still, while* (orig 'then'); Lith *da until* Fraenkel 1962-65:78-79; OSl *da so that, do up to*. This derivation preferable to Kluge 1909 BGDSL 35:573-74 from **und** + **þe**, as in **bi-þe**, **du-þe**, because of meaning *as long as, since*; also Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:837 (cf *und þatei until*). Even less likely, Solmsen 1888 ZVS 29:333, from PIE *n̥tḗ*, comparing Gk ἔντε *until*; see Chantraine 1968-80:378-79.

P 1959:181-82 on PIE *de/o-*.

U37. *un-tila-malsks adj*a* προπετής *reckless*, only nom pl m *-skai* 2T 3.4.

Cmpd of *un-tila- unsuited*, antonym of *ga-tils suitable* (cf **til**), and *-malsks* (← **malk-ska-*[?], cf Gk μαλακός *weak*): OS *malsk proud, haughty*, LG *malsch crisp*; MDu *mal*, MLG *mall foolish*.

Etymology uncertain; possibly from PIE *melə-k-, mlāk- soft, weak, foolish*, an extension of *mel- grind* as in ***malan**: possibly in Skt *malvás foolish*, cf ***ga-malwjan** *crush*; + *-k-*, Gk βλᾶξ *limp, foolish*; MIr *malcad rotting*; Lith *mùlkis fool*; Bulg, Serb *mlâk lukewarm*; for others, see P 1959:716-19 and ***malan**. Not Skt *mūrkhás stupid* Mayrhofer 1956-80 II:602, Fraenkel 1962-65:471; nor Lat *flaccus flabby*

W/H 1938-56 I:507-08. -- Grienberger 1900:229 derives PGmc *malska-* ← **mald-ska-*, comparing Gk μάλθων *weakling*, cf ***mildiþa**; OSl *mladz tender, young*. Exact source difficult to determine, in view of multiple suffixation of PIE *mel-*. -- Interpreting *un-tila-* as *unsuitably* Ebbinghaus 1977 GL 17:20 expects it to express "a higher degree of being **malsks*". He then relates Gk μάλα, μᾶλλον *much, more*, Lat *multum much*, and assumes origin in PIE *mel-big, powerful*, P 1959:720. Like the other proposals this one suffers from absence of close cognates; **malsks* may be non-IE.

U38. *un-wahs adj*a* ἄμεμπτος *blameless*, only nom pl n *un-waha* L 1.6. On the meaning see Weisweiler 1923 IF 41:339ff, esp 341.

Simplex in OE *wōhs crooked*, as n noun *error*, OS *wāh* n *evil*. Not OI *vā* f *harm, bad luck*, as demonstrated by the Finn loanword *vaiva difficulty* Vries 1962:637, though accepted by Weisweiler.

PIE *wek-, we-n-k- bend, wonko- crooked*: Skt *vaṅkas curve of a river, váñcati goes crookedly*; Av *vašyete makes waves* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:127; Lat *con-vexus curved, convex, vacillō waver* W/H 1938-56 I:268-69; MIr *feccaid* v *bow*; see also ***waggs**.

P 1959:1134-35.

U39. un-wita mn ἄφρων, ἀσύνετος *ignorant, fool* 2C 11.23; **fulla-wita* mn τέλειος *perfect* Col 1.28; *un-witi* n*ja* ἀφροσύνη, ἄγνοια *ignorance* Mk 7.22.

OI *ū-viti*, OE *un-wita*, OHG *un-wizzo* wkm *fool*; OI *viti characteristic*, OE *wita*, OHG *wizzo* wkm *wise man, counselor*; OE *ge-wita*, OFris *wita*, OS *ge-wito*, OHG *gi-wizzo* wkm *witness*; *fora-wizzo* wkm *fore-knowing*; OE *witt* n *understanding, wit*†, OFris *wit*, OS *ge-wit*, OHG *(gi-)wizzi* stn *understanding, knowledge*; OS *un-witi*, OHG *un-wizzī* stf *ignorance*. See **1. witan**.

PIE *weyd- know*: Skt *-vid-* as in *aśva-vid- knowing horses*; Gk νη-ις, gen νή-ιδος *unknowing*; OIr *ainb* (*i*-stem; cf nom pl *ainbi*) *not knowing*; *drūi sage*, possibly Gaul **druwid-* as in pl *druides* (Caesar, Gallic War VI: 13), Thurneysen 1893 ZVS 32:563-64, Vendryès 1959-:S-199 under OIr *suí sage*. Scarcely *druides* as *knowing oaks* after Pliny, Nat hist 16:249, though proposed by Thurneysen 1927 ZCP 16:276-77. Skt *vidyā́*, Av *viδya knowledge*.

P 1959:1125-27, Watkins 1985:74.

U40. un-wunands neg prpl ἀδημονῶν *distressed*, only Ph 2.26.

To **wunan*, OI *una be content, dwell, enjoy*; OE *wunian*, OFris *wunia*, OS *wonōn*, OHG *wonēn* wkv *dwell, remain*, (zero grade form of root; cf Gdr 1897-1916 I:330); also OE *wuna*, OS *giwono* m; *giwono*, OHG *giwona* st/wkf *custom*; OE *wynn*, OS, OHG *wunnia*, OHG *wunna* st/wkf, *wunnī* stf *joy*; OE *(ge-)wuna accustomed*; with *e*-grade: OI *vinr*, OE, OFris *wine*, OS, OHG *wini* stm *friend*; OI *vinstri*, OE *winester*, OFris *winister*, OS, OHG *winistar* adj *left*, st/wkf *the left (friendly) hand*; OE *wenian* wkv *accustom*.

PIE *wen- strive; wish, love; be content*; perfective *attain, conquer*: Skt *vánati, vanóti, vā́ñchati* (: OE *wȳscan*, OHG *wunsken* wkv *wish*†) *demand, love; conquer*; Av *vanaiti, vanaoiti conquer* (cf NHG *ge-winnen*, NE *win*); Lat *venus love, pleasure, Venus goddess of love*; OIr *fine relationship, fini cognate* Zimmer 1879 ZVS 24:212. Also Hitt *wenzi cohabit*; TochA *wañi*, B *wīn contentment*. Cf **winja, winnan**.

P 1959:1146-47, Watkins 1985:76.

U41. uraz name of the *u*-rune in Sal (scribal error for **uruz* = OI *ūr*); in the OE rune poem identical to OI *ūrr*, OE, MLG *ūr*, OHG *ūro*, MHG *ūr(e)* st/wkm *aurochs*. In the Icelandic set of runes = OI *ūr* n *drizzle* (this shift because the aurochs had died out in Scandinavia, Arntz 1944:188-89); thereupon connotations of manly strength arose.

Etymology uncertain, and also source; Lat *ūrus* is from Gmc according to Caesar, Gallic War 6:28, from Celt according to Macrobius VI.4:23; cf W/H 1938-56 II:843. Cognate with

Skt *usrás bull* according to Froehde 1878 BKIS 2:337, which however may be a metaphorical derivative of *usrás early in the morning* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:113-15. According to Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:209, cognate with OI *ūr drizzle*: Skt *vár, vári water*; Av *vār- rain*; Lith *jūra sea* Fraenkel 1962-65:198; Arm *jur*; TochA *wär*, B *war water*; cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:194 on problems. Here possibly also Skt *uṣṭá bull for plowing, úṣṭras buffalo*, based on PIE *wes- damp* P 1959:1171-72.

If related to *ūr*, based on PIE *aw-* ← *Hewwet, flow* as in Skt *avatás spring*; with extensions in Skt *vár water*; PIE *wer-s-*: Skt *várṣati rain*; + *-en-*: Skt *vṛṣán- man, stallion* ← *producing semen*. The complex semantic and morphological situation has given rise to much speculation, as in Schneider 1956:232-37; cf also Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:160,251-52.

P 1959:78-81.

U42. *ur-rugks adj*a depraved*, only nom pl m *-kai* E 2.3 gloss to *barna hatize* τέκνα ὀργῆς *children of wrath*.

Meaning and etymology uncertain, Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:319. L Meyer 1869:278 proposed relationship with Skt *vṛṇákti turn*, with loss of *w-*, Gk ἔργειν *enclose*, both extensions of PIE *wer- turn, bend* P 1959:1152-54, 1168; approved by K Johansson 1891 BGDSL 15:236-37. Grienberger 1900:230 reconstructed **uz-wrugks unsettled*, relating this to Gk ῥέμβω *roam about*, also from PIE *wer-*, with extension *wremb-*, P 1959:1153; cf Wood 1901 MLN 16: 311. Neither proposal cogent.

U43. ur-runs ma ἀφεδρών *latrine* M 7.19, ἀνατολή *rising* (*of the sun*; loan-translation according to Lane 1933 PQ 12:323-24), *east* L 1.78; also *fi* ἔξοδος *exit*, only acc sg L 9. 31. To ***rinnan**; cf *runs*, **ga-runs*.

OHG *ur-runs* stf *rising*; *urrunst* stf *beginning*.

U44. us prep and prefix ἀπό, ἐκ *out of*, 19th most frequent word, M 5.37; ← PGmc *uz* as in Go *uz-u(h)*; compare *ur-* before *r-* as in *ur-riqiza out of darkness* 2C 4.6.

OI *or, ur, ør* prep and prefix, OE *or-* (Wilhelm Lehmann 1906), OFris, OS *ur-, or-*, OHG *ur* prep and *ur-, ir-, ar- out of* (Wolf 1915; Gruber 1930).

Etymology uncertain, Uhlenbeck 1906 TNTL 25:302. Possibly from PIE *aw-, wĕ-away from, down*: Skt *avás, áva downward*, Av, OPers *ava downward*; Lat *au-* away (in *au-ferō, au-fugiō*); OIr *ō, ua down, from*; Lith, Latvian *au-* away *from*, as in Lith *aũmonėmis unconscious* Fraenkel 1962-65:24; OSl *u-* away, cf ***auþs**. Not opposed, Brugmann 1904a:463, 468, who however like J Schmidt 1889:219 fn1 and Jacobsohn 1920 ZVS 49:195 considers origin possible in PIE *ud-s-* before voiced stop; (according to Osthoff 1881:261-62 from *ud-* before dentals); association with **ut**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:903; Av *us-, uz-*, OPers *us*; Gk ὑς- as in ὗσ-πληξ *fowler's snare*; Lat *ūsque continuously, up to*; OIr *oss-* up Vendryès 1959-:O-34. Older speculation in F 1939:528. Not Hitt *aṷan* adv *quite* Tischler 1983- I:98, Puhvel 1984-:245.

P 1959:1103-04.

U45. *us-alþans papl[?] γραώδης *silly* from 'senile', only gen pl f *-naizo* 1T 4.7; cf **alþeis**.

OI *aldinn aged*; according to Grimm 1893: 192,565 not from **us-alþan age, grow old and gray*.

Probably from PIE *al- grow*, though the formation is disputed; according to Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:315 from a *-t*-present; according to Brugmann 1918 BGDSL 43:319ff from a *-dh*-present, as in Gk ἀλθαίνω *heal*, with *þ* substituted for *d* after **alþeis**.

U46. *us-baugjan wkvI σαροῦν *sweep out*, only 3sg prs *-geiþ* L 15.8; assumed to be caus to ***biugan** (*sweep = make fly*[?]) by Grienberger 1900:230-31.

OI *beygja*, OE *bīegan*, OFris *beia*, OS *bōgian*, OHG *bougen* wkv *bend*. Far less likely to PIE *bhewg(h)- cleanse, liberate*, as by P 1959:152-53, with reflexes only in Gmc and Indo-Iran: Av *bunjainti liberate, baoxtar*

liberator, *būjim* *cleansing* (acc); Pali *paribhuñjati* *cleanses*; rejected by Bezzenberger 1902 BKIS 27:151, with reference to Hom ἀ-φυσγετός *mud*, Iliad XI:495; this in turn rejected by W/H 1938-56 I:566 and Chantraine 1968-80:148.

U47. *us-dauþs adja σπουδαῖος *earnest*, only acc sg m *-udana* 2C 8.22, comp *us-daudoza* 2C 8.17, adv *us-daudo* σπουδαίως *earnestly* L 7.4; *us-daudei* fn προσκαρτέρησις *endurance* E 6.8, σπουδή *zeal*; **us-daudjan* wkvI σπουδάζειν *be eager* E 4.3, ἀγωνίζεσθαι *strive* Col 1.29.

Etymology disputed. According to Grienberger 1900:231 to **dauþs** with the sense *not sluggish*; also Holthausen 1934b:21, P 1959:260-61. Others relate Skt *dódhat- troubled, fierce*, *dúdhitas thick* as epithet of *támas darkness*; also Gk θύσανος *tassel* doubted by Chantraine 1968-80:447; these to PIE *dhew- whirl, blow, storm* as in Skt *dhūmás smoke, vapor*, Gk θῦμός *spirit, passion*, Lat *fūmus smoke*; cf **dauns**; Persson 1912:744 fn1 preferred this source, noting Lat *fūnus burial*, though see P 1959:60, W/H 1938-56 I:568 and OI *dā* n *trance*, *doȸna* wkv *become insensible*, also from PIE *dhew-*, P 1959:260-61. See also Høst 1949 NTS 15:410-11.

U48. *us-farþo fn *departure*, only acc sg *in usfarþon gatawida us skipa* ἐναυάγησα *I suffered shipwreck* 2C 11.25; derivative of **faran** + PIE *-tā-*, with weak inflection, Kluge 1926:64; cf **aggwiþa**.

OI *ōr-fǫr* f *departure*; + PIE *-ti-*: OI *ferð journey*; OE *fierd*, OFris *ferd*, OS *fard military expedition, army*, OHG *fart* stf *journey*.

U49. *us-filma adj *frightened, astonished*, only nom pl m *-mans waurþun* ἐξεπλήσσοντο *they were astonished* Mk 1.22, L 9.43; *us-filmei* fn ἔκστασις *astonishment* L 5. 26.

OI *felms-fullr frightened*, *felmtr* m *fear*, *felmta* wkv *be frightened*; OE *eal-felo frightful*; MHG *vālant devil*.

Etymology uncertain. Possibly from PIE *pel- flow; cause to flow; shake, cause to tremble*: Gk πάλλω ← **pl̥-yṓ swing*, παλμός *quivering*; possibly OSl *plachz* ← **polso-wavering, cowardly*, *plachz trembling, fearful* Solmsen 1902 BGDSL 27:364; Arm *ałmuk agitation*. + *-em-*: Gk πελεμίζω *swing, cause to tremble*, πελεμίζομαι *quake* Fick 1870 ZVS 19: 263; possibly also πόλεμος (though cf πτόλεμος) *war*; approved however by Chantraine 1968-80: 854,875-76.

P 1959:798-801, esp 801.

U50. *us-flaugjan wkvI, only nom pl m papl *-gidai* περιφερόμενοι *carried about* E 4.14A, a reading of Uppström where Gabelentz and Loebe 1848:800,1473 and Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:343 read *us-walugidai*; Uppström's reading approved by Bernhardt, ed 1875:496, Braune 1908 LGRP 29:328 and Friesen 1927: 19.

If Uppström's reading is correct, a caus like OI *fleygja cause to fly*, MHG *er-vlougen* wkv *banish* beside OI *fljūga*, OE *flēogan*, OFris *fliāga*, MLG *vlēgen*, OHG *fliugan* stv *fly*; cf ***fugls**.

Seebold 1970:201-02.

U51. us-fratwjan wkvI σοφίσαι *make wise, instruct*, only 2T 3.15 (actually 'equip, provide with'); see A Sturtevant 1937 JEGP 36:181-82 on semantic development: 'adorn' to 'equip', to 'prepare, instruct'.

In form = OE *frætw(i)an* wkv *adorn*, to *frætwe* f pl *adornment, decorations*; OS *fratahōn* wkv *adorn*, *fratah* f[?] *decoration, adornment*, with loss of *-w-* after consonant and introduction of *h*, Gallée 1910:150.

Etymology difficult. Possibly as Gmc *us-fra-twa-* to PGmc *ga-tawja*: OI *gǫtvar* f pl *armor, adornment*, OE *geatwe* (← **ga-twa-*, Kluge 1883 ZVS 26:75-76) beside *getawe* f pl *equipment, decoration*, *geatwan* wkv *adorn*, *tawian* wkv *prepare, deal with*. Further related to **taujan**, Hollander 1905-06 ZDW 7:301, F 1939:474-75 (in contrast with 531); also Grienberger 1900:231, who relates ***tewa**, PGmc

tĕhw-, in contrast with F 1939:476.

P 1959:218-19.

U52. *us-gaisjan wkvI *frighten*, only papl *-siþs ist* ἐξέστη *he is beside himself* Mk 3.21; **us-geisnan* wkvIV ἐκπλήσεσθαι, ἐξίστασθαι *be astonished* L 2.47.

NI *geiski fright*, OI *geiska-fullr full of fear*; OE *gǣstan* ← **gaistjan* wkv *frighten*, NE *aghast* ie 'full of amazement', *ghastly* ie 'frightful'; OE *gāst*, OS *gēst*, OHG *geist* stm *spirit, supernatural being, ghost*†.

PIE *gheys- be frightened*: Av *zaēša- horrible, zōišnu- frightened, trembling*, superl *zōiždištō the most horrible*, with *-d-* as in OE *gāst*. Also Skt *hiḍ- be angry* (though from *ĝheis- + -d-*), *héḍas-* n *anger (of gods)* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:601-02. Skt *hinásti injure, destroy* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:595, may also be related; cf P 1959:424-25 *ĝhey-, ĝhēy- move vigorously; hurl* to 'wound': OIr *goite wounded*; Lith *žaizdà wound, žeĩsti to wound* Fraenkel 1962-65:1285,1296. Probably not OSl *u-žasnǫti frighten* because of the vocalism (in spite of Meillet 1902-05:178, 1896 MSLP 9:374, 1905-06 MSLP 13:243). Nor Lat *haereō adhere* W/H 1938-56 I:632; nor Lat *īra anger* W/H 1938-56 I:717-18.

P 1959:427.

U53. *us-grudja adj *lacking courage*, only nom pl m *-djans wairþan* ἐκκακεῖν *lose heart* L 18.1.

Obscure. Grienberger 1900:232 compared OHG *grutigero* 'intenta (meditatione)', Graff 1834-46 IV:312, to which Mezger 1938 ZVS 65: 260-61 added *ingrutīg* 'intentus'; OE *grēada* wkm *bosom, heart, courage*, and *us-* with privative value, leading to 'lacking courage'; further, OIr *grūad cheek*.

P 1959:462 proposes for these PIE *ghrowd-*, restricted to Gmc and Celt; highly doubtful. F 1939:532 hesitantly compared Aeol, Gk χραύω *touch lightly, wound*; this from PIE *ghrēw-, ghrū- rub apart* P 1959:460-62: Wel *gro*, OCorn *grow sand*; OI *grjōn* n *groats*; possibly also OHG *ingrūēn*, MHG *grūen* wkv *shudder, fear*; with *-d-* Lith *grūsti*, Latvian *grûst stamp, press*; Lith *grūdas*, Latvian *grûds grain*; OSl *gruda clump of earth*; OI *grjōt*, OE *grēot*, OS *griot* stn, OHG *griez* stm *sand, grit*†; see **Greotingi**. Other proposals cited in F 1939:532, including Lat *rūdus broken stone*, related by Walde 1906 IF 19:100 but rejected in W/H 1938-56 II:447-48.

U54. us-haista adj ὑστερηθείς *needy*, only 2C 11.8.

No etymology. Grienberger 1900:232 assumed privative value for *us-* as in *usliþa* + adj related to OE *hǣst* f *violence, struggle*, like Diefenbach 1846-51 II:506; Holthausen 1934a: 146 compares Go **haifsts** *fi strife*, which Grienberger had rejected. F 1939:532 rejected this and other proposals, including relation to **hais**. Mezger 1938 ZVS 65:123 proposed connection with **haitan**.

U55. *us-hlaupan stvVII ἀνίστημι *leap up*, only prpl *-pands* Mk 10.50.

OE *āhlēapan spring up*; simplex in OI *hlaupa*, OE *hlēapan*, OFris *hlāpa*, OS *hlōpan*, OHG *hloufan* stv *run, hasten*, cf NE *leap, lope*; for forms see Feist 1907 BGDSL 32:452-53, Seebold 1970:259-61.

Etymology unknown. Assuming a base PIE *klup/b- stumble* E Zupitza 1896:118 compared Lith *klùpti*, Latvian *klupt*, Lith *klùbti stumble*, Latvian *kluburs lame, awkward person*; further Gk κάλπη *trot*, which Chantraine 1968-80:487 rejects; cited by Fraenkel 1962-65:276 and P 1959:630, with primary form PIE *kwelp- stumble*. Following O Hoffmann 1903 *F* Fick: 51 and others Fraenkel 1962-65:1009 also associates Lith *šlùbas*, Latvian *slums lame*, Lith *šlùbti become lame*, Latvian *slubît limp*, with reference to Specht 1944:130-31,262; further, Skt *śroṇás lame, śróṇiṣ hip, buttock*, Av *sraoni-*; Lat *clūnis buttock*; Wel *clun hip*; OI *hlaun buttock*; also W Schulze 1966:124, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:395; see P 1959:607-08. F 1939:532-33 rejects these on the basis of incompatibility of meaning with Gmc. Seebold 1970: 261 sees a possible base in Gk κέλευθος *way*,

course; Lith *keliáuti travel*, which Fraenkel 1962-65:237 relates to Lith *kélti lift, move*; cf P 1959:554,544.

U56. *us-hulon wkvII λατομεῖν *hollow out*, only 3sg prt *-loda* M 27.68.

OI *hola*, OE *(ā-)holian*, OHG *holōn* wkv *hollow out*; derivation of PGmc *hola-*: OI *holr*, OE, OFris, MLG, OHG *hol* adj *hollow*†, as n noun *cavity*; OI *hylr* m *depression, deep place (in a river)*; OF *an hulingon* 'in occultis' *in hidden places*. Not to **hulundi** according to F 1939:533, in contrast with Grimm 1878:29, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:1906, Vries 1962:248.

PIE *kaw-l-, ku-l- hollow, hollow stem*: Skt *kulyā* f *brook, ditch*, possibly *kulgam receptable for bones of burnt corpse, bone* Mayrhofer 1956-80 I:242-43. Gk καυλός *stem, shaft*; Lat *caulis, cōlis stem, penis*; MIr *cuaille post*; Lith *káulas bone*; Latvian *kaũls bone, stem*; OPruss *kaulan* acc *bone*.

P 1959:537.

U57. *us-met na ἀναστροφή *manner of life*, dat *-te* E 4.22, ἀγωγή *conduct* 2T 3.10, πολιτεία *citizenship, life of a citizen* E 2.12; *us-mitan* stvV ἀναστρέφεσθαι *behave* 1T 3.15; ***mitan**, ***ga-motan**. On the semantic development see A Sturtevant 1937 JEGP 36: 180-81: 'measure out' to 'observe proper measure of conduct' to 'behave'.

OE *or-mǣte* adj, *mǣte unimportant, small, bad*, MHG *māze* adv *moderately*; OI *māt* n *evaluation, māti* m *manner*, MHG *māz* n *moderation*; OFris *mēte*, MLG *māte* f, OHG *māza* f *moderation, manner*; OE *gemǣte*, OHG *gemāze suitable, meet*†.

PIE *med- measure*: Gk μήδος *counsel*; OIr *ro-mīdar judge*; Arm *mit meaning*.

P 1959:705-06.

U58. *us-skarjan wkvI *tear out*, only 3pl opt pass in *us-skarjaindau us unhulþins wruggon* ἀνανήψωσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος *they may be freed from the snare of the devil* 2T 2.26, and 2pl prs *us-skarjiþ izwis garaihtaba* ἐκνήψατε δικαίως *come to your right mind* 1C 15.34A.

Amended to ***us-skawjan** by Bernhardt, ed 1875:582-83 *make wise* (as was also *un-skawai* to *us-skawai sijaima* νήφωμεν *let us be sober* 1Th 5.8B); supported by A Sturtevant 1928 PQ 7:79-80, assuming a scribal error; Bethge 1900a:203 amends to ***us-skaujan**; upheld in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:275, following Braun.

OE *ā-scierian separate, cut off*, OS *skerian*, OHG *skerjan* wkv *separate, distribute*; caus to OI *skera*, OE *sceran*, MLG *scheren*, OHG *skeran* stv *shear*†; OI *skǫr host*, OE *scearo*, OFris *sker*, OS, OHG *skara* stf *portion, host, retinue*.

PIE *(s)ker- cut*: Skt *kṛṇāti harms, kills*; Gk κείρω *cut, shear*; Lat *carō meat*, Umbr *karu portion*; OIr *scaraim separate*; Lith *skìrti separate, cut*.

P 1959:938-40, Watkins 1985:59-60.

U59. us-stagg imp ἔξελε *pluck out!*, only M 5.29A; also emended to *us-stigg* after Uppström, but maintained by Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:2 because it agrees with the intonation.

According to Grienberger 1900:233-34 and Brugmann 1913 IF 32:180, 1913-14 IF 33:284-85 to ***us-staggan** (prs like **gaggan**): OI *stinga*, OE *stingan* stv *stick, sting*† (cf OHG *walzan* : OI *velta* wkv *roll*); OI *stanga stick*, MHG *stengen* wkv *drive to do work*. Also OI *stǫng* f, OE *steng* m, OS, OHG *stanga* st/wkf *staff, pole*.

PIE *stegh-, stengh- stick, staff*: Gk στάχυς ← *-n-* *ear of grain*; Lith *sténgti exert oneself, stangùs obstinate*; Latvian *stiñgt become rigid*; from non-nasal root: Gk στόχος *aim, conjecture*, στοχάζομαι *conjecture, aim at*; not Lith *stãgaras thin, dry stalk* Fraenkel 1962-65: 891-92, nor its cognates. Further conjectures dubious.

P 1959:1014-15, with erroneous reflexes, such as Lith *stãgaras*.

U60. *us-þriutan stvV κόπον (κόπους) παρέχειν *bother, persecute*, only 3sg prs *-tiþ* L 18.5, 2pl prs *-tiþ* Mk 14.6, acc pl m

prpl *-tandans* M 5.44.

OI *þrjōta* *tire*, OE *(ā-)þrēotan* *tire, become disagreeable*; MLG *vor-drēten*, OHG *ar-driozan, bi-driozan* stv *oppress, trouble*; OI *þrjōtr* *annoying person*; OE *ā-þrot* n *loathing, weariness, ā-þrȳt* *troublesome*; OI *þraut* f *distress*; OE *þrēat* *crowding, crush*, MLG *drōt* *threat*†, MHG *drōz* stm *vexation, inconvenience*.

PIE *tr-ew-d-* *thrust, press*: Lat *trūdō* *thrust, push away*; OIr *tromm* oppressive ← **trud-smo-*, Pedersen 1909-13 I:362; MIr *trott* *quarrel*, Wel *trythu* *swell*; OSl *trudz* *trouble, difficulty*, *truditi sę* *exert oneself*; Alb *tredh* *castrate* ← *crush the testicles*.

P 1959:1095-96.

U61. *us-walugjan wkvI *toss about*, only nom pl m papl *-gidai* περιφερόμενοι *tossed to and fro* E 4.14. According to Braun in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:343 *u* is a svarabhakti vowel as in **miluks**; cf OHG *walagōn, walgōn* 'volvi' *roll about*. Less likely, Specht 1932 ZVS 59:221 fn2 compares Gk ἀφύω : ἀφύσσω *draw liquids* and posits *-ukį̄-ō* → -υσσω as suffix, also in Go. Cognate with ***waltjan** and ***af-walwjan**.

According to Hamel 1925 Neophil 10:72 derived from an adj **walugs* (cf **handugs**) to ***walus** like **ga-bigjan* to *gabigs*; possibly **walugs* = *wandering*; cf OFris *walu-bera* *pilgrim*.

P 1959:1140-44.

U62. ut adv ἔξω *out* M 9.32; *uta* adv ἔξω *outside* M 26.69; *utana* adv ἔξωθεν *from outside, up to* J 9.22; *utaþro* adv ἔξωθεν *from outside* Mk 7.15.

OI *ūt* adv, OE, OFris, OS *ūt* adv and prep, OHG *ūz* adv, prep and conj *out*†; accompanied by suffixes, like other adverbs of place, see B/E 1981:133; OI *ūti*, OE, OFris *ūte*, OS *ūta, ūte*, OHG *ūze, ūzi* adv *outside* (PIE *-ō* in Go, *-oi* elsewhere [?]); OI, OE, OS *ūtan*, OFris *ūta*, OHG *ūzan(a)* adv *outside*; cf **aftana, inn** and suffixed forms.

PIE *ŭd-* *upward*, *ŭd-s*; also + *-ter-* and *-t̥mo-*: Skt *ud-, ut-* *out of, ut-tamás* *highest*; Av *us-, uz-* (← **ud-s*) *out of, us-təmō* *last*; possibly Gk ὐ, ὐ *upon* (Cypriot), also in nouns, eg ὕστριξ *hedgehog*, though not in ὕβρις *pride*, cf Chantraine 1968-80:1149,1150,1163; on ὑστέρα *womb*; ὕστερος *later* (: Skt *úttaras* *later*), ὕστατος *latest* (a Gk neologism), cf Chantraine 1968-80:1162-63; Lat *ūsque* *continuously* cf W/H 1938-56 II:844; Lith *už-* prefix *to-*, prep *for, toward*, Latvian *uz, ūz* adv and prep *to*; OSl *v-sz-* prefix and prep *up to*. See Kortlandt 1977 ZVS 91:37 on vowel.

P 1959:1103-04, Watkins 1985:72.

U63. utal name of *o*-rune in Sal = Go **oþal* ← PGmc *ōþala-* with alternate *ōþila-* → OE *ēþel*, Bugge 1905-13:32,63-64.

OI *ōðal* n *patrimony, family homestead*; OE *ēþel, ōþel* m/n *homestead, fatherland*; OS *ōthil*, OHG *uodil* stm *property, home, fater-uodil* stm *home*; also as 2nd component of ***haimoþli**. Lengthened grade form of PGmc *aþala-* as in OI *aðal* n *nature*, in cmpds *chief*; also in Go PeN *Athal(a)*, Schönfeld 1911:33-34.

No etymology; Vries 1962:1-2 rejects earlier attempts as well as the proposal by Szemerényi 1952 Word 8:42-50 to derive **utal** from PIE *at-als*, comparing Lat *indolēs* ← **endo-alēs* *nature*, *prōlēs* ← **pro-alēs* *descendants*, PIE *al-* *grow*, as in ***alan**, P 1959:26-27.

See Arntz 1944:229, Schneider 1956:56-58 on the rune name.

U64. uuaer name of the *h*-rune in Sal; Arntz 1944:172,230.

According to Kirchhoff 1854:46-47 for **huuaer* = Go **hvair* : OI *hverr*, OE, OHG *hwer* m *kettle*; approved by Zacher 1855:13ff and Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:220ff. Bugge 1905-13:87-88 assumes Go *hva her* (after M 20.6 τί ὧδε). Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:151 suggests **hvair* *hot spring* : OI *hverir* *hot springs*, *hvergelmir* *the primeval springs in Niflheim*. Schneider 1956:147-48 adopts Kirchhoff's proposal, but with the metaphorical value: 'vulva muliebris'.

U65. Uuillienant [PeN of one of the contracting parties among the signatures of DeN]; based on *wilja-*, cf **wiljan** and stem of ***(ana-)nanþjan**. See Förstemann 1900:1591ff, 1148ff; Schönfeld 1911:265 on *Wilia*.

U66. uuinne name of the *w*-rune in Sal; cf OE *wen*, *wyn* in the Rune poem, *uyn* in the Salzburg manuscript; see Arntz 1944:202-03.

According to Zacher 1855:9, Grienberger 1896 BGDSL 21:217-18, Bugge 1905-13:59-60, Brate 1920 ANF 36:198 = Go **winja** *meadow*, pronounced *winjä*; approved by Arntz 1944: 202 as nicely closing the first set of eight runes begun with **fe**. According to Kirchhoff 1854:40 = Go **winna** *suffering*. According to Marstrander 1928 NTS 1:154 the form is OHG, and the Go name was ***wunja** *joy*, OE *wynu joy*; Arntz 1944:202 rejects this as too abstract. Somewhat fancifully, Schneider 1956:60-67 derives *wynn* from PGmc **ɣuniǥō member of one's kin*, cf OIr *fine family, tribe*; cf **unwunands**.

U67. *uz-anan stvVI ἐκπνεῖν *breathe one's last*, only 3sg prt *uz-on* Mk 15.37,39; probably a calque of the Gk, Gruber 1930:42; only here in Gmc; cognates found largely with prefixes in Skt, as in *sám aṇa became alive* W Schulze 1966:569-70.

PIE *an(ə)-* elsewhere in Gmc only in nouns: with *-t-* in OE *or-(o)þ* n ← PGmc *uz-anþa- breath*, with denom *orðian* wkv *breathe*; cf OIr *os-nad* ← **uss-anad sigh*. Without prefix, OI *andi* m *breath, wind, spirit, onŝ* f *breath, anda* wkv *breathe*, OE *ōþian breathe hard*; OFris *amma breath*. Questionable here, OE *aneþa hatred, enmity, anger*, OS *ando*, OHG *anto* wkm *insult, bitterness, anger, antōn* wkv *reproach, punish* Holthausen 1934a:6, Specht 1927:36.

PIE *an(ə)- breathe*: Skt *ániti breathe, ánilas wind, breath*; Av *(par-)åntyå breathing in and out* (based on stem **anti-*, Bartholomae 1897 IF 7:59); Gk ἄνεμος *wind*; Lat *animus spirit, anima breath, spirit*; OIr *anim* f *spirit, anāl breath* Vendryès 1959-:A-78,A-71,A-73; MBret *anavon the spirits, the dead*; Alb *ájër* m *air*; not Arm *holm wind* Lidén 1906:38ff, Petersson 1916 ZVS 47:246; TochAB *āñm- life, spirit*.

P 1959:38-39.

U68. *uz-eta mn φάτνη *crib from which animals feed, manger* L 2.7, 12,16; to **itan**.

MLG *or-ēte, or-āte remainder of animal feed, straw* Verwijs and Verdam, eds 1885-1952 V:1917-18; MLG *ort remnants of food*; found as *uršš* m on the Bohemian border, Beranek 1927-28 Teuthon 4:285-86.

PIE *ed- eat*: *ē*-grade also in OI *of-āt fodder, āt*, OE, OFris *æt*, OS *āt*, OHG *āz* stn *food*. Cf Skt *ādyás edible*; Lith *ėdis* m *fodder*; OPruss *idis*, OSl *ědь, jadь food, ob-ědz meal*; not Lat *in-edia* (with *ĕ*) *fasting*; see **af-etja**.

P 1959:287-89.

W

W1. -waddjus in *baurgs-waddjus* fu τεῖχος *city wall* Neh 6.15; *grundu-waddjus* mu / fu (?, Seebold 1968 BGDSL-T 90:216) θεμέλιος *foundation* 2T 2.19; ***mid-gardi-waddjus* μεσότοιχον *dividing wall*, only acc sg *-ju* E 2.14A (*miþ* in Cod B).

OI *veggr* stm *wall*. Not here OE *wāg*, OFris *wāch*, OS *wēgos* pl stm *wall*, but rather to root of ***waihsta***, Holthausen 1934a:382, in spite of Kögel 1884 BGDSL 9:542-43, F Kauffmann 1907 ZDP 39:291, Lindeman 1964:118-19 and others. Also found with suffixes, esp *-t-*, as in ***kuna-wida***.

PIE *wey-*, *wey²- turn, bend* as in wattling: Skt *vyayati cover, enclose*, papl *vītas wrapped*, *váyati weave*, *vayas weaver, weaving*, *vémanloom*; Av *vaēiti- willow*; Gk ἴτυς *felloe of wheel, edge of shield*, ἰτέα *willow* Frisk 1960-72 I:743-44 as opposed to Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 147,260-61; Lat *viēre bind, weave*, *vīmen withe*, *vītis vine*; OIr *fē* ← ***wēi̯ā twig* K Johansson 1893 IF 2:25, *fēith cord*, Wel *gwden withe, band*; Lith *výti wind*, *vytìs twig*, Latvian *vît wind*, *vîtis* pl *shoots of hops*; OPruss *witwan withe*; OSl *poviti wind, wrap*, *věja twig*. Possibly also Arm *gi juniper*, Lidén 1905-06 IF 18:494-97; TochA *weyem confused* Windekens 1941:161.

PGmc *wayyu-* ← PIE *woy-²-u-*, with lengthening by Holtzmann's law as in **triggws**, orig meant 'woven wall, wattle', as frequently found in Gmc buildings and construction; Stephani 1902-03 I:17-18, Meringer 1898 *F* Heinzel:173ff, 1904-05 IF 17:140, F Kauffmann 1907 ZDP 39:290-91, P Friedrich 1970:55-56; later the meaning was generalized, as in *grundu-waddjus* and many occurrences of OI *veggr*.

P 1959:1120-22.

W2. wadi n*ja* ἀρραβών *guarantee* E 1. 14; ***ga-wadjon*** wkvII ἁρμόζεσθαι *promise*, only 1sg prt 2C 11.2; *wadja-bokos* fō pl χειρόγραφον *bond*, only acc Col 2.14.

OI *veð*, OE *wedd*, OFris *wed*, OS *weddi*, OHG *veti* stn *pledge, surety, bail* (cf NE *wed*), Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:110-11; probably PGmc *wadja-*, as source for MLat *vadium bail, security* Baesecke 1935 BGDSL 59:65; Gmc term borrowed from VLat proposed by Bréal 1892 MSLP 7:441ff, Brøndal 1917:139ff.

PIE *wadh-*, with reflexes only in Lat, Balt and Gmc: Lat *vas*, gen *vadis bail, security, surety*, *vadimōnium bail, security*; Lith *vãdas guarantee, surety*, *ùžvadas hostage*, *vadúoti*, Latvian *vaduôt redeem* Fraenkel 1962-65:1177. Not here Cz *zá-voditi compete*, OSl *sъ-vada contest*, which belong rather with OSl *sъ-vesti combine, bring together*; cf ***ga-widan***; Osten-Sacken 1913-14 IF 33:266. Other proposals in F 1939:539-40; rejected by W/H 1938-56 II:735-36; see also Otrębski 1967 ZVS 81:227. On the absence of a common IE term for 'surety', and on the institution see Binchy 1970:355-67.

P 1959:1109.

W3. *waggareis m, or **waggari* n only dat sg *-rja* προσκεφάλειον *cushion, pillow* M 4.38.

OE *wangere*, OHG *wangāri* m; OI *vengi* n *pillow*, only Guðrūnar-kviða I.12; derived from PGmc *wanga-n-*, cf OI *vangi* m, OE *wange* n, OS, OHG *wanga* wkf *cheek*.

Etymology unclear; generally related to ***waggs***, from an IE root meaning 'be curved'. Not here Gk ἄμφην *neck*, itself of unclear etymology, Frisk 1960-72 I:98; nor other cognates proposed hesitantly in F 1939:540. Probably a Gmc formation.

P 1959:1149.

W4. *waggs ma[?] παράδεισος *paradise* ← *meadow used for assemblages*, only acc sg *wagg* 2C 12.4.

OI *vangr*, OE *wong* stm *meadow, field*, *neorxna-wong* stm *paradise*; OS *wang* stm *field, meadow*, *godes wang*, *heƀan-wang* stm

paradise; OHG *holz-wangā* pl *wooded fields*; frequent in Gmc GN's, such as Nor *Gud-vang, Ullens-vang*, Olsen 1915:131ff, 151ff, Förstemann 1913-16:1224ff, E Schröder 1933 NB 21:148-49.

Etymology unclear; possibly from PIE *wankó-* as in Skt *váñcati move crookedly* and related words, cf ***un-wahs**. According to P 1959:1149 from PIE *wengh- be curved*, with reflexes only in Gmc. OPruss *wangus*, with its gloss OPruss *damerau* f *sparsely wooded oak forest*, is probably a borrowing from Gmc, Trautmann 1910:457, in spite of Schade 1872-82 II:1090, Wiedemann 1902 BKIS 27:253. On the meaning relationship compare OE *croft* m *small field* beside *crēopan creep*.

W5. waghen CrimGo 'currus' *wagon*; Stearns 1978:162.

OI *vagn*, OE *wægn, wæn*, OFris *wein*, (NE *wain*), OS *reidi-wagan*, OHG *wagan* stm *wagon*†.

PIE *weĝh-, woĝh- move, travel*: with *-no-* also in Skt *váhanam vehicle, ship, váhanam draft animal, vehicle*; OIr *fēn wagon* ← ***weĝ-no-*** in contrast with Gmc ← ***woĝh-no***; without *-n-*: Gk ὄχος n *wagon*; Lith *vãžis small sled, vežìmas wagon, vehicle*; OSl *vozъ wagon*. On the terms for wagons and their construction see Porzig 1954:120,158,170 and Specht 1944:99-102, who point to the late thematic inflection but on an archaic root; Ivanov 1975:287-88 proposes that *-ana*-formations replaced older ones. See ***ga-wigan**. For archeological data on the development of the wagon see Piggott 1983.

P 1959:1118-20, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:686,723-24.

W6. wagjan wkvI σαλεύειν *shake, move* M 11.7; *af-wagjan* μετακινεῖν *remove*, only nom pl m papl *-gidai* Col 1.23; *ga-wagjan* σαλεῦσαι *move, cause to totter* L 6.48; ***in-wagjan*** ταράσσειν *move* J 11.33; ***us-wagjan*** ἐρεθίζειν *arouse, excite* E 4.14; ***un-ga-wagiþs*** ἀμετακίνητος *immovable*, only nom pl *-idai* 1C 15.18.

OE *wecgan*, OHG *weggen* (only papl *gewagit*), OS *wegian move*.

PIE *wegh-* + *-eyo-* caus: Skt *vāháyati cause to travel, carry*; Gk ὀχέω *lead, carry*, ὀχέομαι *be carried*; OSl *voziti travel, lead*. Cf ***ga-wigan**.

W7. wahsjan stvVI αὐξάνειν *grow* 2C 9.10, 3sg prt *wohs* L 1.80, 2.40; on the prs formation see Brugmann 1913 IF 32:180,189, Prokosch 1939:153-54,173; ***ufar-wahsjan*** ὑπεραυξάνειν *grow abundantly*, only 3sg prs *-seiþ* 2Th 1.3; ***us-wahsans*** papl ἡλικίαν ἔχει *adult, of age* J 9.21,23; ***us-wahsts*** fi αὔξησις *growth*, only acc sg *-wahst* E 4.16; ***wahstus*** mu αὔξησις *growth*, ἡλικία *stature* L 2.52; on the *-ti-* and *-tu*-forms see Gdr 1897-1916 II.1: 437,446.

OI *vaxa*, OE *weazan*, OFris *waza*, OS, OHG *wahsan* stv *grow, wax*† *(as of the moon)*; OI *vexa* wkv *cause to grow*; according to W Schulze 1966:863, EGmc ***wahsjan*** : WGmc ***wahsan*** : Gk ἀέξειν = Lat *fodiō* : OSl *bodǫ* : Lith *bedù*, cf **badi**. OHG *wahst* stm/f, OI *vǫxtr* m ← PGmc ***wahs-tu- growth, stature***.

PIE *aweg-, awg-* as in ***aukan**, *wōg-* as in ***wokrs**, *awk-s-, wek-s- grow, increase*: Skt *vakṣáyati increase, úkṣati grow*, perf *vavákṣa*; *vákṣaṇam strengthening*; Av *uχšyeiti grow, vaχšaiti causes to grow*, Hom ἀ(ϝ)έξω, Gk αὔξω, αὐξάνω *increase*, ἀέξομαι *grow*, αὖξις *growth* Frisk 1960-72 I:187-88; Lat *auxilium help*; TochA *oksiš grow, okšu*, B *aukšu old*. Not here OIr *ās growth* as proposed by Lane 1937 Lg 13:21; cf Vendryès 1959-:A-92-93.

P 1959:84-85, Watkins 1985:4.

W8. wai interj οὐαί *woe* M 11.21; *wainei* interj ὄφελον *if only* from 'alas that not' 1C 4.8, Luft 1900 ZVS 36:143-44; *wai-dedja* mn λῃστής *robber* J 10.1 from ***wai-deþs** fi *evil deed* + *-ja*; cf ***ga-deþs**; ***wai-fairhjan*** wkvI ἀλαλάζειν *lament*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* Mk 5.38, from *wai-****fairhus** according to Grimm 1878:191; cf OI *veill sick, weak* ← *vē-heill*, Vries 1962:651; ***waja-merei*** fn δυσφημία *dishonor* 2C 6.8; ***waja-mereins*** fi/ō

βλασφημία *blasphemy* Mk 7.22; *waja-merjan* wkvI βλασφημεῖν *blaspheme* 1T 1.20, cf **merjan**.

OI *vei*, OE *wā*, OS, OHG *wē* interj *woe*†, OE *wēa-dǣd crime*, MHG *wē-tāt* stf *pain*.

PIE *wai* interj *woe*: Skt *uvé* interj *oh alas*, only RV 10.86.7; Neisser 1906 BKIS 30:303 interprets it as related to *o* and *vái*; Av *vayōi*, *avōi*; Lat *vae*; MIr *fāe*, Wel *gwae*; Lith, Latvian *vaĩ*. Other similar forms may be neologisms, such as Gk ὀά, οὐά, οὐαί *alas*, Arm *vay woe, misfortune* Scheftelowitz 1905 BKIS 29:43, Frisk 1960-72 II:343, though P 1959:1110-11 proposes that Arm *v-* rather than *g-* resulted from remodeling.

W9. *waian stvVII πνεῖν *blow*, only dat sg m prpl *-ndin* J 6.18, 3pl prt *waiwoun* M 7.25,27.

OSw *vīa*, OE *wāwan*, OFris *wāia*, MDu *wāien*, MLG *weien*, OHG *wāen* wkv *blow*. From PGmc *wēyō*, Kluge 1910 *F* Viëtor:106ff; cf Prokosch 1939:144; phonology disputed, as for **saian**.

PIE *aw-*, *(a)wē-y-* *blow*: Skt *vā́ti* *blow*, *vāyuṣ* *wind*, possibly also *vā́tas* *wind* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:184-86; Av *vāiti* *blow*, *vayuš* *wind*; Gk ἄ(ϝ)ησι *blow*, ἀήτης; Lith *vė̃jas* *wind*, *vė̃tra* *storm*, OPruss *wetro* *wind*; OSl *vějati* *blow*, *větrъ* *storm*. Root PIE *Hew-* as illustrated by Hitt *huyant-* *wind*, with laryngeal suffix *-eʔ-*, + possible *-y-* leads to many complexities, discussed by Solmsen 1901:270ff and others. Cf **winds**, ***dis-winþjan**.

P 1959:81-84.

W10. *waihjo fn μάχη *battle*, only nom pl *-jons* 2C 7.5; to **1. weihan**. Diphthongal *ai* to be assumed on basis of Finn borrowing *vaikia* *troublesome* Karsten 1915:143-44.

With grammatical change, OE *wǣgan* *perplex*, OS *wēg(i)an*, OHG *weigan* wkv *torment*; *weigar* *bold*, *weigarōn* wkv *refuse*, denom of PGmc *waigō* → OI *veig* f *strength*, though see Vries 1962:651. Also OI *vīg* n, OFris *wīch*, OS, OHG *wīg* stm *battle*; OI *vīgr* *capable in battle*; Run *uuīgaz* *fighter* Krause 1971:65.

PIE *weyk-*: Lith *viẽkas* *strength, life*; OSl *věkъ* *age, strength*, and other cognates under **1. weihan**.

W11. *waihsta mn γωνία *corner, edge* L 20.17; **waihsta-stains* ma ἀκρογωνίαιον *cornerstone*, only dat sg *-na* E 2. 20.

Etymology uncertain; no direct cognates. Derived with PIE *-sto-* like MLG, MDu *vorst* *ridge* : Skt *pṛṣṭhám* *mountain peak*; normal grade in OE, OHG *first* n *ridge* Meid 1967: 163-70. MHG *weigen* wkv *waver*; MLG *wīchele* *willow* ← **wīgele*; OE, OFris *wāg*, OS *wēg* stm *wall* from 'wattle'.

PIE *wey-* *bend*, with suffixes *-k-* and *-g-*, either of which could be the source of **waihsta*: with *-k-*, Skt *vi-vyákti* *surround*, *vyácas* *expanse* though disputed; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:271; Av *vyāxa-* *assemblage*[?]; Gk εἴκω *give way to*; Lat *vicia* *vetch*, *vinciō* *bind, encircle*; Latvian *vīkt* *bend*. If with *-g-*: OI *vīkja*, prt *veik* *move, turn*, OE *wīcan*, OFris *wīka*, OS *wīkan*, OHG *wīhhan* stv *give way, move*; Skt *vijáte* *move rapidly*, *végas* *vigorous movement*; Lith *vigrùs*, *vìglas* *lively*. See ***wīko**.

Less likely, from PIE *weng-* *be bent*, as in OE, OFris *wincel*, OHG *winkil* stm/n *corner, edge*; MHG *winken* wkv *move sideways, wink*, *winc* stm *wink*; OE *wincian* wkv *close one's eyes, wink*†; OHG *wankōn* wkv *shake, waver*. Skt *vañjulas* *reed*; Lith *véngti* *avoid*; *vingis* *curve*; OPruss *wingiskan* *cunning*; Alb *vang* *felloe* P 1959:1148-49.

P 1959:1130-31.

W12. waihts fi εἶδος, πρᾶγμα *thing, matter* J 8.54; also *waiht* n in *ni ... waiht* οὐδέν, μηδέν *nothing* M 10.26, B/E 1981:83.

OI *vēttr*, *vættr*, *vitr* f *living being, matter*, OE *wiht* f *being, demon, matter*, OS *wiht* m *tutelary spirit* (Grimm 1866:264), *being, demon, thing*, OHG *wiht* stm/n *being, thing, wight*†. OE *nā/ō-wiht*, OFris *nā-wet*, *nā(ut)*, OS, OHG *neo-wiht*, *ni-wiht* *nothing, naught*†, *not*†.

No accepted etymology. OSl *věstь thing, matter* is probably a borrowing from Gmc, Hirt 1898 BGDSL 23:337. Prusik 1897-98 ZVS 35: 597 proposed origin from PIE *wekʷ- speak* as in Skt *vāk*, Av *vāχs*, Gk ἔπος *word*, Lat *vōx voice*, which however has no comparable derivatives, P 1959:1135-36; P 1959:1136 needs emendation. As parallel words illustrate, such general terms may arise from various sources; cf NE *thing* from OE *þing assembly* based on PIE *tenk- extend*; NE *matter* : Lat *māteria*, based on Lat *māter mother*; Gk πρᾶγμα *thing, matter*, based on πράσσω *pass through, achieve*, extended from root in πέρᾱ *beyond, across*, cf **fairra**. Other proposed sources, as by Wood 1908 MLN 23:148 to Lith *veikùs rapid, vykìs life* or by Loewenthal 1919 ANF 35:229 to PIE *weḱ- wish* as in Skt *vāṣṭi wish*, Gk ἑκών *willingly* have not been accepted.

W13. waila adv καλῶς *well* M 5.25. Also as first element of cmpds **waila-dēþs fi*, calque of εὐεργεσία *well-doing*, only gen sg *-dēdais* 1T 6.2; as in OE *wel-dǣd*, OHG *wola-tāt* stf. **waila-merei fn*, calque of εὐφημία *good repute*, only acc sg *-rein* 2C 6.8; **waila-mereins fi/ō* εὐφημία *preaching*, only gen sg *-rais* 1C 1.21, based on *waila-merjan*; *waila-qiss fi*, calque of εὐλογία *blessing*, only acc sg 2C 9.5; as in OHG *wola-queti* stn *greeting*; **waila-spillon* wkvII, calque of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι *preach the gospel*, only nom sg m prpl *-lōnds* L 8.1; **waila-wizns fi good food*, only dat sg *-nai* Sk 7.13 / VIIb.22-23.

OI *vel, val*, OE *wel, wēl*, OFris *wel, wal, wol*, OS *wel(a), wola*, OHG *wela, wol(a) probably, well*ᵗ (adv). These forms point to origin in a root PIE *we/ol-* as in **wiljan**, supporting assumption of *-aí-*, as by Loewe 1927 BGDSL 51:254ff, though with strained argumentation, and Streitberg 1920:69 on basis of intonation. Others as noted below separate Go *waila* from OI *vel*, etc; see B/E 1981:29.

PIE *wel- wish*: Skt *váras outstanding, hoped for*; Wel *gwell better*; OSl *vole now then*; Alb *vallë* interrog ptc. For other derivatives see **wiljan**. The proposals of a Go diphthong with PIE *-ēy-* rely heavily on Skt *vélā limit, end*; Brugmann 1903-04 IF 15:99ff, 1904 IF 16:503-04, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:364 and others cited in F 1939:543; yet the source of Skt *vélā* is unclear, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:261, as noted already by Charpentier 1911-12 IF 29:371-72. And OE *wēl* is the result of internal lengthening. Nor is relationship to Skt *véti note*, as by Persson 1912:514ff more credible, since it lacks comparable cognates; P 1959:1123-24. Cercignani 1984 JIES 12:327-29 treats the stem vowel of *waila* as long.

P 1959:1137.

W14. wainahs adj*a* ταλαίπωρος *miserable*, only Rom 7.24 (*h* indistinct so that *n* is possible, Friesen 1927:13, though not *g* as by Uppström, Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:227). Derived from **wai** with *-ahs* as in ***stainahs**; see ***bairgahei**.

MLG *wēnich*, OHG *wēnag miserable, unhappy, small*; OI *veina*, OE *wānian*, OFris *wēnia*, MLG *wēnen*, OHG *weinōn* wkv *weep, complain*. A Gmc formation; possible parallels in Balt based on Lith *vaĩ woe, vaĩdas quarrel, vaidìngas quarrelsome*; see also Latvian *vaĩdêt complain* Fraenkel 1962-65:1179-80, Latvian *vaĩna guilt, vaĩnîgs guilty* do not belong here, Fraenkel 1962-65:1182 in spite of Grienberger 1900:235.

W15. wair m*a* ἀνήρ *man* L 8.27. Nom *-s* lost after *-s* and *-r* with preceding short vowel in Go, as also in **frei-hals** and **stiur**, B/E 1981:63-64,71; *wair* scarcely an orig voc, nor Lat *vir*, as by W Horn 1924 *F* Behaghel:76-77; *wairaleiko* adv *manly*, + Go *taujaiþ* ἀνδρίζεσθαι *be courageous* 1C 16.13.

OI *verr*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *wer* stm *man*, as in NE *werewolf*. OE *werlice* adv *manly*.

PIE *wiros* as also in Lat *vir*; OIr *fer*, Wel *gwr man*; long *ī* in eastern dialects, Porzig 1954:124: Skt *vīrás*, Av *vīrō man, hero*; Lith *výras*, Latvian *vīrs*, OPruss *wyrs man*; but also in Ital: Umbr *ueiro*, Volscian *co-vehr-io-*

assembly. Basis for alternation of length disputed; W Schulze 1966:398 associated *-ī-* with relationship to Skt *váyas*, Gk ἶς, Lat *vīs*, pl *vīrēs strength*; Hirt 1921-37 II:187 accounted for alternation through cmpds. See also W/H 1938-56 II:796-97. Scarcely to PGmc *-varii* as in EN *Amsivarii*, *Bojuvarii*, *Rip-uarii*, OI *-veri* as in EN *þjōðverjar Germans*, OE *-ware*, OHG *-wari*, which are related to ***warjan** *protect*.

P 1959:1177-78.

W16. wairdus mu ξένος *host*, only Rom 16.23.

OFris *hūs-werda* m *host*, OS *werd*, OHG *wirt* stm *master of the house, husband, host*. Probably not here OI *verðr* m *meal* from 'what is apportioned', MHG *urte, ürte* f *bill at an inn*, though given in P 1959:1166, which needs correction.

Etymology obscure. F 1939:544-45 prefers derivation from PIE *wer- be attentive* as in **warai** *alert*, ***wardja** *guard*: 'host' is 'one who provides shelter'. Similarly, Schrader 1919:56 assumed an abstract PIE *wer-tu- protection*, to OHG *wer(r)en, werien* wkv *protect*, which then came to mean 'protector, host'; cf *hliftus*. This derivation more plausible than Grienberger 1900:236, who relates Lat *aperiō* ← ***ap-veriō** *open*, Lith *vérti open, vẽrimas opening or closing of a door*, so that the 'host' was designated from this role of his; cf ***warjan**. Nor to *wairþs worthy*, as by Messing 1917 Neophil 2: 280ff, so that the 'host' is 'the one of worth', or with Lat *virtūs virtue*. Seebold 1970:475 compares OIr *ferthigis steward*.

W17. *wairilo (or *-ila*) f χείλος *lip*, only dat pl *-ilom* Mk 7.6, 1C 14.21; with dim *-ela-* as in **barnilo**.

OE *weleras, weoleras* m pl *lips*, metathesized from ***werula**, dim of PGmc *weru-* in OFris *were lip*; OI *vǫrr* f ← ***warzu-**.

OPruss *warsus lip*. Wood 1914 MLN 29:71 related these to OE *wearr* m *sill*, OFris *wersene wrinkles*, OHG *werna* f *sty*, *werra* f *varicose vein*, which he derives from PIE *wer- raised place (in landscape or skin)*: Skt *várśman- height*; Gk ἔρμα *hill*; Lat *varus pimple, verrūca wart*; Lith *vìras pustule on pig, viršùs*; OSl *vrъchz tip*; questioned by F 1939: 545 and others, eg Frisk 1960-72 I:561-63, though accepted by P 1959:1151-52. On semantic grounds Vries 1962:676 prefers derivation from PIE *wer-* as in ***warjan**, so that the lips are covering rather than projecting organs.

W18. wairpan stvIII βάλλειν *throw* Mk 7.27, also 3pl opt prt *waurpeina* J 8.59, 10. 31; *afwairpan* ἀποβάλλειν *throw away* J 11.8, *atwairpan* βάλλειν *throw to*, 3sg prt *-warp* Mk 9.22, papl *-waurpans* L 16.20; ***fra-wairpan** ῥίπτειν *throw away, scatter* M 9.36; *gawairpan* βάλλειν, ῥίπτειν *throw* Mk 9.45; ***inn-wairpan** βάλλειν *throw into*, only nom sg n papl *-waurpano* J 12.6; *us-wairpan* ἐκβάλλειν *throw out*, as in 1pl prt *-waurpum* M 7.22; *us-waurpa fō* ἀποβολή *rejection* R 11.15.

OI *verpa*, OE *weorpan*, OFris *werpa*, OS *werpan*, OHG *werfan* stv *throw*; cf NE *warp* with changed meaning. Numerous derivatives, cf Seebold 1970:557-59: OS *a-werpan cast to one's death*, OHG *ir-werfan throw away*; OE *ā-wyrp* m *rejection, wyrp change*, OFris *werp*, MLG *worp*, OHG *wurf* stm *cast*.

Etymology obscure; on the basis of OI *(aldri) orpinn bowed (with age)* and NE *warp*, a basic meaning 'turn, become crooked' has been assumed, leading to derivation from PIE *wer- turn, bend*, a root with many suffixes; P 1959:1152-60. With *-b-*: possibly Gk ῥάμνος f *prickly bush*, ῥάβδος *stick, wand*, though see Chantraine 1968-80:964; Lat *verbera rods for punishment, verbēna leaves and branches of laurel* (W/H 1938-56 II:756 questions relation to *wairpan*); Lith *vir̃bas twig, switch*, Latvian *vir̃bs thin staff*; also Lith *virbėti twitch*; OSl *vrъba withe*; Hitt *hurpasta leaf, peel* Fraenkel 1962-65:1259; P 1959:1153; Tischler 1983- I: 307-08. Also from PIE *wer-* with other suffixes, Skt *vṛṇákti turn*, Lith *ver̃pti spin*, which with cognates have been related to *wairpan*; see references in F 1939:545-46 and Vries 1962:656-

57.

W19. wairs comp adv χείρον *worse*, only Mk 5.26, ← PGmc *wers-iz, werz-iz*, with suffix of **mais**; *wairsiza* comp adj χείρων *worse* M 9.16, with suffix in ***batiza***.

OI *verr* adv, *verri* adj, OE *wiers* adv, *wiersa* adj, OFris *wirra* adj, OS *wirs* adv, *wirsa* adj, OHG *wirs* adv, *wirsiro* adj *worse*†; superl OI *verstr*, OE *wierrest*, OFris *wersta*, OS *wirrista, wirsista*, OHG *wirsisto worst*†; OI *versna* wkv *become worse*.

Etymology disputed; Osthoff 1910b:289ff derived OI *verr* from PGmc *wersaz* n *confusion, disruption, greater evil*; also OS, OHG *werren* wkv *confuse*, OHG *werra* f *confusion, battle, war*† related to Gk ἔρρω *slink away*, Lat *verrō drag along the ground*; P 1959: 1169 rejects the Gmc words; W/H 1938-56 II: 761-62 rejects tie with *wairs*. A Kock 1911-16: 53 derives OI *verr* from PGmc **werz**, with generalization of *-e-* to OI *verri*. P 1959:1151-52 relates these to PIE *wer- high*, as in Skt *várṣīyas higher, várṣiṣṭhas highest*; Lat *verrūca wart*; Lith *viršùs upper, highest point*; see Fraenkel 1962-65:1262-63; also OIr *ferr better* ← **wersо- upper*. Older proposals given in F 1939:546.

W20. wairþ τιμή *price*, acc sg DeN, dat sg *-þa* 1C 7.23; *1. wairþs* adja ἱκανός *worth, worthy* M 8.8; *un-wairþaba* adv ἀναξίως *unworthy*, only 1C 11.27,29; *wairþida* fō ἱκανότης *sufficiency* 2C 3.5; **wairþon* wkvII τιμᾶν *value*, only gen sg m papl *-þodins* M 27. 9. *2. *wairþs* found only in cmpds, eg ****ana-wairþs***.

OI *verþ*, OE *weorþ*, OFris *werth*, OS *werth*, OHG *werd* stn *worth*†; OI *verðr*, OE *weorþ*, OFris *werth*, OS *werth*, OHG *werd* adj *worth, worthy*†; OHG *wirdida* f *worthiness*; OI *virða*, OE *weorþian*, OS *gi-werthōn*, OHG *(gi-)werdōn* wkv *consider valuable, estimate*.

Etymology unclear; scarcely to **wairþan**, as in P 1959:1157; cf also Vries 1962:655. Bartholomae 1904:176, 1907 ZDW 9:18 compared Av *a-varətā thing of value*, (*a* ← PIE *n̥-* ~ *en-* in as in Av *a-sūna- successful*; Gk ἄ-καρος = ἔγ-καρος *brain*; cf W Schulze 1966:358, Brugmann 1905-06 IF 18:127ff). Wel *gwerth* m *price* is possibly a loanword from OE; also *gwerthu sell*, OBret *enep-wert dowry* from *value of face*. Arbois de Jubainville 1892 MSLP 7:294 takes PGmc *werþ-* as a borrowing from Celt *-wert*.

Lith *vẽrtas*, Latvian *vę̃rts*, OPruss *werts worth* are borrowed from Gmc.

W21. wairþan stvIII γίνεσθαι *become* M 8.24, 3sg prt *warþ* M 7.28, 3pl prt *waurþun* M 11.20, papl *waurþans* Mk 6.21; **fra-wairþan* καταφθείρεσθαι *perish* (intrans), only nom pl m papl *frawaurþanai* 2T 3.8; see also ****ana-wairþs, *fra-wardjan, ga-wairþi, uburt***.

OI *verða*, OE *weorþan*, OFris *wertha*, OS *werthan*, OHG *werdan* stv *become*.

PIE *wert- turn*: Skt *vártate turn, vartáyati move, set into motion*; Av *varət- turn*; Gk **ϝρατ-άνη ladle*, Hsch βρατάναν· τορύνην. Ἠλεῖοι, Frisk 1960-72 II:644-45; Lat *vertō turn*; OIr *ad-bartaigiur resist, do-fortad* 3sg subj imperfect *poured out, frith-, friss- against* (← **wr̥t-*) Thurneysen 1946:515, Lat *versus, versus against* : Skt *vr̥ttás round*; OSl *vrъsta* ← **wr̥t-tā age*; TochB *wrattsai* ← **wartsai* = Skt *prati*, Lidén 1916:28, W/H 1938-56 II:763-65; Lith *vẽrsti*, Latvian *vę̀rst turn*; OSl *vrъtěti turn*; TochA *wärt- throw*. Earlier meaning still evident in cmpds, such as **ana-wairþs (turned towards the) future*; F 1939:547 also suggests parallel development in NE *turn*, eg 'the milk turned sour'.

P 1959:1156-58, Watkins 1985:76-77.

W22. wait-ei adv μήτι, τυχόν *possibly* 1C 16.6, cmpd of *wait* and **ei**; interrog ptc with implication of negative answer in J 18. 35.

Grimm 1898:260 proposes ellipsis of *guþ*, but Klinghardt 1877 ZDP 8:148 and Grienberger 1900:236 suggest basic meaning 'do I know, whether'. W Horn 1923:92-93 assumes loss of *ni*, comparing MHG *wæne* ← *ich enwæne*.

W23. *wakan stvVI or wkvIII (B/E 1981:115) γρηγορεῖν **wake, be awake,** only 3sg prs *wakaiþ* 1C 16.13 and nom pl m prpl *wakandans* E 6.18, Col 4.2; *þairh-wakan* διανυκτερεύειν **stay awake, keep watch,** only prpl L 2.8, 6.12; **us-wakjan* wkvI ἐξυπνίθειν **wake up,** only 3sg opt prs *-jau* J 11.11; **ga-waknan* διαγρηγορεῖν **keep awake,** only nom pl m prpl *-nandans* L 9.32; **wahtwo* φυλακή **watch,** only dat pl f *-wom* L 2.8; **wokains fi* ἀγρυπνία **watch,** only dat pl *-nim* 2C 6.5,11. 27.

OI *vakinn* stv papl **awake**; *vakna* wkv **waken,** OE *wæcnan, wæcnian,* prt *wōc* **waken†,** **be born** (Brugmann 1913 IF 32:188 suggests an earlier prs **wacan,* with PIE *-o-*); OI *vaka,* OE *wacian,* OFris *wakia,* OS *wakōn,* OHG *wahhōn, wahhēn* wkv **watch†, be awake**; OI *vekja,* OE *weccan,* OS *wekkian,* OHG *wecchen* wkv **cause to wake up**; OI *vaskr* adj **alert, lively** ← **vak-ska-* Sverdrup 1915 IF 35:153; OI *vǫkull,* OE *wacol,* OHG *wachal* **awake.**

Etymology and relations between Gmc forms difficult; as stvVI the root should be from a monosyllabic laryngeal base, according to Prokosch 1939:174. P 1959:1117-18 proposes PIE *weĝ- be lively, strong, woĝros powerful,* with possible relationship to PIE *aweg-, wōg- increase* P 1959:84-85, from which also OI *vaxa,* prt *ōx* **grow**; PIE *wōg-* may have been reinterpreted as a laryngeal base in Gmc and infl as stvVI. Such a base would be more likely than one with *-e-* for Skt *vā́jas strength, contest, vājáyati incite*; here possibly also *vájras (Indra's) weapon, thunderbolt,* cf Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:182,126; Av *vāzišta- greatly endowed with strength*; Lat *vegeō be lively, vigil alert* W/H 1938-56 II:741,788; TochAB *wásir lightning.* See also Seebold 1970:535-36.

W24. waldan stvVII, inf with *garda* οἰκοδεσποτεῖν **rule a household** 1T 5.14; 2pl opt prs *-daiþ* ἀρκεῖν **suffice** L 3.14; **ga-waldan* κατεξουσιάζειν **exercise authority over,** only 3pl prs *-dand* Mk 10.42; *waldufni nia* ἐξουσία **power, authority** M 7.29; Stegmann von Pritzwald 1929 WuS 12:230 discusses scope of meaning. Also *garda-waldands* mnd οἰκοδεσπότης **master of the house** L 14.21.

OI *valda* stv, but with wk prt *olla* ← **wulþōm,* Lidén 1896 BKIS 21:106, OE *wealdan,* OFris *walda,* OS *waldan,* OHG *waltan* stv **wield†, rule, control, possess**; OI *vald* n, OE *ge-weald* n, OFris *wald,* OS *gi-wald,* OHG *gi-walt* stf **power, control.**

PIE *wal-, wal-dh- be strong*: Lat *valēre be strong, capable*; OIr *Conall,* OWel *Cunovali,* gen of **Cuno-valos* PeN **strong as a wolf,** OIr *flaith* ← **wlati-,* Wel *gwlad rule, control*; TochA *wäl,* B *walo king* Benveniste 1936 *F* Hirt II:234; + *-dh-* as in Gmc, Lith *veldė̃ti possess, valdýti,* Latvian *vàldît rule*; OPruss *wāldnikans* acc pl *kings*; OSl *vlasti rule* (not as by Stender-Petersen 1927:213ff borrowed from Gmc; cf Meillet 1908:22, Osten-Sacken 1913-14 IF 33:264-65).

Finn *valta,* Est *wald might* are borrowings from Gmc, Thomsen 1870:181.

P 1959:1111-12, Seebold 1970:536-37, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:752,938.

W25. *waljan wkvI εὐδοκεῖν, αἱρεῖν Ph 1.22, **ga-waljan* ἐκλέξασθαι **select** J 6.70; **ga-waleins fi/ō* ἐκλογή **selection**; **walisa* wkadj γνήσιος **genuine, beloved** Ph 4.3.

OI *velja,* OS *wellian,* OHG *wellen* wkv **select**; OI *val* n, OHG *wala* f **selection.**

PIE *wel-ʔ- want, select,* with *o*-grade: Skt *varáyati select*; OSl *voliti want*; Skt *váryas choice, superb*; Av *vairyō desirable*; **walisa* may be based on PIE *es*-stem, as in *sigis*: PGmc *waliz selection, one chosen*; also possibly in OE *Wælsing,* OHG *Welisung* PeN; Bammesberger 1980 BGDSL-T 102:1-4 however takes it as a flat comparative.

P 1959:1137; cf **wiljan.**

W26. *waltjan wkvI ἐπιβάλλειν **beat into,** only 3pl prt *-tidedun* Mk 4.37; **us-waltjan* ἀνατρέπειν **overturn** Mk 11.15; *us-walteins fi/ō* ῥῆγμα, καταστροφή **downfall, ruin** L 6.49.

OI *velta,* OE *wieltan,* OHG *welzen* wkv

turn over, roll; OI *velta*, MHG *walzen* stv *roll over*; OHG *walza* f *cylinder*; OI *valtr*, OE *wealt* adj *unsteady*.

PGmc *welt-* is based on PIE *wel- turn* + *-d-*; cf ***af-walwjan***.

P 1959:1143.

W27. *walus mu ῥάβδος *staff*, only acc pl *waluns* L 9.3. In Βαλουβουργ GN = *Waluburg* on an Egyptian ostrakon from Elephantine, 2nd century AD; according to E Schröder 1916-19 ARW 19:196-200 a cmpd of **walus* and *-burg*, **baurgs**; OFris *walu-bera pilgrim* from 'staff-bearer' Helm 1918 BGDSL 43:337ff. Not related to PGmc *walu- slaughter* in OI *valr* m, OE *wæl* n, OS, OHG *wal place of battle*; Vries 1962:642. See ***af-walwjan***.

OI *vǫlr* m *round staff*, OE *walu* f *wale*†, *stripe after a blow*, MLG *wal staff*; OI *valr round*; OE *wyrt-wala* m, OHG *wurzala* ← **wurt-walō* wkf *root*.

PIE *wel- turn*: Skt *valas*, *valakas beam*, *stake* not to be accepted, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:162; doubtful, Gk ἦλος *nail* Frisk 1960-72 I: 632; Lat *vāllus pole, stake* ← **wal-nos*; Lith *ap-valùs round*, OSl *obьlyj long and round*; Gk (Elean) ἀλύτας = ῥαβδοφόρος *police official* from 'staff-bearer', of Illyrian origin, Krahe 1934 Glotta 22:123-24; cf Frisk 1960-72 I:80.

P 1959:1140-43.

W28. wamba fō γαστήρ, κοιλία *womb, belly* Ph 3.19; also name of a Visigothic king in Spain, *Wamba*, 672-80 AD; Schönfeld 1911:186,253.

OI *vǫmb*, OE *womb*, OFris, MLG *wamme*, OHG *wamba* st/wkf *belly*, cf NE *womb*; possibly OE *umbor* n *child*, though see Holthausen 1934a:376.

No etymology. Scarcely to Skt *vapā omentum* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:144-45; if related, Bret *gwamm*, a jocular designation for 'woman', may be a borrowing from OE, Pedersen 1894 BKIS 20:238. Taking OE *umbor* as an ablaut variant, Windekens 1982-83 ZVS 96:93-94 related Gk νύμφη in the sense of 'pregnant woman', proposing for it a prefix PIE *n(i)-* + *umbhā, wombhā*; ingenious but unlikely.

W29. *wamm n[?] σπῖλος *spot*, only gen pl *-me* E 5.27; **ga-wamms* adj*a* κοινός *unclean* R 14.14; **un-wamms* adj*a* ἄμωμος *unspotted* E 5.27; **un-wammei* f*n* εἰλικρίνεια *purity* 1C 5.8; **ana-wammjan* wkv*I* μωμᾶσθαι *stain* 2C 6.3.

OI *vamm* n, OE *wamm* m, OFris *wam* n *spot, blot*, OS *wam* n *evil, crime*; OE *wamm*, OS *wam* adj *evil*; OE *wemman*, OHG *wemmen* wkv*I desecrate, disgrace*.

Etymology obscure. Uhlenbeck 1905 BGDSL 30:324 proposed origin in PIE *wem-spit, vomit*, from *wom-nó-*: Skt *vámiti*, Av *vam-*; Gk ἐμέω; Lat *vomō*; Lith *vémti vomit*, relating also OI *vāma* f *ailment*, *vāmr* m *loathsome person*; Weisweiler 1923 IF 41:46 suggested a possible semantic development. Dubious, as noted by P 1959:1146.

W30. *wandjan wkv*I* στρέφειν *turn* L 7.9; *af-wandjan* ἀποστρέφειν *turn away* R 11.26, **at-wandjan* ἐπανελθεῖν *return*, only 3sg prt *-dida* + *sik* L 19.15; **bi-wandjan* στέλλεσθαι *avoid* 2C 8.20; *ga-wandjan* ἐπιστρέφειν *bring back*, στρέφεσθαι *turn, convert* L 1.17; *in-wandjan* μεταστρέφεσθαι *pervert* G 1.17; **us-wandjan* ἀποστρέφεσθαι *withdraw, deviate* M 5.42; *ga-wandeins* f*i/ō conversion* Sk 1.27 / Id.25; **us-wandi* f*iō* μεθοδεία *cunning* E 4.14.

OI *venda*, OE *wendan*, OFris *wenda*, OS *wendian*, OHG *wenten* wkv *wend*†, *turn*; OE *wendung* f *change*, OFris *wendene*, MHG *wendunge* f *turn*. Caus to ***bi-windan***, with nominal derivatives.

W31. *wandus mu only dat pl *wandum usbluggwans was* ἐρραβδίσθην *I was beaten with rods* 2C 11.25.

OI *vǫndr* m *rod* (from which, ME, NE *wand*).

Probably related to ***bi-windan***, as a 'wound thong'; cf OI *vǫndull (wound) bundle of hay*, *vanda-hūs wattled house*; so also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:729 fn1. This origin more likely than relation to Lith *vánta*

bunch of green birch twigs for beating in the bath, Latvian *uotainis* a ***kind of birch***; Lith *vanóti* ***strike with birch twigs***; *vénteris* ***fish-net of twine***, which Fraenkel 1962-65:1196,1223-24 compares, proposing PIE *wen-* + *-t*, also for **wandus*, after Endzelin 1924 ZVS 52:110-11; his proposal links Go ***wunds**, leading to semantic difficulties.

W32. *wans adj*a*, in *wanai wisan* ἡττηθῆναι ***be at a disadvantage*** 2C 12.13; *wanata* n τὰ λείποντα ***lacking, deficient*** T 1.15; ppl formation to PIE *wā-* ***empty*** with PIE *-(o)no-* like most of the attested forms below. Also Go *wan* n*a* ***lack***, in *ainis þus wan ist* ἕν σοι λείπει L 18.22, Mk 10.21; *wanains fi* ἥττημα ***lack*** R 11.12, derived from **wanan* wkv; cf OI *vana*, OE *wanian*, OFris *wonia*, OHG *wanōn* wkv ***diminish***, ***wane***†; **waninassus* mu ὑστέρημα ***lack*** 1C 16.17, derivative of **waninon*, W Schulze 1966:572, Mezger 1931 ZVS 58:144.

OI *vanr*, OE, OFris, OS, OHG *wan* ***lacking***; OE *wana* m ***lack***, Du *wan* ***leak***, MLG *wone*, MHG *wune* ***hole in ice***.

PIE *ew-H-*; *wā-*, *wə-* ***empty, lacking***: Skt *ūnás*, Av *ūna-* ***defective, lacking***; Gk εὖνις ***lacking***; Lat *vānus* ***empty, vain***; Lith *vaĩškariai*, Latvian *vanskare* ***unhatched eggs*** Fraenkel 1962-65:1196; Arm *unayn* ***empty***.

P 1959:345-46.

W33. *wardja m ***watchman***, only acc pl *-jans* ἔχειν, κουστωδίαν ***watch*** M 27.65; cmpds *daura-wards* ma θυρωρός ***doorkeeper*** J 10.3, **daura-warda* fō dat sg J 18.16, *daura-waurdo* fn ἡθυρωρός ***(female) doorkeeper*** J 18. 17.

wardja* derived with *-ja-* from PGmc *warda-* as in OE *weard*, OS *ward*, OHG *wart* stm ***guard*, cf NE *ward*; further, PGmc *wardu-* in OI *vǫrðr* stm ***guard, watch***; *ō*-stem in OE *weard*, MLG *warde*, OHG *warta* stf ***look-out***, *-an* in OHG m *warto* wkm ***guard, watchman***.

Further development of PIE *wer-* ***give heed to***, as in ***wars**: cf Gk φρουρός ← *προ-όρός ***watchman***, θυρωρός ***gatekeeper***. Not Buddhist Skt *-vardhanam* ***city***, which is a borrowing from OPers *vardanam* ***city***.

P 1959:1164.

W34. wargiþa fō (κατά-)κριμα ***judgment, condemnation*** R 13.2, derived from **(ga-)wargjan* with *-iþa*, cf ***ga-wargeins** and also ***launa-wargs**.

OE *wiergþu* f ***damnation***; MLat *wargida* ***outlawry*** from 'life of a wolf', Amira/Eckhardt 1960-67 II:134. According to F Kauffmann (1894 BGDSL 18:175ff) **-wargs* meant a ***criminal delivered up for religious trial***, and *wargiþa* ***neck-fetter***; abstract meaning more likely with *-iþa*.

W35. *warjan wkvI κωλύειν ***hinder, forbid*** L 9.50.

OI *verja*, OE *werian*, OFris *wera*, OS *werian*, OHG *wer(r)en* wkv ***hinder, forbid***; Run *waruz* (Tomstad; Krause 1966 I:182-83) ***heap of stones***; OI *vǫr* f a ***fenced-in landing-place***; OI *ver* n ***cover***, OE *wer* m, OS *wer*, MHG *wer(e)* n; *wuor* f stm/n/f ***dam, weir***†.

PIE *wer-*, *wer-γ-*: Skt *vṛṇóti*, caus *varáyati* ***surround, ward off***, *varūtā́* ***protector***; Av *vərəθram* ***defense, shield***; Gk ἔρυσθαι ***ward off, preserve***, ἕρυμα ***protection***; Lat *aperiō* ***uncover***, *op-eriō* ***cover, enclose*** ← **-weriō*, W/H 1938-56 I:56-57, II:211, Osc *veru* ***gate***; OIr *fertae* ***burial mound*** (cf OI *urð* f ***heap of stone blocks***, OE *weorþ*, *worþ* m/n ***site of farmstead***, OFris *wurth*, OS *wurð* ***raised homesite***; MLG *wort*, *wurt* f ***enclosed homestead***); possibly also OIr *Ériu*, gen *Érenn*, Wel *Iwerddon* ***Ireland*** ← **epi-weriō*, gen *-i̯onos* ***hill, island*** Pokorny 1916 ZVS 47:233; Lith *vařtai*, OPruss *warto* pl, OSl *rata* pl ***door, gate***; Lith *vérti* ***open***, *atvérti* ***open up***; OSl *vъvrěti* ***push in***; Alb *vathë* ***hedge, hurdle***; TochA *wärt-*, B *warto*, *wärto* ***woods***.

P 1959:1160-62, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:741.

W36. *warmjan wkvI θάλπειν ***warm***, refl θερμαίνεσθαι ***warm oneself*** J 18.18.

OI *verma*, OE *wierman*, OS *wermian*, OHG *wermen* wkv ***warm***†, derivative of PGmc *warma-* in OI *varmr*, OE *wearm*, OFris, OS,

OHG *warm* adj **warm**†.

PIE *wer- burn, cook*: Lith *vìrti*, Latvian *vîrt cook, boil*; Lith *varùs capable of being cooked*, OSl *varъ boiling water, heat*; OSl *vьrěti boil*; Arm *varim burn*; Alb *vorbë earthen cooking pot*; Hitt *war- burn, war-nu- kindle, warmannizi-* a *baked product*; TochA *wrātk-cook*; this derivation after Fick 1878 BKIS 2: 203 and others such as Benveniste 1932 BSLP 33:[art]136-37 preferable to origin in PIE *g^{w}horm-* as in Skt *gharmás hot coals*; Av *garəmō warm*; Gk θερμός; Lat *formus warm*; OPruss *gorme*; Arm *jerm*; Alb *zjarm heat* Huld 1984:135; TochA *śärme warmth* and related nouns and verbs, P 1959:493-95; see Krause 1968:124. A Gmc adj from **wer-* may have coalesced with the reflex of PIE *g^{w}hormo-* and replaced it.

P 1959:1066, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:683.

W37. *wars adj*a*, only nom pl *warai sijaima* νήφωμεν *let us be sober* 1Th 5.6; **warei* f*n* πανουργία *villainy*, only dat sg *-ein* 2C 4.2; see also ***wardja**.

OI *varr*, OE *wær*, OS *war*, OHG *gi-war careful, cautious, wary*†; MHG *wer* ← OHG **warī* f *caution*; OI *vari*, OE *waru*, OFris *ware*, OS, OHG *wara* stf *care, attention*. Cf NE *beware, aware.*

PIE *wer- give heed to, worós attentive, worā attention*: Hom ἐπὶ ὄρονται *they supervise*, Hsch ὄρει· φύλασσει *guards*, *-orós* in θυρωρός *doorkeeper* and other cmpds, οὖρος ← Hom **ϝόρ-ϝος guard*, ὁράω *see* (possibly based on a noun **ϝορᾱ* = OHG *wara*, Frisk 1960-72 II:409-10,448), Gk ὥρα *care*; Lat *verērī respect, fear*; OIr *cō(a)ir*, Wel *cywair fitting*; Latvian *vērtiês observe, vèrîba attention*; TochA *wär*, B *wär-sk- smell*; Hitt *werite- fear*. The central meaning 'give attention to' underwent specialization in the dialects through application to various senses -- seeing in Gk, smelling in Toch --or to attitudes such as fearing, caution even to the point of villainy.

P 1959:1164.

W38. *wasjan wkvI ἀμφιεννύναι, περιβάλλειν *dress, be dressed* (trans, M 6.30; intrans M 6.25); **and-wasjan* ἐκδύειν *undress*, only 3pl prt *-sidedun* Mk 15.20; **ga-wasjan* ἐνδύειν *clothe* L 15.22; *ga-waseins* f*i/ō* ἱματισμός *clothing* L 9.29; **wasti* f*iō* ἱμάτιον, στολή, ἔνδυμα *garment, dress* L 9.29.

With grammatical change (*r* ← PGmc *z*): OI *verja*, OE, OS *werian*, OHG *werien* wkv *clothe*, cf NE *wear.*

PIE *wes- clothe*: Skt *vaste*, Av *vaste wear*, *vaŋhaiti get dressed*; Skt *vāsáyati dresses*, *vásanam*, Av *vaŋhanam*, Skt *vastram*, Av *vastram garment* (Dor Hsch γέστρα· στολή; MLG, MHG *wester* f *baptismal gown*); Hom ἕσ(σ)αντο *they put on*, Att ἕννῡμι (← **ϝεσ-νῡμι*) *get dressed*, ἕσθος, ἑσθής, εἷμα, Dor ϝῆμα, Aeol ϝέμμα (← **ϝεσ-μα*) *garment*; Lat *vestiō clothe*, *vestis* (: Hsch γεστια· ἔνδυσις, Arm *z-gest*) *garment, clothing*; Arm *z-genum get dressed*; Alb *vesh clothe*, *vishem get dressed*; Hitt *was(s)-, wessiya- clothe*, *wess- be dressed*, *waspa- garment*; TochB *wastsi*, *wästsi garment*; also + *-lo-* : OI *vesl* n *mantle* Falk 1919:191-92, TochA *wsāl garment*; cf OE *wæstling* m *sheet.*

P 1959:1172-73, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:705.

W39. wato nn ὕδωρ *water* L 7.44.

OI *vatn*, OSw *vætur*, OE *wæter*, OFris *weter*, OS *watar*, OHG *wazzar* stn **water**†. Orig an PIE *r/n* stem; individual Gmc dialects generalized either the *n* of gen and dat, or the *r* of nom and acc. On the inflection in PIE see J Schmidt 1889:109,112ff,202-03; Petersson 1921b:13-14, Benveniste 1935a:3-22, esp 20, Sommer 1936 *F* Hirt II:295.

PIE *wédōr* nom/acc, *udnés* gen, *udén(i)* loc; cf Hitt *watar*, gen *witenas*, dat *weteni*; Gk ὕδωρ, gen ὕδατος ← **udn̥-* **water**, with regularization also in non-Gmc dialects: Skt loc *udán*, gen *udnás water*, *an-udrás waterless*; Av *vaiδi- watercourse*; Gk ἄν-υδρος *waterless*; Umbr *utur*; OIr *u(i)sce*; OSl *voda water*; Arm *get* ← **wedō river*; Alb *ujë water* Huld 1984:

121; with *-n-* from prs of verbal root: Lat *unda* **wave**; Lith *vanduõ*, Latvian *ũdens* ← **unden-*, OPruss *unds* m, *wundan* n **water**; see also **wintrus**.

PIE *wed-* based on *awed, Hew- -ed-, Hwed-*, with *-n-*: *Hw-n-ed- flow, moisten*; Skt *avatás spring* ← **awn̥tos*, Ital *Avēns* GN: Skt *unátti wets*; lengthened grade, OSl *vědro water pail*; OI *vātr*, OE *wæt*, OFris *wēt wet*†; zero grade, Skt *udrás*, Av *udrō water animal*; Gk ὕδρος, ὕδρα *Hydra, water serpent*, ἔν-υδρις *otter*; Lat *lutra otter* W/H 1938-56 I:840, on *l-*; OIr *coin fodorne otters* from 'water-dogs'; Lith *ūdra*, OSl *vydra otter*; OI *otr*, OE *o(t)ter*, MLG, OHG *ottar* stm *otter*†.

P 1959:78-81, where other derivatives are given, Watkins 1985:73, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:942.

W40. waurd na λόγος, ῥῆμα *word* M 5.37; **gabaurþi-waurd* γενεαλογία *genealogy*, only gen pl *-de* 1T 1.4; *anda-waurdi* n*ia* ἀπόκρισις *answer* J 19.9; **and-waurdjan* wkvI ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι *contradict* L 2.47; **lausa-waurds* adj*a* ματαιολόγος *empty talker* T 1. 10; **lausa-waurdei* f*n* ματαιολογία 1T 1.6; **lausa-waurdi* n*ia* κενοφωνία *empty chatter* 2T 2.16; **liugna-waurds* adj*a* ψευδολόγος *speaking lies* 1T 4.2; *ubil-waurds* adj*a* λοίδορος *reviler* 1C 5.11; *ubil-waurdjan* κακολογῆσαι *speak evil* Mk 9.39; **aglaiti-waurdei* f*n* calque of αἰσχρολογία *foul language* E 5.4; *dwala-waurdei* f*n* μωρολογία *foolish talk* E 5.4; **filu-waurdei* f*n* πολυλογία *much speaking* M 6.7; **filu-waurdjan* βαττολογῆσαι *speak a great deal* M 6.7; **ga-waurdi* n*ia* ὁμιλία *speech*; **waurdahs* adj*a displaying oneself in words* Sk 4.18 / IVc.14-15; **waurda-jiuka* f*ō* λογομαχία *debate* 1T 6.4.

OI *orð*, OE, OFris, OS *word*, OHG *wort* n*a word*†; OE *and-wyrde*, OFris *ond-warde*, OS *and-wurdi*, OHG *ant-wurti* stn, *ant-wurtī* stf *answer*; OE *ge-wyrd(e)* n *conversation, command*; OI *orðigr wordy*, OE *wordig talkative*; OI *ill-orðr abusive*, OE *twin-wyrdig ambiguous*; OS *sam-wurdig coinciding*.

PIE *wer- speak*, + *-dh- something spoken* WP Lehmann 1942 Lg 18:127: Hsch βέρθει· φθεγγεῖαι *articulate*; Lat *verbum word*; Umbr *uerfale temple* W/H 1938-56 II:756-57; Lith *vařdas name*, OPruss *wīrds words*. Simple root: Gk εἴρω ← **weryō say*; PIE *were-, wrē-*: Skt *vratám command, oath*; Av *urvātam determination*; Gk ῥῆμα *word*, ῥήτωρ, Aeol ϝρήτωρ *orator*; OSl *rota oath*, *vračь* ← **work̥os physician, magician*; Hitt *weriya- call, mention*; also *-wa, -war-* ptc indicating direct speech, Albrecht Götze and Pedersen 1934:74. Skt *Váruṇas* [name of an Indic god], has also been related, though many other etymologies have been proposed for it; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:151-53 includes copious bibliography. Possibly also ***wrohs**.

P 1959:1162-63.

W41. waurkjan wkvI ποιεῖν *do, work*† J 9.4, prt 3sg *waurhta* Mk 6.21; **fair-waurkjan* περιποιεῖσθαι *gain*, only 3pl prs *-kjand* 1T 3.13; **fra-waurkjan* ἁμαρτάνειν *sin* 1C 8.12; *ga-waurkjan* ποιῆσαι *effect* R 7.18; **us-waurkjan* κατεργάζεσθαι *complete*, only nom pl m prpl *-jandans* E 6.13; *fra-waurhts* f*ō* ἁμαρτία *sin* J 9.16; **us-waurhts* adj*i* δίκαιος *just* M 11.19; **us-waurhts* f*ō* δικαιοσύνη *justice*; *ga-waurki* n*ia* πραγματεία, κέρδος *gain, business* 1T 6.6; *faihu-ga-waurki* n*ia* πορισμός *gain of money*; *fra-waurhts* adj*a* ἁμαρτωλός *sinful* 1T 5.20; **handu-waurhts* adj*a* χειροποιητός *made by (human) hands* E 2.11; **un-handu-waurhts* adj*a* ἀχειροποίητος *not made by (human) hands* Mk 14.58; *waurstw* n*a* ἔργον, ἐνέργεια *work* J 6.29; *waurstwa* mn ἐργάτης *worker* 1T 5.18; *alla-waurstwa* adj*n* τέλειος *perfect* Col 4.12; *ga-waurstwa* mn συνεργός *fellow-worker* 2C 8.23; **waurstwei* f*n* ἐργασία, only acc sg *-wein* E 4.19 *action*; *waurstwja* mn γεωργός *farmer, vinedresser* J 15.1; *waurstweigs* adj*a* ἐνεργής *effective* 1C 16. 9.

Run *worahto* 1sg prt (Tune; Krause 1966 I:163-66), *w[o]rta* 3sg prt (Etelhem; Krause 1966 I:39-40), *wurte* 3sg prt (Tjurkö I; Krause

1966 I:272-74), *orte* 3sg prt (By; Krause 1966 I: 158-60); zero grade in OI *yrkja*, prt *orta*, OE *wyrcan*, prt *worhte*, OHG *wurchen*, prt *worahta* wkv *work*†; OI *orka* ← **workōn* wkv *be able to do*; normal grade in OI *verk*, OE *weorc*, OFris, OS *werc*, OHG *werk* stn *work*†; also in denom OFris *werka*, OS *wirkian*, prt prt *warhta*, OHG *wirken*, prt *warhta* wkv *act* (: Gk ἔρδω *do* ← PIE *wergyō*; *-e-* from noun, Meillet 1922 BSLP 23:[art]96). Also CrimGo *tzo warthata* 'tu fecisti' *you did*, *ies varthata* 'ille fecit' *he did*; Stearns 1978:160-61, with many references, takes these as prt, with loss of *-h-*, *warh-* + *-þata*, rather than second prt ending, Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:130, or double prt, Loewe 1896:155-56, or added *(i)ta*, Much 1898 AinIF 9:200-01.

PIE *werĝ- do*, *werĝom* n *work*: zero grade in verbs, which are suffixed, Av *vərəzyeiti effects* = Go *waurkeiþ*; Gk ῥέζω ← **wr̥gyō*, influenced by ἔργον *do*. Av *varəzem activity*; Gk ἔργον *work*; Gaul *vergo-bretus* ← PIE *werĝo-* + Gaul *bretus* : OIr *breth judgment, highest official of the Haedui*, Caesar, Gallic War I.16.5, P 1959:1168, OBret *guerg effective*, MWel *gwreith* ← **wreĝ-tu- deed*; Arm *gorc work*, with secondary *-o-*. Also from this root, Gk ἐόργη *beater*, ὀργάζειν *soften, knead*, ὄργανον *tool, organ* Frisk 1960-72 I:531,548-49; OE, OS *wirkian*, OHG *wirken* wkv *weave, sew, crochet*; OHG *werig tow*.

P 1959:1168-69.

W42. waurms ma ὄφις *snake* Mk 16. 18; see Szemerényi 1972 Lg 48:1-10, esp on distribution of *o-*/*i*-stems.

OI *ormr* (*o*-stem); OE *wyrm*, OFris *wirm*, OS, OHG *wurm* stm (*i*-stems) *worm*†, *snake*.

PIE *wer- turn, wind, wr̥mos, wr̥mis worm*: Hsch ῥόμος· σκώληξ ἐν ξύλοις *woodworm*; Lith *vařmas mosquito*; Lat *vermis worm*; OSl *vermije grasshoppers, insects*; Little Russ *vermjányj*, OPruss *wormyan*, *urminan red* (from *worm-colored* Zubatý 1896 IF 6:155; cf OE *wurma Murex*, OFris *worma purple*); also Boeotian Gk ῥάμμ-χος GN, Brugmann 1904a: 217. Not here but with similar formation, Skt *kr̥miṣ*, OIr *cruim*, Lith *kirmìs worm*, ← PIE *k*ʷr̥mi-*, P 1959:649; Buck 1949:193-94 on various words for 'worm'; see also **maþa**. Other suffixed forms of PIE *wer-* under **wairpan** and **wairþan**.

P 1959:1152, Watkins 1985:76-77, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:527.

W43. waurts *fi* ῥίζα *root* Rom 11.16; **ga-waurts* adja ἐρριζωμένοι, only nom pl m *ga-waur(h)tai rooted in* E 3.18.

OI *urt*, OSw *yrt plant*, OE *wyrt plant, root* (cf NE *-wort*), OS *wurt herb, plant, root*, OHG *wurz* stf *plants, spices*. Go **aurti-(gards)** also related by some, W/H 1938-56 II:45, though taken as loanword, F 1939:68-69.

PIE forms difficult; P 1959:1167 proposes *w(e)rād-*, *wₑrəd-*, *wrəd- twig, branch, root*: Gk ῥάδαμνος *young twig*, ῥᾶδιξ *twig, root*; Lat *rādix* ← **wrād-īk-*: OI *rōt*, though see Vries 1962:452; Wel *gwridd-* ← **wradī root* W/H 1938-56 II:45; from zero grade, Gk ῥίζα, Lesb βρίσδα; Wel *gwreiddyn* ← **wr̥dyo-*, Corn *grueiten root* Bally 1903 MSLP 12:328-29, Frisk 1960-72 II:655-56; OIr *frēn* ← **wr̥dno- root*; TochB *witsako root*.

P 1959:1167; see also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:663.

W44. wegs ma σεισμός *storm* M 8.24, κλύδων *raging waves* L 8.24, pl κύματα *waves*; *i*-stem in dat *wegim* M 8.24; orig athematic, according to Meillet 1924 *F* Andler:251.

OI *vāgr sea*, OE *wæg*, OFris *wēg*, OS, OHG *wāg* stm *waves, rushing waters*; to ***ga-wigan**.

PIE *weĝh- move*: lengthened grade also in Skt *vāhás leading, draft animal, train, vāhas* n *praise bringing hither the gods*; Av *vāza- traveling*, m *draft animal*; Lith *vėžė track of wagon or sled*; nominal formations developed widely different meanings, if comparable in form.

P 1959:1118-20.

W45. 1. weihan stvI, only in *waurdam weihan* λογομαχεῖν *dispute* 2T 2.14

and *du diuzam waih* 1sg prt ἐθηριομάχησα *fought (with animals)* 1C 15.32; cf **and-waih** 1sg prt, from **and-weihan conflict with*; *wiga na* dat sg εἰς πόλεμον *in war* L 14.31, interpreted as *wigana* by Heyne, *wigna* by Bernhardt, both in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:141.

PGmc *weiχ-, waiχ-, wig- fight*, with restructuring in dialects: regular forms in OHG *wīhan* = Go *weihan*, OI *vā* = Go *waih*, OI *veginn*, OHG *gi-wigan* papl *destroyed* (Hildebrandslied 68); *-g-* introduced in inf, OE, OHG *wīgan* stv *battle*; inf modified to *weh/g-*, leading to stvV verb: OI *vega*, OE *ge-wegan* (Beowulf 2400) *fight*, OHG *ubar-wehan conquer*; also in OE *wiga warrior*, OHG *widar-wigo* wkm *opponent*; restructured prpl forms with *-g-*, OE *wīgend warrior*, OFris *wīgand-(like) brave*, OS *wīgand*, OHG *wīgant* stm *warrior* Prokosch 1939:258-59,149 in part obsolete.

PIE *weyk- exert force, woykā- life force*: Gk (οὐκ) ἐπί-εικτον **unconquerable** Frisk 1960-72 I:536; Lith *veĩkti*, Latvian *veikt carry out*; Lith *vaikýti*, Latvian *vaikât chase away*; OIr *fichim* ← **wik-yo- I fight*; with *-n-*, Lat *vincō conquer*, perf *vīcī* ← PIE *woyk-* (: Go *waih*), Osc *vinc-ter overwhelmed*. Normal grade in nouns, PeN's Gaul *Vēco-rīx*, OIr *Fiach-rai* ← **Weiko-rēks powerful king* (OI *veig* f *strength*, OHG *weigar rash*); Lith *viẽkas life force*; OSl *věkz age* Krause 1971:65,72; zero grade in Lat *per-vicāx stubborn*; MIr *fich battle*; possibly also in Lat *vix hardly* W/H 1938-56 II:791-92, 810. Restructuring may have been carried out because of orig athematic inflection of base, PIE *weík-mi, wik-més*, Meillet 1916 BSLP 20:[art] 24.

P 1959:1128-29.

W46. 1. weihs adj*a* ἅγιος, ἱερός *holy* Tit 1.8; *weihaba* adv ὁσίως *earnestly*, only 1Th 2.10; **us-weihs* adj*a* βέβηλος *unholy* 1T 1.9, *weiha* mn in *auhumists weiha* ἀρχιερεύς *High Priest* J 18.13, *2. *weihan* wkvIII J 17.19, *ga-weihan* ἁγιάζειν *consecrate* 1T 4.5; **weihnan* ἁγιάζεσθαι, only 3sg opt prs *-nai be hallowed* M 6.9; *weihiþa fō* ἁγιασμός, ἁγιασύνη *consecration, holiness* 1Th 4.3.

OE *wīg-(bed), wēo-fod* (← **wīh-beod holy table*) n *altar*; OS *wīh-(dag)* m *holiday*, OHG *wīh holy*; OI *vē* n *temple* (substantivized n, W Schulze 1966:573-74, who points to derived agent noun *weiha*, like OI *goði priest*), OE *wīh, wīoh relic, sacred image*, OS *wīh* m *temple*; OFris *wiā*, OS *wihian*, OHG *wīhen* wkv; OI *vīgja*, OFris *wīga* wkv *consecrate*; OFris *witha*, OS *wīhetha* f *relics*, OHG *wīhida* stf *sacrament, relic*; OE *wicca* m, *wicce* f *witch*†. See Baetke 1942:80-90 for an extensive discussion of the Gmc words and their meanings: (86) Go **weihan consecrate*, (87) *weihs numinous, divine, separated from the profane world, taboo*.

PIE *weyk- separate*: Skt *vinákti separate, sift*, papl *viktás*; Av *ava-vaēk- exclude, seek out* (Baetke 1942:55-57 hesitant; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:212-13 dubious). In Lat and esp Gmc, this base was adapted for the notion 'sacred; forbidden to (separated from) humans'; cf Benveniste 1973:450-52, and **hails**. Lat *victima offering* from 'separated animal', W/H 1938-56 II:782, based on **vic-tis* or *-tus* + *-ma-*, Brugmann 1906 IF 19:400. This interpretation supported by Umbr *eveietu* ← **veigetōd let him consecrate* (source in PIE *weyg-*; assumption of a root *wey- separate*, with suffixes, supported by *weydh-* as in **widuwo**). Moreover, Kammenhuber 1961 ZVS 77:31-75 combines PIE *weyk-*, as in *2. weihan consecrate*, with PIE *weyk-*, as in *weihs*, ascribing to the combined base Hitt *huek-, huk-slaughter (a sacrificial animal); conjure; exorcize; confirm by oath; hukmai- conjuration, exorcism; hukmatalla- exorcist priest; hugatar slaughter*, though see Tischler 1983- I:255-59, who assumes two Hitt roots *huek-*. Yet the older proposal finds support in the Balt and Sl cognates of *2. weihan*, eg Lith *viẽkas life force*, which has sacral connotations; as may the more general meaning 'fight, battle'; it also requires modification of the views of Benveniste

1973:450.

P 1959:1128-29; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:803-04; W/H 1938-56 II:782,791-92, for rejected proposals; Lacy 1979 JIES 7:287-96 for contrast with ***airkns** which according to Lacy meant ***holy (by birth)*** as opposed to **a *special state from which one can depart*** as ***us-*** (not ***un-***) ***weihs***. See also Scardigli 1973:219-23 on ***weihs*** as a southern word in contrast with ***hailags** in the north.

W47. 2. weihs *na* κώμη, ἀγρός ***village*** M 8.26, gen ***weihs-is*** Mk 8.23; also with ***-e-***, ***wehsa*** dat sg Mk 16.12 and elsewhere in Mk, Szemerényi 1972 Lg 48:1-10, B/E 1981:27. Cognates in other Gmc dialects are borrowed from Lat ***vīcus village***: OE ***wīc***, OFris ***wīk***, OS ***wīc***, OHG ***wīh*** stm ***village***, cf NE GN's ***Brunswick, Alderwick*** etc; also OIr ***fīch village*** (not from PIE ***weiknó- village***, as by Detter 1898 ZDA 42:54).

PIE ***weyk- clan, dwellings of clan*** to ***village***: zero grade in cons stem, Skt ***víś-dwelling site, víśas*** pl ***people***; Av acc ***vīsəm***, OPers ***viθəm house, village, clan***; as ***i***-stem, Latvian ***vìesis guest***, OSl ***vьsь village***; also Skt ***viś-páti̯s head of the community or house***, Lith ***viẽš-pat(i)s the Lord (God)***, OPruss ***wais-pattin*** acc ***lady of the house***; ***o***-stem in Skt ***veśas***, Av ***vaēso***, Gk οἶκος ***house***; Lat ***vīcus*** ← ****woikos village***, Umbr ***vocu-cum house*** W/H 1938-56 II:782-83. Also + PIE ***-men-***, Skt ***véśma***, Av ***vaēsma house, dwelling*** Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:234ff. Go ***weihs*** an ***-es***-stem, as possibly in Lat ***villa*** ← ****weiks-la- house***, though also proposed as ****vīc-sla-***, W/H 1938-56 II:790-91. -- Denom in Skt ***viśáti settle***, Av ***vīsaiti enter***; Lith ***viešėti be a guest***; Gk οἰκεῖν ***dwell***. Gk τριχά-ικες (an epithet of the Dorians, Hesiod and Odyssey XIX:177) has been interpreted as meaning 'of three clans', Fick 1879 BKIS 3:168 and elsewhere, though preferably taken as 'of waving plumes', Frisk 1960-72 II: 934, Chantraine 1968-80:1138-39, with bibliography.

P 1959:1131, Fraenkel 1962-65:1245-46.

W48. wein *na* οἶνος ***wine*** M 9.17; ***weina-tains*** *ma* κλῆμα ***bunch of grapes*** J 15.4; ***weina-triu*** *nwa* ἄμπελος ***vine*** J 15.1; ***wein-drugkja*** *mn* οἰνοπότης ***winedrinker, drunkard***, only L 7.34; on these see Corazza 1969:10-13.

OI ***vīn***, OE, OFris, OS, OHG ***wīn*** stm ***wine***†; OI ***vīn-trē***, OE ***wīn-trēow*** n ***vine***†; OI ***vīn-drukkin drunk, vīn-drykkja*** stv ***drink wine***, OE ***wīn-druncen drunk with wine***, OHG ***wīn-trinco*** wkm ***winedrinker, wīn-trunchan drunk***.

A word borrowed into the various Gmc dialects, and other northern languages, as they became acquainted with the drink. Taken over into IE languages as they invaded the Mediterranean areas: Gk οἶνος, Aeol ϝοῖνος ***wine***, οἴνη, οἰνάς ***vine*** Chantraine 1968-80:784-85; Lat ***vīnum wine***, from which the Gmc words were borrowed, Stender-Petersen 1927:365, M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:126, E Sturtevant 1934 Lg 10:6ff, as well as OIr ***fín***, Wel ***gwin wine***; OSl ***vino*** was however borrowed from Gmc, and Lith ***vỹnas wine*** from Sl. Arm ***gini*** ← ****woinyo-***, Alb ***vênë*** ← ****woinā wine***, Hitt ***wiyan(a/ʔ/)- wine*** may have been borrowed independently. The word has also been borrowed independently in Afro-Asiatic: Akkad ***īnu***, Heb ***jajin***, Ar ***wain wine***. Discussed widely, as by Ipsen 1924 ***FI*** Streitberg:226-27, Frisk 1960-72 II:364-66, with references stating that no ultimate source can be determined.

P 1959:1121. In a long discussion Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:647-55 posit PIE ***u(e/o)in-o- wine*** on the basis of the words in Anatolian, Greek, Armenian, Albanian, and Latin. Taking ***e/o*** ablaut as evidence, they derive it from PIE ***wey- wind***. They also assume PIE as its source for the other language families. This identification is important for their location of the IE homeland in the Transcaucasus, since the Near East is considered the earliest center for the domestication and cultivation of grapes. D'iakonov 1984-85 SovAA 23,ii:42 objects to their proposal, stating that West Semitic may have borrowed the term from the Creto-Mycenaean culture.

W49. *weina-basi n*ja* σταφυλή *grape*, only acc pl, *-sja* M 7.16, L 6.44; cmpd of **wein** and PGmc *basja-* in Du *bes berry*, LG *bes-ing bilberry*; also PGmc *bazja-* in OI *ber* n, OE *beri(g)e* f, Du *bezie*, OHG *beri* stn *berry*†, *grape*; OI *vīn-ber* n, OE *wīn-berie* f, OS, OHG *wīn-beri* stn *grape*.

Etymology of PGmc *basja-* disputed; possibly a *-ja*-extension to PGmc *basa-* as in Nor dial *bas(e) shrub*, meaning 'belonging to, growing on shrubs', Bugge 1896 BGDSL 21:421; preferable to relation with OE *basu reddish purple*: MIr *base red* Lidén 1905-06 IF 18:415-16; also hesitantly, P 1959:105.

W50. *weina-gards m*i* ἀμπελών *vineyard* L 20.9.

CrimGo *wingart* 'vitis' *grapevine, vine branch* Stearns 1978:163-64. OI *vīn-garðr*, OE *wīn-geard*, OS *wīn-gardo*, OHG *wīn-gart(o)* st/wkm *vinyard*†, *grapevine*.

Cmpds of *wein* + **gards**. OSl *vino-grads vineyard, vine branch* is a borrowing from Gmc, Stender-Petersen 1927:365ff, M Jellinek 1929 ZDA 66:127.

W51. weinnas [?] adj πάροινος *drunk, drunkard*, only 1T 3.3 and Tit 1.7B. Possibly a scribal error for ***weinags** : MHG *wīnic drunk*. Cf **audags** *blessed* from 'characterized by luck', as in *auda-haft lucky, gredags hungry* from 'characterized by hunger', as in ***gredus** *hunger, modags angry, characterized by anger* as in ***moþs**.

Uppström proposed a reading ***weinuls*** rejected in Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:172 on the grounds that *-uls* is found only on verbal stems. F 1939:559 hesitantly suggests ***weinaus***, as a derivative of Lat *vīnōsus*, with *au* as a low back vowel, Streitberg 1920:46. He also forwards the possibility of a Go cmpd of *wein* and ****nasa-***, ****nasu-*** as in OI *nṛs*, OE *næs-*, *nosu*, OHG *nasa* : Skt *nāsā* du, Lat pl *nāres (nostrils), nose*†, though the lack of ending and the semantics are puzzling.

W52. *weipan stvI στεφανοῦν *crown*, only 3sg prs pass *-pada* 2T 2.5; **wipja** f*jō* στέφανος *crown*, only acc sg J 19.2, Mk 15.17; ***waips*** m στέφανος *crown* Ph 4.1; ****faur-waipjan*** wkvI φιμοῦν *muzzle*, only 2sg opt prs *-pjais* 1T 5.18.

OE *wīpian wipe*†; MLG *wīpen throw*, OHG *wīfen* wkv *swing, wind*; Du, LG *wippen* wkv *swing*, OI *veipr* m *head-covering*, OE *wāpe* f *handkerchief*, OHG *weif* stm *(head)band*; Nor *veipa wrap*, MHG *weifen* wkv *reel off, wind*.

PIE *weyb- turn, move with a turning motion*, like *weyp-*, an extension of PIE *wey- turn, bend*, as in **-waddjus**: Lat *vibrō move tremblingly*; probably not *vibia beam* W/H 1938-56 II:779,780-81, in spite of Wood 1931 Lg 7:138; Lith *výburti swing, turn about*; Latvian *viẽbt make grimaces* Fraenkel 1962-65: 1236-37. For reflexes of PIE *weyp-* see ***bi-waibjan***, and with movable PIE *s-(weyb-)*, **midja-sweipains**.

P 1959:1132.

W53. weis prn ἡμεῖς *we* M 6.12.

OI *vēr*, OSw *wī(r)*, OE *wĕ*, OFris, OS *wi*, OHG *wir we*†; G Schmidt 1978:168-71 ascribes the short vowel forms to influence of the dual.

PIE *wey-*, to which the noun pl *-(e)s* was added; G Schmidt 1978:169 assumes spread of *-s* from 2pl PIE *yūs*; also Hitt *wes*, TochA *was*, B *wes we*; in Indo-Iran *-am* was added from singular *(ah)ám I* : Skt *vayám*, Av *vaēm*, OPers *vayam we* Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:410-11. See also *wit we two*, which H Jensen 1930 IF 48:119 derives from PIE *we-*, assuming then a *ye*-extension to *wey(e)-*; such speculation has no further support, nor does Sommer 1912 IF 30: 403-04 relating PIE *wey-* to *wey-*, *wi- two*, as in TochB *wi*, A *we* f *two*.

P 1959:1114; G Schmidt 1978:167-76.

W54. *weitwoþs m cons stem μάρτυς *witness* 2C 1.23; cf nom sg *galiuga-weitwods false witness* L 18.20; derivation: ****weitwodjan*** wkvI μαρτυρεῖν *bear witness* J 7. 7; ****miþ-weiðwodjan*** συμμαρτυρεῖν *bear witness with*, only gen sg f prpl *-jandein* R 9.1; + nom derivative *weitwodei* f*n* μαρτύριον, μαρτυρία *witness* J 18.23; *weitwodeins* f*i/ō witness*, only

Sk 6.19 / VIc.16; **weitwodi* n*ia* μαρτυρία *witness*, only nom pl *-dja* 2T 2.2; *weitwodiþa* f*ō* μαρτυρία *witness* J 8.13. -- In origin, a PIE perf ptc act, which like **berusjos** has no equivalent in other Gmc dialects.

PIE *weyd- see*, as in **1. witan** + PIE *-we/ot-*, parallel to PIE *-we/os-*, perf ppl act suffix, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:426-27,563-74: Gk εἰδώς ← **weid-wōt-s*, gen εἰδότος *knowing* from 'having seen', Schwyzer 1939-50 I:539-41, with copious references: *-ot-* generalized in Gk, as was *-ōd-* in Go; possibly OIr *fíadu witness* ← *-wōs* → *(-w)ūs* and assuming *n*-inflection, Thurneysen 1946:124,212, though Pedersen 1909-13 II:21 derives it from *u̯eid-s-tu̯on-*; scarcely also OPruss *waidewut high priest*, though cited in Gdr II.1:427, if as highly doubtful; similar formation, OIr *bibdu*, OBret *bibid culprit* ← **bhi-bhid-wōt- one who has damaged*, Sommer 1900 *F* Stokes:24ff, Thurneysen 1946:124. Perf ppl: Skt *vidvás-* m, *vidvát-* n, *vidúṣī* f; Av *vīdvah-, vīduš-*; Gk εἰδώς, Hom f ἰδυῖα ← **-usya knowing* from 'having seen'. Cf also **berusjos** *parents* from 'having borne', and with comparable ending **menoþs**, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1: 427.

The meaning 'witness' is found also in Skt *vetta-*, OSl *sŭ-vědě-teljь*, Meillet 1929 WuS 12: 19; see also Gk ἵστωρ *judge*; OE *ge-wita*, OHG *wizzo* wkm *wise man*; W Schulze 1966:574 cites in support Demosthenes: παρέξομαι μάρτυρας ὑμῖν τοὺς εἰδότας *I will provide for you 'knowing ones' as witnesses*. Cf also Benveniste 1973:440, with reference to the *Śatapatha Brāḥmaṇa*.

P 1959:1125-27, Watkins 1985:74.

W55. wens f*i* ἐλπίς *hope* 2C 1.6; **us-wena* adj ἀπηλπικώς *callous, without expectations* E 4.19; *un-weniggo* adv translates Gk adj αἰφνίδιος *unexpected(ly)* 1Th 5.3; **wenjan* wkvI ἐλπίζειν *hope for* J 5.45; **faura-wenjan* προελπίζειν *hope before*, only acc pl m prpl *-jandans* E 1.12; **ga-wenjan* ὑπολαμβάνειν *expect*, only 1sg prs *-ja* L 7.43.

OI *vān, ōn*, OE *wēn* f *hope, expectation*, OFris *wēn opinion*, OS *wān hope*, OHG *wān* stm *opinion, hope, delusion*; OI *vænn* adj *promising, beautiful*; OE *wēninga perhaps*; OI *væna*, OE *wēnan*, OFris *wēna*, OS *wānian*, OHG *wānen* wkv *think, hope, ween*†.

Possibly from PIE *wen- strive, wish* as in **winja** *meadow, un-wunands troubled*, with lengthened grade; Meillet 1896 MSLP 9:55 compared Lat *vēnor hunt*, for which an alternate etymology is proposed, though W/H 1938-56 II:749-50 consider derivation from *wen-* phonologically superior; they reject however his further inclusion of Lat *opīniō opinion* on the grounds that Lat *opīnor think* cannot be reconciled to it.

P 1959:1146-47.

W56. wepna n*a* pl ὅπλα *weapons* 2C 6.7.

OI *vāpn*, OE *wǣpen*, OFris *wēpen*, OS *wāpan*, OHG *wāfan* stn *weapon*†.

No etymology. Windekens 1971 SL 25:125-28 relates TochB *yepe knife*, with PIE *wēb-(no)-* as source, using TochB *yente wind*, Lat *ventus*, Go *winds wind* as support; the Toch parallel may be cogent, but no additional cognates support the IE source. The proposal of Krogmann 1938 ZVS 65:143-44 that **wepn* was an extension with *-b-* of an PIE *wē- ~ ow-*, from which are derived Skt *vádhati strike, kill, vádhar-death weapon* has not been accepted; *vadh-* itself is not without dispute, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:135-36, P 1959:1115; see also Frisk 1960-72 II:1153 on Gk ὠτειλή *wound*, which Krogmann related. The earlier proposed relationship to Gk ὅπλον *weapon*, is even more thoroughly discredited, Frisk 1960-72 II:404-05.

W57. Wereka name of a Go priest (*papa*) in Cal as of 29 Oct; = **Werika* in Wulfila's Go; Ebbinghaus 1979 GL 19:71 reconstructs **Werka* or **Weseka*.

Go **Wera* with dim *-ka*, Kluge 1926:32, Schönfeld 1911:261; cf adj **wers true* under ***tuz-werjan**. Also a first component in OE PeN's *Wær-beald, Wær-gær*, etc; *-ka* also in names like OI *Gjuki*, OE *Gifeca*, MHG

Gibeche; OHG *Wericus*, *Waraco*, Förstemann 1900:1533. The Go name appears as Οὐηρίκας (Οὐήρηκας) in the menologies as of 26 March; Loewe 1923 BGDSL 47:410-11.

W58. wichtgata CrimGo 'album' ***white***.

Cf ****hveits***, presumably + PGmc *-aga-* as in ****stainahs***, MLG *stēnich* ***stony*** Meid 1967: 188-92 + n nom *-ata*, though with problematic *-ch-*. Of the proposed explanations Stearns 1978:163 prefers Much 1898 AinIF 9:199, who took it as introduced by carrying over *-ch-* from preceding **atochta** or from the following **mycha**; also E Schröder 1910 NGWG 1910:13. More plausible than assumption of metathesis from **χwīt-*, as by Loewe 1896:173-74, 1902-03 IF 13:9, or than Grienberger 1898 ZDP 30:127, who treated it as a modification of *vvieth-* ***white***.

W59. *widuwairna *mn* ὀρφανός ***orphaned, desolate***, only acc pl *-nans* J 14.18; according to Grimm 1890:341 ****widuwairns***, and also Jacobsohn 1929 ZDA 66:235.

Based on **widuwo** + *-erna-* of disputed origin. By one explanation *-erna-* is parallel to formation in OI *þerna*, OS *thiorna*, OHG *diorna* wkv ← PGmc *þewernōn-* ***maidservant***, based on PGmc *þewa-*, cf ****þius***, orig 'servant's daughter'; see also ****eisarn***, Meid 1967:115; *-erna-* ← PIE *-no-*, as in **fulls**, added to *er*-stems, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:281, Much 1893 BGDSL 17:37. Finding no model for this proposal, Mezger 1942 MLN 57:432-33 compared OE *nīwerne* ***young, tender***, based on models like OE ***fæderen*** ***paternal***, ***fæderencynn*** ***father's kin†***, ***mēdren***, ***mēdern*** ***maternal***, from which arose the *-rn*-formation suggesting kinship; cf PIE *pətr(i)jo-*, Gk πάτριος as an *-(i)jo*-derivative from PIE *pətēr*. This suffix presumably led to ****widuwrin-*** which with metathesis led to attested form. Complex explanation, with little evidence. Proposed Lat parallels in *lucerna* and *lanterna* ***lamp*** do not have inherited suffixes, W/H 1938-56 I:760-61, 825.

W60. widuwo *fn* χήρα ***widow*** L 2.37, ***-dowo*** L 7.12.

OE ***widewe***, OFris ***widwe***, OS ***widowa***, OHG ***wituwa*** wkf ***widow†***.

Skt *vidhávā*, Av *viδavā*; Lat *vidua*; OIr *fedb*, Wel *gweddw*; OPruss *widdewu*; OSl *vьdova* ***widow***, inherited from PIE *widhéwā* ***widow***, in spite of Bréal 1908-09 MSLP 15:145-46. Based on these: Gk ἠίθεος ***bachelor*** Frisk 1960-72 I:625-26, with unclear *η-*; Lat *viduus* ***deprived, unmarried***, according to Delbrück 1889:442ff from the time of Plautus; though not Skt *vidhúṣ* in the sense of 'isolated', Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:212. Further attempts at explanation hazardous, such as derivation from PIE *widh-* ***separate***: Skt *vidhyati* ***pierce*** is questioned by Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:212; Lat *dīvidō* ***divide*** W/H 1938-56 I:359, II:785-86, though listed as cognate in P 1959:1127-28, is in turn derived from PIE *wi-* + *dhē-* ***place***, making the proposed derivation of *widhéwā* implausible. See also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:759-60.

W61. *wigadeino or *-na* *f* ἄκανθος ***thistle***, only dat pl *-nom* M 7.16.

Explanation difficult. F 1939:562, assuming first element *wiga-* to **wigs** ***way***, compares Sw ***väg-tistel***, NE ***waythistle***, NHG ***Weg-distel***, all probably modern designations for kinds of thistles; moreover the proposed relationship of *-deino* to Celt *-tĭno-*, Loth 1920-21 RevCelt 38: 144ff and Marstrander 1924:19ff, is scarcely compelling, in spite of Gaul, Lat *rumpo-tīnus* ***a kind of maple***, Wel *cer-din*, Corn *cer-den* and also MIr *cāer-thann* ← ****kairo-tĭno-*** ***sorb-apple***. Grienberger 1900:240 in deriving ****wigad-eina*** adj from *1. weihan* ***fight*** as 'a plant armed with thorns', is no less plausible, though rejected by F 1939:562.

W62. wigs *ma* ὁδός ***way*** M 7.13; **fram-wigis** ***continuously*** J 6.34.

OI *vegr*, OE *weg*, OFris *wei*, OS, OHG *weg* stm ***way†***.

Based on PIE *weĝh-* ***travel, move by vehicle*** as in ****ga-wigan***. OIr *fecht* ***trip, time***;

Lith *vėžė track of wagon or sled*, Latvian *veža track*. See also **wegs**.

P 1959:1118-20.

W63. *wiko fn *sequence*, only dat sg *in wikon kunjis seinis* ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ *in the sequence of his course* L 1.8.

OI *vika week, nautical mile (change of days, and of oarsmen)*, OE *wice, wucu*, OFris *wike week*†, OS *crūce-wika Holy Week*, MLG *wekesēs nautical mile*, OHG *wehha* wkf *week*.

Etymology disputed; generally derived from PIE *weyk/g- wind, turn*: Skt *vijáte move rapidly*, Av *vaēg- swing*; Lith *vìglas, vigrùs lively*; also OI *vīkja*, OE *wīcan*, OFris *wīka*, OS *wīkan*, OHG *wīhhan* stv *yield* Grienberger 1900:241, though opposed by F 1939:563; from PIE *weyk-*: Lat gen *vicis*, pl *vicēs exchange*; OS, OHG *wehsal* stm/n *exchange* W/H 1938-56 II:781-82,791-92. A 'week' is an exchange -- of the day's gods by the Roman calendar, Wessén 1914:179, or of the moon, Karsten 1928:85-86, neither highly compelling explanations. According to Kluge 1920:187 the meaning 'week, change of service' is taken from Lat *vicēs*.

P 1959:1130-31.

W64. wiljan irreg wkv, used as modal; prs orig opt, of athematic inflection; other forms added in Gmc to round out paradigm, βούλεσθαι *want, will* inf R 7.18, 1sg prs *wiljau* M 8.3, 1sg prt *wilda* 2C 1.15; *wilja* mn θέλημα *will* M 6.10, βούλημα *will*, εὐδοκία *pleasure*; *wilja-halþei* fn πρόσκλισις, προσωπολημψία *partiality* E 6.9; *ana-wiljei* f τὸ ἐπιεικές *moderation* Ph 4.5, σεμνότης *dignity*; **ga-wiljis* adj ὁμοθυμαδόν *unanimous* R 15.6; **silba-wiljis* m*ja* αὐθαίρετος *volunteer* 2C 8.3, B/E 1981:71.

OI *vilja*, OE *willan*, OFris *willa* inf; OS *wellian*, OHG *wellen* wkv *will*† ← **waljan*, following other wkv patterns, Helten 1909 BGDSL 35:297ff; OI *vili*, OE, OFris *willa*, OS *willio*, OHG *willo* wkm *will*†, *desire*; **(wilja-)halþs* + *-ei*, as in OI *hallr*, OE *heald*, OFris *-hald*, OHG *hald disposed to*, cf **hulþs**. See also **waila**.

PIE *wel-ᵊ- will, select*: Skt *vṛṇīté choose*, aor 3sg middle *avṛta* (athematic); Av *var- choose*; Lat *velle wish*, 2sg prs *velīs* = Go *wileis*; Lith *pa-velti*; OSl *věl̀ti want*; Skt *váras wish*, Lith *valìa*, OSl *volja will*; MWel, Corn, Bret *guell* ← PIE *wel-no- better*; Arm *gel* ← PIE *wel-no- beauty*.

P 1959:1137; on Gmc forms see Krause 1968:251 and Prokosch 1939:224-25; on the IE root and its reflexes see K Hoffmann 1968 *F* Kuiper:5-7; Mezger 1958 ZVS 75:225-33 has an extensive discussion of the Gmc forms made from the root.

W65. Wiljariþ thus once in the signature of DeN; in the text and another time in the signature *Uuiliarit* name of a *bokareis*, ie a notary, and a cleric in DeN. Grienberger 1900: 241-42 proposes the reading **Wilja-riþs*; Wulfilian **Wilja-reþs*, cmpd of *wilja* and *-reþs*, cf **ga-redaba**.

OE PeN *Wil-rēd*, OHG *Willarat, Willirad, Willirat* (NE *Willard*), Förstemann 1900:1605.

W66. wilþeis adj*ia wild*, in *wilþeis alewa-bagms* m ἀγριέλαιος *wild olive tree* R 11, 17, gen *wilþei(n)s alewa-bagmis* R 11.24A, according to Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:239, not **wilþjins* as by W Schulze 1966:537; n *wilþi*, marginal gloss to *haiþiwisk* ἄγριον Mk 1.6; cf Linke 1920:133-34.

OI *villr wild, erring, perplexed*, OE, OFris *wilde*, OS *wildi wild*†, *untamed*, OHG *wildi uncultivated, untamed, erring, strange* ← PIE *weltyo-*; *es*-stem noun: OE *wildor* n *wild animal*, MLG, OHG *wild*, pl *wildir* stn *game*.

Possibly from PIE *wel-*, with derivatives meaning 'woods, hair, wool', eg ***wulla**; only close cognate, Wel *gwyllt*, Corn *gwyls* ← PIE *wel-to-* or *-ti- wild, untamed*, OBret *gueld-enes* 'insula indomita' *uncultivated island* P 1959: 1139-40. Further relationships dubious: scarcely with Lidén 1896 BKIS 21:106-07 to Russ *viljatь change direction in running* P 1959: 1221; little better grounds for Fay 1918 JEGP 17:423, who assumes PIE *wel-t-es* like PGmc

walþus (OI *vǫllr field*, OE *weald*, OFris, OS *wald*, OHG *wald* stm *forest*) to PIE *wel-* in OE *wellian* wkv *roam*; rejected by Vries 1962:664, though the words for 'woods' and 'wild' are cited together by P 1959:1139-40.

W67. wilwa mn ἅρπαξ *robber* 1C 5. 11; *wilwan* stvIII ἁρπάζειν *rob* Mk 3.27; **dis-wilwan* διαρπάζειν *plunder*, only 3sg opt prs *dis-wilwai* M 3.27; *fra-wilwan* ἁρπάζειν, συναρπάζειν *seize, snatch*, 3sg prt *fra-walw* L 8.29, papl *fra-wulwans* 2C 12.4; **wulwa* fō ἁρπαγμός *plunder*, only acc sg Ph 2.6.

Etymology problematic; may be an extension with *-w-* of PIE *wel- tear, rob; wound* Persson 1912:132; Gk οὐλή ← **wol-nā* or *-sā wound*; Lat *vellō* ← **welsō pluck, plunder, wolnus wound, vellus fleece, shorn wool*, cf **wulla*; not Lat *voltur vulture*, which is Etruscan in origin, W/H 1938-56 II:744-45,830-31; possibly OI *valr corpse on battlefield*, OE *wæl*, OS, OHG *wal* stm *battlefield* Vries 1962:642; possibly also Hitt *walh- strike*. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:492 fn1 accept derivation from PIE *wel-*, adding here Hieroglyphic Luw *wal(a)- die*, Luw *u(u̯a)lanti- dead*, TochA *wäl- die*, following Hawkins 1980 ZVS 94:109-19.

P 1959:1144-45.

W68. winds ma ἄνεμος *wind* Mk 4.39.

CrimGo *wintch* (misprint for **wintsch*, Stearns 1978:164), OI *vindr*, OE, OFris, OS *wind*, OHG *wint* stm *wind*[1].

Based on PIE *aw₂-* ← *Hew-₂-*, *wē-* as in **waian blow*: cf Skt *vā́tas*, Av *vātō wind*; Skt *vā́nt-* prpl *blowing*; with different suffix, Lith *vė̃jas*, Latvian *vējš wind*; **wēnto-* → *wĕnto-* is a western innovation, Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:158; Porzig 1954:197-98, with suffix accented in Gmc (on short *-e-*, see Streitberg 1896:215-16): Lat *ventus*, Wel *gwynt*, Bret *guent*, TochA *wänt*, B *yente wind* (Porzig 1954:187,197 points to this distribution as further evidence for Toch origin in the west); also Hitt *hu̯ant- wind* Kammenhuber 1961 ZVS 77:67-68 and Tischler 1983- I:328-31, with extensive discussion of the problems; initial *hwa-* rather than *w-* may be due to influence from Hitt *hu̯ai- run, flee*. See also **dis-winþjan*.

P 1959:82, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 489,677.

W69. winja *fjō* νομή *meadow*, only acc sg J 10.9.

OI *vin*, MLG, OHG *winne* f *meadow*; zero grade in OI *yndi* n *happiness*, OHG *wunna* st/wkf *joy*; see also **un-wunands**. The words for 'meadow' are then interpreted as indicating a pleasant place; this interpretation is pursued by Trier 1963:117-18, with reference to Skt *vánam forest, tree*, earlier also by Lidén 1903-04:27. But the etymology of *vánam* is disputed, Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:138-40.

Probably from PIE *wen- wish, love*, as in Skt *vanóti like, desire, vánas* n *pleasure*; Lat *venus love*; see **un-wunands** and **wens** for further cognates.

P 1959:1146-47.

W70. winnan stvIII L 9.22, **ga-winnan**, only 2pl prt *-wunnuþ* πάσχειν *suffer* G 3.4; *winna fo* πάθος *passion*, only acc sg Col 3.5A, in Cod B *winnon*; **winno fn* πάθημα *passion, suffering* R 7.5; **wunns fi* πάθημα *suffering*, only dat pl *-nim* 2T 3.11.

OI *vinna labor, win, overcome*, OE *winnan labor, suffer*, OFris *winna gain*, OS, OHG *winnan* stv *work, battle, giwinnan gain, obtain, receive*; this meaning also in OE *gewinnan*, leading to the sense of NE *win*; OI *vinna* f *work*, OE *winn* n *work, strife*, OHG *winna* st/wkf *suffering*; OE *wiþer-winna*, OHG *widar-winno* wkm *opponent*.

Probably from PIE *wen-*, *wenH- strive, wish, gain*: Skt *vanóti wish, gain, conquer*; papl *vanita-*, *-vāta-* illustrate the root extended with laryngeal. From *vanóti* we may assume that the laryngeal was *-γ-*; Gmc doubling of *-n-* may be due to it rather than to an otherwise unattested *-w-*present, Lühr 1976 MSzS 35:80-81. For other cognates see **winja**, **un-wunands**, **wens**.

P 1959:1146-47.

W71. wintrus mu χειμών *winter* J

10.22, ἔτος *year* M 9.20; see **twalib-wintrus**; PGmc *r*-stem, shifted to *u*-stems in Go, Krause 1968:161.

Run *uintura* acc pl (Rök; A Kock 1898 ANF 14:255ff; Brate 1911-18:240-41); OE, OFris *winter*, OS, OHG *wintar* *winter*†; with loss of nasal, OI *vetr* m *winter* (as 'the wet season').

May be based on PIE *aw-d* ← *Hew-d- moisten, flow*, with form *Hwēd-* and nasal infix *(H)wn-ed-*: cf Skt *unátti flow, wet*; Lat *unda wave*; Lith *vanduõ* f, OPruss *wundan* n, *unds* m *water* Lidén 1891 BGDSL 15:522. *r*-stem in *e*-grade comparable to Lith *vand-* may have been the basis for PGmc *wend-er*; see Petersson 1921b:14, who however proposes a pre-Go *u*-stem. Wood 1932 Lg 8:214 assumes a comparable origin from the base of **winds**. Proposal of an origin in PIE *wind-o- white*, cf OIr *find*, Wel *gwynn white*, Gaul GN *Vindomagus white field*, as by Krause 1968: 161, has not been widely accepted, for the Celt words are themselves disputed in origin, F 1939:566, P 1959:1125. Consideration of winter in the Gmc area as the wet, rather than the windy or white, time of year supports derivation from the base also in **wato**.

P 1959:78-81, esp 79.

W72. *winþi-skauro fn πτύον *winnowing fork*, only acc sg *-ron* L 3.17; for **winþja-* see ***dis-winþjan**.

-skauro: Sw dial *skurä*, OHG *skora* f *shovel*; OI *skora rub, score*†, OE *scorian reject, refuse*; MLG, MDu *schüren rub, scour*, MHG *scorn* wkv *scrape together, work with a shovel*.

May be based on PIE *skew- cut, separate, scrape*: Skt *skunóti cut, make holes*; with *-r-*: Lith *skiaurẽ small, perforated container for fish, creel*; *kiáuras perforated, kiùrti become full of holes*, Latvian *caũrs porous, skurinât shake back and forth* Fraenkel 1962-65:249; possibly also Gk σκῦρος *splinters of rock* Frisk 1960-72 II:743-44. PIE *skew-* may be extended from PIE *sek- cut* as in Lat *secō cut, secūris* axe; OSl *sekyra* axe P 1959:895-96.

P 1959:954.

W73. wis na γαλήνη *calm (of the sea)* M 8.26.

No direct cognates in other Gmc dialects.

Etymology disputed: possibly to **1. wisan**, Grimm 1878:24, Brugmann 1904-05 IF 17:319-20, Torp and Falk, eds 1909:405; cf Gk νύκτα μὲν ἄ(ϝ)εσαμεν *that night we rested* Od 3.151. Scarcely to Hsch ἴσσος· γαλήνη, Osthoff 1881: 188 fn, since the Gk form is taken as a by-form of ἴσος *equal to*, as though from **ϝίσϝος*; but this would not have yielded ἴσος, Chantraine 1968-80:470. Other suggestions even less credible; cf F 1939:567.

W74. 1. wisan stvV, irreg, εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν, γίνεσθαι *be* J 7.4, 1sg prt *was*, 1pl *wesum* (for prs see **im**); *at-wisan* παριστάναι *be present* Mk 4.29; *faura-wisan be at hand* Sk 8.12 / VIIIb.17-18; **fra-wisan* δαπανᾶν *squander*, only 3sg prt *-was* L 15.14 (possibly better to **3. wisan**); **ga-wisan* μένειν *remain*, only 3sg prt *ga-was* L 8.27; **in-wisan* erroneous translation for διαγίνεσθαι *be past*, only gen sg m prpl *in-wisandins* Mk 16.1; **miþ-wisan* συμπαραγίνεσθαι *remain with*, only 3sg prt *miþ-was* 2T 4.16; **miþ-ga-wisan* συναπάγεσθαι *be together*, only nom pl m prpl *miþ-ga-wisandans* R 12.16; **þairh-wisan* ἐπιμένειν *continue* Col 1.23; **ufar-wisan* περισσεύειν *exceed* 2C 3.9; **wists* fi φύσις *essence, nature* R 11.24; ***balwa-wesei** fn *evil*. Also *2. wisan* μένειν *remain* 1C 7.11; etymologically identical with **1. wisan**.

OI *vesa, vera*, OE *wesan*, OFris *wesa*, OS, OHG *wesan* irreg stv; Run *was* (Kalleby), Krause 1966 I:139-40; OI *vist stay, abode, food*, OE *wist being, sustenance, food*, OHG *wist* stf *stay, abode; essence*.

PIE *wes- stay, dwell*: Skt *vásati*, Av *vaŋhaiti dwell, stay*; Gk ἄ-(ϝ)εσα aor *remain*, always with νύκτα *night*, ἑσ-τία *hearth*, possibly ἄστυ *city* (unexplained α, Chantraine 1968-80:129-30); Lat *Vesta goddess of the hearth* W/H 1938-56 II:772-74; OIr *fō(a)id* ← **woseti spend the night, fess, feiss* f *sleep*,

coitus, foss m *stay, rest*; Arm *goy is, is present*; TochA *waṣt*, B *ost house, wsaṣṣäṃ dwell.* On Hitt *huis- live* see Tischler 1983- I:264-68, who cites proposals to derive it from PIE *wes-*, but concludes that its etymology is undetermined.

Dictionaries distinguish two Go words *wisan* on the basis of their sense in modern languages; yet forms of *wisan* are assigned to **1. wisan** both when it means 'be' and when it translates μένειν, as in J 12.34, even though **2. wisan** is recognized from that translation, as in J 6.27. See Streitberg, ed 1919-28 II:175-76, where the entry is labeled **3. wisan**, for more examples. The senses of **wists*, esp its cognate in OHG, may reflect merging of the three entries for *wisan*. Similar judgments plague lexicographers in other languages as well.

P 1959:1170-71, Watkins 1985:78.

W75. 3. wisan stvV *make merry, live sumptuously, waila wisan* for εὐφραίνεσθαι L 15.23,32, 16.19 and without *waila*, ἤρξαντο εὐφραίνεσθαι L 15.24 (Streitberg 1908 IF 22: 307-10; *waila* possibly omitted here by scribal or translator's oversight); **bi-wisan* εὐφραίνεσθαι *make merry*, only 1sg opt prt *-wesjau* L 15.29 (possibly here also **fri-wisan* δαπανᾶν *squander* L 15.14; cf **fra-itan*, where *fra-* also has pejorative connotations); **wizon* wkvII σπαταλᾶν *be self-indulgent*, only nom sg f prpl *-widei* 1T 5.6; *anda-wizns* fi χρεία *necessities, needs* 2C 11.8; **waila-wizns* fi *nourishment*, only dat sg *-nai* Sk 7.13 / VIIb. 22-23; *ga-wizneigs* adja, only in *ga-wizneigs im auk witoda I am full of delight in the law* R 7.22.

OE **wesan* stv *feast* (only Beowulf 3115, where ms has *weazan*, which is maintained by Klaeber 1950:117,228), OHG *fir-wesan*, MHG *ver-wesen* stv *perish, spoil*; OI *vist*, OE, OHG *wist* stf *food*, cf **1. wisan**.

PIE *wes- feast*: Av *vāstrəm food, vāstar- shepherd* (on the Indo-Iran root *vas- consume* see Geldner 1885 ZVS 27:216-17,260; Wolff 1907 ZVS 40:19ff; Bartholomae 1904:1385; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:171, esp on Skt *ánu vāvase* RV 8.4.8, which can only hesitantly be translated 'has consumed'); possibly Lat *vēscor* eat W/H 1938-56 II:769; OIr *feis* ← **wes-tā food, fiach raven*, Wel *gwēst banquet*; Latvian *vęseļs healthy, whole*; OSl *vesels joyful* Vasmer 1953-58 I:191-92; Hitt *wesi- pasture for cattle; wesija- graze; westara- shepherd.*

P 1959:1171; PIE *wes- feast* may be related to PIE *wesu-*, as in **iusiza**. Rosén 1984: 378-87 argues strenuously against a separate root from that of **1. wisan**.

W76. Wisi, Wesi, Wisi-gothae etc, EN of the Visigoths.

See Schönfeld 1911:267-68 on the variants, and the time of their earliest attestation. *Wisi* is attested earliest, ca 300 AD, *Wisi-gothae* several centuries later; see also Krause 1968:10, Hachmann 1970:122-26 and elsewhere.

Wisi is generally accepted as the earliest obtainable name of the group, following Streitberg 1894 IF 4:300, and interpreted 'the noble people', as a reflex of PIE *wesu good*; cf **iusiza**.

W77. wit nom du 1st person ἡμεῖς *we two* J 17.11A, 22A.

OI *vit*, OE, OFris, OS *wit we two.*

PIE *wĕ- we two*: Gmc forms are like Lith *vè-du we + two*; see with other endings Ved *vā́m to both of us* RV 6.55.11; Av *vā*, OSl *vě we two.* Following Grimm 1893:343 *vit* is derived from PIE *we-dwŏ* (beside *-dwō*) *we two*; see Gdr 1897-1916 II.2:198,380 fn1,412, and I: 931 fn3 on loss of *-ŏ*; *-w* after voiceless consonant became voiceless, and was lost, Streitberg 1920:60. See also Meillet 1903 MSLP 12: 226ff,431, 1905-06 MSLP 13:208-09; 1908-09 MSLP 15:84 fn, Prokosch 1939:284. Other proposals on source of *-t* in F 1939:569 are less satisfactory; see **weis** and **twai**. G Schmidt 1978:169-70 reviews them in detail.

P 1959:1114.

W78. 1. witan prt-prs I γιγώσκειν, εἰδέναι *know* M 7.24, 1,3sg prs *wait* M 6.8, 1pl prs *witum* J 9.20, newly formed prt *wissa* M 27.18; prs meaning *know* from 'have seen' -- cf

J Wackernagel 1920-24 I:168-69, W Schulze 1966:219, Oertel 1936 ZVS 63:260-62, Prokosch 1939:187-89, WP Lehmann 1943 Lg 19:25, with reference to the Gmc dental prt; ****miþ-witan*** συνειδέναι *be aware of*, only 1sg prs ***-wait*** 1C 4.4; **2. witan, *fulla-weis, *ga-weison, fra-weit** also for ***-weitan, -weitjan,*** **id-weit, *weitwoþs, un-wita;** ***un-witands*** neg prpl ἀγνοῶν *ignorant* 1T 1.13; ***un-witi*** n*ja* ἀφροσύνη *foolishness* Mk 7.22; **(un-)wiss, miþwissei, witoþ;** ****witubni*** n*ia* γνῶσις *knowledge* R 11.33.

OI *vita*, OE *witan*, OFris *wita*, OS *witan*, OHG *wizzan* inf *know*, 1,3sg prs OI *veit*, OE *wāt*, NE *wot* (archaic), OFris, OS *wēt*, OHG *weiz*; OE *witt*, OFris *wit*, OS *ge-wit*, OHG *(gi-)wizzi* stn *knowledge, understanding, wit*†; OS *un-witi*, OHG *un-wizzī* stf *foolishness*.

PIE *weyd- see*; perf *woyd-a-*: Skt *véda, vidmá*, Av *vaēδa*; Gk οἶδα, ἴδμεν; Wel *gwyddom we know*; OPruss *waidimai*; OSl *vědě*; Arm *gitem* (*i* ← PIE *oy*) *I know*; also Lat *vīdī* (*-oi-* → *-ī-* after *v*, though E Sturtevant 1934 Lg 10: 11ff assumes origin in *-ei-*, introduced by analogy). Secondary forms with meaning 'know': Skt *védmi*, OSl *věmь I know*; Lith *veizdėti see*, based on imp *veiz(i) behold*† : Skt *viddhí*, Gk ἴσθι *know* Brugmann 1913 IF 32:69. Zero grade in: Skt *vidyā́ knowledge, vidmán wisdom*; Gk aor εἶδον ← **ϵ-ϝιδ-ον*, inf ἰδεῖν *see*, ἰδμών *informed*, ἴστωρ *witness*; Lat prs *videō see*; Wel *gwedd view*; OSl *vidz view, sight*. Skt *vindáti find* may be a secondary nasal-infixed prs based on zero grade forms like Skt aor *ávidat*; Arm *egit found* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III: 214.

wait and its cognates provide an excellent example how PIE perfect forms indicating state became preterite-presents in Gmc, that is, preterite forms having the meaning of presents. The shift came when tense replaced aspect as one feature of verbal meaning; cf Prokosch 1939:144-46,187-93. Completed action expressed by 'perfect' forms like PIE *woyd- have seen* came to indicate present state 'know'.

P 1959:1125-27, Watkins 1985:74.

W79. 2. witan wkvIII τηρεῖν, ἀσφαλίζω ***keep watch over, make secure*** M 27. 64, prt 3sg ***-taida*** Mk 6.20; ****at-witains*** *fi* παρατήρησις ***observation*** dat sg ***-nai*** L 17.20.

OI *vita*, OE *be-witian observe, determine*, OHG *gi-wizzēn, ir-wizzēn* wkv *pay heed*; OI papl *vitaðr known, proved*. Based on **1. witan**; cf Lat *vidēre*, OSl *viděti see*; Lith *pa-vydėti envy*. W Bennett 1962 Lg 38:135-41; Polomé 1967 *F* Pokorny:83-92. Jasanoff 1973 Lg 49: 850-870 deals with the formation of this class, assuming that the prs *-ai*-forms are based on the PIE middle *-oi-*.

W80. witoþ na νόμος *law* M 5.17; ****in-witoþs*** (conjecture for ***in-witoþ***) ἔννομος *being within the law* 1C 9.21; ***witodeigo*** adv νομίκως *lawfully* 1T 1.8B; see also ***witoda-fasteis*** *lawyer* under **fastan**, ****witoda-laisareis*** *teacher of the law* under **laisjan**, ***witoda-laus*** *lawless* under **laus**.

Run ***wita(n)da-halaiban*** (Tune) *steward [over bread]*, ***wit-*** + ***and-a-*** = prpl; cf ***ga-hlaiba, hlaifs**; Krause 1966 I:165 compares OE *hlāford* → NE *lord*; older references in F 1939:570, some with less likely interpretations; OFris *witat host, consecrated wafer* Slotty 1928 IF 46:370; OLF *witat, witut law, witut-dragere legislator*; OHG *wizzōd* stm/n *law*; OE papl *witod-līce* adv *truly, certainly*; stem in Du *wet law*. Formed from PGmc ****witon***, cf **1. witan** with PGmc ***-ōþ/ðu***, based on PIE ***-tu-***, Kluge 1926:69-71; orig meaning 'what has been seen'. Not related to Skt *vidátham distribution* (based on *vidh-*) as by Wood 1906 MLN 21:41.

W81. *wiþon wkvII κινεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς ***shake***, only nom pl m prpl ***-ndans*** Mk 15.29 'wagging their heads'.

No Gmc cognates.

Possibly PIE *with-, wyeth- shake*: Skt *vyáthate stagger, fall, vithurás*, Av *-viþura staggering*; Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:208,272. According to Kuiper 1937:53, based on PIE *wey-turn*, as in **-waddjus**.

P 1959:1178.

W82. wiþra prep with acc πρός, παρά *against, opposite* M 8.34; **wiþra-wairþs* adj κατέναντι *opposite* L 19.30; also in *þata wiþrawairþo* τοὐναντίον *on the contrary* G 2.7, see ***ana-wairþs**.

Run *wiþr* (Valby; ODan), OI *viðr, við*, OE *wiþer-, wiþ*, OFris *wither, with*, OS *withar*, OHG *widar against, opposed*, cf NE *widdershins, with-* as in *withstand*; OE *wiþerweard*, OHG *widar-wert* adj *opposed, offensive*, OS *wiðer-ward* adv *back*.

Based on PIE *wǐ-* apart, *in two* + *-tero-* as in **aftaro**: Skt, Av *vi-* apart, as in Skt *vitarám* adv *farther*; Av *vitara-* a *further one*. Not here OSl *vstorz second* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:207; possibly however Lat *vītricus step-father* from 'second', 'farther away', W/H 1938-56 II:805.

P 1959:1176.

W83. wiþrus mu ἀμνός *lamb*, only Sk 1.8 / Ib.3-4.

OI *veðr*, OE *weþer*, OS *wethar*, OHG *wider* stm *wether*†.

PIE *wet-, wet-os year, wet-rus yearling*: + *-o-*: Skt *vatsás yearling, calf*, dim *vatsakás little calf*; Alb *viç calf*; + *-lo-*: Gk dial ἔτα/ελον, *yearling (of domestic animals)*; Lat *vitulus calf*, Umbr *vitluf calves*, with *-i-* from another Ital dialect, Chantraine 1968-80:383, W/H 1938-56 II:807; also Lat *Italia*, Osc *Vítel(l)iú land of young cattle*, named for the god of cattle, Mars, W/H I:723. With *-i-*: OIr *feis*, Corn *gwis* f ← **wet-si- pig, sow*. Not related to PIE *owis*, as in ***awistr**, with zero grade of first syllable, W/H 1938-56 II:229.

P 1959:1175.

W84. *wizdila (**wizdils*) *plant from which woad, a blue dye-stuff, is obtained*; assumed from the forms *uuisdil(e), ouisdelem, guisdil* found in Lat versions of Oribasius, Schwentner 1957-58 IF 63:37-38; see also Gundermann 1906-07 ZDW 8:114-15. A diminutive alternate of PGmc **waizda*; cf MLat *waisdo, gaisda, uuasdus*, etc.

A further PGmc stem *waida-*: OE *wād* n, OFris *wēd*, Du *weede*, MLG *wēde*, OHG *weit* m *woad*†.

Borrowings from PGmc *waida-*: Ital *guado*, OFr *guaide*, Prov *gaida*; with *-s-*: OFr *guesde*, NFr *guède woad* Meyer-Lübke 1935: 948b.

Probably a cross-cultural term, with variant forms adopted, Schrader/Nehring 1917-29 II:626-27. From the same source [?]: Gk ἰσάτις f *woad* Chantraine 1968-80:469; Lat *vitrum* n *woad* W/H 1938-56 II:806.

W85. *wlaiton wkvII περιβλέπεσθαι *look around*, only 3sg prt *-toda* Mk 5.32; *wlits* m πρόσωπον, ὄψις, μορφή *face, appearance* J 11. 44.

OI *leïta look for*, OE *wlātian* wkv *stare*; OI *lïta look at*, OE *wlītan* stv *see*; OI *litr appearance, color*, OE, OFris *wlite*, OS *wliti* m *radiance, appearance*; cf **anda-wleizn** *countenance*.

Possibly from an extended form of PIE *wel- see, wl̥-tu- appearance*, as in **wulþus**, forms of which are found only in Ital, Celt and Gmc: Lat *vultus appearance, expression, form*; OIr *fil there is* ← imp **wele look!*, Wel *gweled see*, Bret *guelet view*, OIr *fili poet, seer*, W/H 1938-56 II:831. Not Gk ἰλλίζω *squint*, ἰλλός *squinting*, which are related to εἰλέω *roll, wind* Frisk 1960-72 I:457-58,723.

P 1959:1136.

W86. *wlizjan wkvI ὑπωπιάζειν *mortify, bruise*, only 1sg prs *-zja* 1C 9.27.

Etymology disputed. Possibly from an extended form of PIE *wel- turn*, as in **walwjan**, *wley-*: Skt *vlināti press down*; *vleṣkás snare* Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:283; OIr *flesc* ← **wliskā rod*; possibly also OSl *lěskovz made from the wood of the styrax tree*, itself of doubtful origin, Vasmer 1953-58 II:34; see Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:476, with assumption of PGmc *wliza- rod*, on which **wlizjan* is based. P 1959: 1140.

Assuming a totally different meaning *maintain strictly* from 'supervise' for **wlizjan*, Grienberger 1900:243 derives Go **wlīza-* from

wlisá-*, relating it to OE *wlītan* *supervise* from 'see, watch'; cf *wlits*, ***wlaiton. Less likely.

W87. *wokrs m τόκος *interest*, only dat sg *-ra* L 19.23 (actually 'returns, fruit').

OI *ōkr* n *interest, usury*, OE *wōcor* f *increase, usury*, OFris *wōker* *interest*, OHG *wuohhar* stm/n *yield, gain*.

PIE *aweg-, wōg-* *increase*, also + *-s- weks-* as in **wahsjan**, *wohs*: Lat *augeō* *increase*, *augmentum* *an increase*; Lith *áugti* *grow*; cf ***aukan**; Skt *vákṣaṇam* *strengthening*. This source more likely than PIE *weĝ- lively, strong* as in Skt *vā́jas* *power, speed*, Go ***wakan** *wake up* P 1959:1117-18, in spite of Gdr 1897-1916 II.1:349.

P 1959:84-85.

W88. wopjan wkvI φωνεῖν, βοᾶν *call loudly, call out* L 19.15; *at-wopjan* προσφωνεῖν *summon* Mk 10.49; *uf-wopjan* (ἀνα-)φωνεῖν, (ἀνα-)βοᾶν *exclaim* L 1.42, 3sg prt *ub-uh-wopida* *and he cried out* L 18.38.

OI *æpa* *shout*, OHG *wuoffen* wkv *bewail*; OE *wēpan*, prt *wēop, wēpte* *weep*†, OFris *wēpa* *shout*, OS *wōpian*, prt *wiop*, OHG *wuofan* stv, prt *wiaf* *bewail*; OI *ōp* n *shout, cry*, OE *wōp* *weeping*, OS *wōp*, OHG *wuof* stm *weeping, sobbing*.

Cognates only in Sl: OSl *vabiti* *summon, entice*; Latvian *vābît* *entice, summon to judgment* a borrowing from Sl. Possibly like other assumed PIE roots in *wā-* made with *b*-extension from PIE *wā-* [a sound of lament]; besides PIE *wāb-* see PIE *wăg- cry* as in Lat *vāgiō* *cry*, PIE *wăgh- cry* as in Gk ἠχή *noise, cry of sorrow*, PIE *wap-, ŭp- call* as in OSl *vspiti* *call* and possibly Gk ἠπύω *call loudly* Frisk 1960-72 I:641, and others, Persson 1912: 494-95, Petersson 1913 BGDSL 38:322, P 1959: 1109,1110,1112. The alternate formations in Gmc favor assumption of dial forms, as does PIE *-b*.

W89. *woþeis adj*ia* *sweet, pleasant*, only in *dauns woþi* εὐωδία *fragrance, sweet smell* 2C 2.15, *du daunai woþjai* εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας *as a sweet perfume* E 5.2.

OI comp *ædri* *better*, OE *wēþe*, OS *wōdi*, OHG *wuodi* *pleasant*; OE *wēþnes* f *gentleness, pleasantness*.

No etymology: Grienberger 1900:244 proposes PIE *ewe-t-* as in Go PeN *Eutha-ricus* beside PIE *ewe-s-* in **iusiza**. Even less credible, Wood 1926:62,109 to Hsch φώτιον· προσφιλές *dear* or Petersson 1913 BGDSL 38:323-24 to Skt *vāmás* *dear* which is cognate with *vanóti* as under **winnan**. Possibly Fowkes 1949:54-55 to PIE *swād- sweet*: Skt *svādúṣ*, Gk ἡδύς, Lat *suāvis* ← **swādwis*, OI *sætr*, OE *swēte*, OS *swōti*, OHG *suozi* *sweet*†, for which he assumes movable *s-* and a root *wā-* with "various determinants"; yet PIE *swād-* shows no such variation elsewhere; cf P 1959:1039-40.

W90. *woþs adj*a* δαιμονισθείς, δαιμονιζόμενος *possessed by demons*, nom *wods* Mk 5.18, acc *wodan* Mk 5.15,16.

OI *ōðr*, OE *wōd*, OHG *fer-wuot* *raging*; OI *ōðr* m *poetry*, OE *wōd* f *song, sound, zeal*, *wēdung* f *insanity*, OHG *wuot* stf *violent emotion, rage*; OI *Ōðinn*, OE *Wōden*, OS *Wōden*, OHG *Wuotan* *Gmc god (of poetry)*, cf *Wednesday*†.

PIE *wāt- mentally aroused* -- assumed on the basis of Lat *vātēs* *seer, prophet* (not a borrowing from Celt, W/H 1938-56 II:737-38); Gaul οὐάτεις nom pl with Gk ending (Strabo IV, C 197: ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι 'those performing sacred rites and investigating natural causes'), OIr *fāith* *prophet*, Wel *gwawd* *poem*. Thieme 1954b:656ff related PIE *wat-* as in Skt *api-vátati*, Av *aipi-vat- blow on, inspire*, *aipi-vatahe* *you inspire* (Yasna 9.25), Gk ἀ-υτ-μή *breath*; not Lith *jaũsti* *feel, perceive* Fraenkel 1962-65:191. These possibly based on PIE *aw-, awē-, wē- blow* P 1959:346,81-84; cf ***waian**.

Marstrander 1934 NTS 7:337-38 deals with the magical connotations of the root and of its relation to PIE *kan-*, cf **hana**.

P 1959:1113, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:835-36.

W91. *wraiqs adj*a* σκολιός *crooked*,

only nom sg n *þata wraigo* L 3.5.

Sw dial *wrēk* **annoying person**, OFris *wrāk* **crooked**; OI *ræksni* m **a cloth with holes, a mesh**; OE *wrāxlian*, OFris *wrazlia* wkv **struggle**, modified form in **wrestle**†.

Possibly based on an extension of PIE *wer-* **turn**, *wr-ey-ĝ-*: Av *urvizō-maiδya-* **surrounding the middle of the body**; with *-wo-* in Gk ῥαιβός **crooked** Frisk 1960-72 II:639, who prefers this proposal to others. For other extensions see **wairþan, wairþan, *wraton.**

W92. *wraton wkvII πορεύεσθαι **travel** L 2.41; **wratodus* mu ὁδοιπορία **trip**, only dat pl *-dum* 2C 11.26.

OI *rata* wkv **wander about, fall**, Sw *rata (kring)* **wander about**, Nor *rata* **drive away**. Scarcely OHG *rāzi* **rapid**, *rāzī* f **vehemence** (as by Grimm 1878:251), nor MHG *razzeln* **rattle**, these rather with PGmc *hr-*.

Etymology dubious; treated as an extension of PIE *wer-* **turn, bend** P 1959:1152-60, *wr-ed-* **bend, bow, waver**: Skt *á-vradanta* **break up, waver**; Hom περι-ρρηδής **tumbling over**, Aeol βραδινός, Att ῥαδινός **supple, slender**, ῥαδαν(ζω **waver** Frisk 1960-72 II:638; Lith *ràsti* **find, meet**, cited by Fraenkel 1962-65:700-01 as held by Trautmann 1905 BKIS 29:308-09, 1923:236 though Fraenkel prefers relationship with OSl *rodz* **race**, Skt *várdhati* **increase, strengthen**. Even more tenuous possibilities cited in F 1939:573-74.

P 1959:1153.

W93. *wrikan stvV διώκειν **persecute**, 3sg prt *wrak* 1C 15.9, 3pl prt *wrekun* J 15.20; **fra-wrikan* ἐκδιώκειν **drive out**, only 3pl prt *-wrekun* 1Th 2.15; **ga-wrikan* ἐκδικεῖν, ἐκδίκησιν ποιεῖν **vindicate, avenge** L 18.7,8, R 12.19; *wraks* m διώκτης **persecutor**, only 1T 1.13; **wraka* fō Mk 10.30, *wrakja* fjō Mk 4.17, διωγμός **persecution**; **wrakjan* wkvI διώκειν **persecute**, only prpl *-kjands* Ph 3.6; **wrekei* fn διωγμός **persecution**, only dat pl *-keim* 2C 12.10.

OI *reka*, OE *wrecan*, OFris *wreka* **drive, chase, avenge**, OS *wrekan*, OHG *rehhan* stv **avenge, wreak**†, **punish, rescue**; Sw *vrak* **driving**, OE *wræc* **what is driven, wreck**†, OFris *wrek* **damaged**, MLG *wrak* **useless**; OE *wræc-sīþ*, OS *wrak-sīð* m **way into banishment**; OE *wrecca*, OS *wrekkio*, OHG *wrehhan* (acc sg), *reccheo* wkm **one banished** (then, **far from home**; cf NHG *Recke* **wandering knight, warrior**, NE *wretched* **miserable [through absence from home]**); OE *wreccan* **waken, drive away**, OFris *wretza* wkv **tear, break**; OE *wræc* n **banishment, revenge**; OI *rāk*, OE *wracu*, OFris *wrēze, wrēke*, OS *wrāka*, OHG *rāhha* **revenge, punishment.**

Etymology problematic: PIE *wreg-*, *werg-* **push, drive off**: possibly Lat *urgeō* ← **wṛgeyō* **press, oppress** (possibly also from PIE *wṛgh-* as in Lith *veržti* **tie up, confine**) W/H 1938-56 II: 839-40; possibly Lith *varžti* **suffer need**; *varžas* **need, misery**; OPruss *wargs* **bad**, acc sg *wargan* **evil, suffering, danger**; Lith *vẽrgas*, Latvian *vèrgs* **slave**; OSl *vragz* **enemy** (not in Fraenkel 1962-65:1198-99,1225,558). Scarcely Skt *vrájati* **strides**; *parāvṛj* **one rejected**, though listed with the others here, P 1959:1181.

W94. *writs mi κεραία **serif**, only acc sg *writ* L 16.17.

Run *wraita* acc sg **inscribing** (Reistad) Krause 1966 I:170-72; Antonsen 1975:52-53 interprets as 1sg prt 'I wrote'; OI *rit*, OE *writ* n **writing**, OHG *riz* stm **stroke**; noun form to PGmc *wrītan* **inscribe**, Run *warAit* 3sg prt (Istaby) Krause 1966 I:218-20, Antonsen 1975: 84, Run *wraet* 3sg (Freilaubersheim) Krause 1966 I:283-84 (OLG or OFris according to Feist 1923 ZDP 49:7), Run *writum* 1pl prt (Eikeland) Antonsen 1975:58-59, improved reading over Krause 1966 I:47-48, 1971:144-45 (for other possible forms, Krause 1966 I:270-72,306-07); OI *rita* **inscribe, write**, OE, OS *wrītan*, OFris *wrīta*, OHG *rīzan* stv **tear, write**†; OE *wrǣtt* **decoration, ornament.**

Etymology dubious; possibly from an extended form of PIE *wer-* **tear, scratch**, which has only extended forms, as with *-ōd-*: OI *rōta*, OE *wrōtan* **dig, root**† **up**; with *-ey-d-* in PGmc

wrītan; semantically similar, Gk ῥί-νη *file, rasp*, denom of an unattested verb, Frisk 1960-72 II:657; with a further extension, Skt *vranás cut, wound*, Russ *voroná opening for oars of boat*, Alb *varrë wound*; for others, see P 1959: 1163-64.

W95. wriþus mu ἀγέλη *herd (of swine)*, only L 8.33; emended to **wreþus*, cf Streitberg 1920:49.

OE *wrǣþ/d* m *herd (of swine)* Lidén 1897-99:90-91; ODan *vrath*, Dan *vraad herd of twelve swine* Lidén 1897-99:90-91; OI *rāðr* m *boar* Vries 1962:431.

Based on an extended form of PIE *wer- bind, array*; Skt *vrā́tas troop, crowd*. Other possible cognates without *t*-suffix: OIr *foirenn*, Wel *gwerin* ← **warīnā troop, crowd* Vendryès 1912 RevCelt 33:473; OE *weorn*, *worn* m *crowd, wearn* m *crowd, troop*. See P 1959: 1150-51 for further proposals, none wholly convincing.

W96. *wrohs fi κατηγορία *complaint, accusation* J 18.29; *wrohjan* wkvI κατηγορεῖν *accuse* L 6.7; **fra-wrohjan* διαβάλλειν *suspect*, only papl *-wrohiþs* L 16.1.

OE, OS *wrōht accusation, quarrel*; with grammatical change, OI *rōg* n *quarrel, calumny*; OFris *wrōgie* f *accusation*; MLG *wrōge, wrōch* f *accusation, rebuke*, MHG *ruoge, rüege* f *legal complaint, accusation*. OI *rægja accuse, slander*, OE *wrēgan*, OFris *wrōgia*, OS *wrōgian accuse*, OHG *ruogen* wkv *accuse, scold, reprimand*.

Etymologically difficult; assumed to be from the root PIE *wer- speak* as in **waurd** though with a different suffix: PIE *wrōkā*; cf Gk ῥᾶτρᾱ f *agreement, treaty*. No direct cognates, and accordingly little basis for this proposal; Lith *rė̃kti*, Latvian *rė̃kt shout*; OSl *rešti speak* have been rejected, and derived from PIE *rė̃k-*, as in ***rahnjan**, in spite of P 1959:716-17; cf Fraenkel 1962-65:716-17.

W97. *wruggo fn παγίς *snare*, only dat sg *-gon* 2T 2.26.

Du *wrongel curds (what was wrung out)*; MLG *wrank*, gen *wranges sour, bitter*; OI *rangr wry, crooked, wrong*†; *rǫng* f *rib (of ship)*; OE *wrang(a)* m *belly of ship*, borrowed from ONor *vrǫng*. All to PGmc root *wring-*: OE *wringan wring*†, *squeeze*, OS *ūt-wringan press out*, OHG *ringen* stv *quarrel*.

Etymology uncertain; assumed to be extended from PIE *wer- turn, bend*, as in PIE *wer-ĝh-*, cf **ga-wargjan*, ***launa-wargs**, with nasal infix: *wrenĝh-*. Positing instead *wrengh-*, Fraenkel 1962-65:719-20 suggests possible relationship of Lith *reñgti prepare, arrange*. P 1959:1155 posits PIE *wreng^{w}h-*, deriving from it also Gk ῥίμφα *quick* from 'turning', though see Frisk 1960-72 II:656-57. From PIE *wer- + -g-*: Lat *vergō bow* and with nasal infix OE *wrencan*, OHG *renken* wkv *wrench, turn*, though not according to P 1959:1154, Skt *vṛṇákti, várjati turn, twist* (accepted however by Mayrhofer 1956-80 III:243-44); see also W/H 1938-56 II:758-59.

P 1959:1155.

W98. *wulan stvIV ζεῖν *be aglow with, seethe*, only nom pl m prpl *wulandans* R 12.11, 3sg prs *wuliþ* νομὴν ἔχειν *spread* 2T 2. 17.

Zero grade aor-prs, PIE *wələ́*; cf OI *ylr* m *warmth, ylja* wkv *warm, olmr furious* ← **wulma-*; from Gmc *wel-* in OI *vella* stv *bubble, surge*; as stvVII: OE *weallan*, OFris *walla*, OS, OHG *wallan* (← **wol-n-*) *surge, well*†*/boil up*; OI *vella* f *seething, a seething mass*, OE *wielle*, OFris *walla*, MLG *welle* f *seething, a spring* (cf NE *well*), OHG *wella* st/wkf *wave, tide*; ODan *valm*, OE *wielm*, OHG *walm* stm *boiling, fervor*.

Etymology difficult; probably based on PIE *wel-*, *wel-ʔ- turn, roll* like Skt *ūrmíṣ*, Av *varəmiš* wave, Alb *valë* f *boiling, wave*, cf ODan *valm*; Lith *vilnìs*, OSl *vlъna* wave, cf OHG *wella*, though reason for zero grade prs obscure; cf ***af-walwjan**.

P 1959:1142.

W99. wulfs ma λύκος *wolf* J 10.12.

Run as second component of names:

hAþuwulafz nom, *hAriwulafa* acc, *hAeruwulafiz* patronymic (Istaby: Krause 1966 I:218-20), *hAþuwolAfz* nom, *hAriwolAfz* nom (Stentoften: Krause 1966 I:209-14), *hAþuwolAfA(z)* nom (Gummarp: Krause 1966 I:205-09; Antonsen 1975:83 takes *-A* as misreading for *-z* and does not posit a following *z*); OI *ulfr*, OE *wulf*, OFris *wolf*, OS *wulf*, OHG *wolf* stm **wolf**†; also OHG *wulpa*, MHG *wülpe* f; OI *ylgr* f. Various explanations are offered for *-f-*, *-b-*, *-g-*: PIE *-p-* may have been found in alternate forms beside *-k^{w}*; as in Lat *volpēs* **fox**; PIE *-k^{w}-* → pre-Gmc *-p-* in some words for reasons that cannot be identified, Streitberg 1896:111-12; Krause 1968:126 ascribes the change to dissimilation at a distance if another labial preceded or followed the labio-velar, eg Go *fimf* : PIE *penk^{w}e* as well as Go *wulfs* : PIE *wl̥k^{w}os*; Streitberg 1896:125 assumes a f paradigm, PGmc *wulbī* nom, *wulgjōs* gen, with *g* ← *g^{w}* before *j*; see also Prokosch 1939:71-74.

PIE *wl̥k^{w}os* **wolf**, *wl̥k^{w}ī* **female wolf**: Skt *vṛ́kas*, Av *vəhrko*; Gk λύκος (see Frisk 1960-72 II:143-44: *-k^{w}-* may have colored the preceding *-l̥-*, yielding *-lu-*, and then lost its labial component); similarly, Lat *lupus* (though Osthoff 1894 IF 4:279 considered it a Sabine word); others see influence of Lat *volpēs* **fox**, or other explanations, W/H 1938-56 I:836-37; Lith *vil̃kas*, Latvian *vìlks*, OPruss *wilkis*, OSl *vlьkъ*; TochB *walkwe* **wolf**; f Skt *vṛkí-*, Lith *vìlkė*, Russ *volčíca* **female wolf**. Arm *gayl* **wolf** may also be from PIE *wl̥k^{w}o-* → **galgo-*, **galyo-*, Hübschmann 1897:431, Pedersen 1906 ZVS 39: 364, though not Frisk 1960-72 II:144. Some also assume modifications of the word for wolf by taboo; cf Frisk 1960-72 II:144. Gk λύσσα **rage, fury, rabies** is taken by some as equivalent to Skt *vṛkí-* **female wolf** as the demon that makes dogs into wolves, Frisk 1960-72 II: 147, with copious bibliography. Efforts have also been made to derive PIE *wl̥k^{w}os* from a root, either *wel-* **tear** as in Lat *vellō* **tear, destroy**, Go **wilwan** or an extended form PIE *wlēk-*, proposed for Lat *lacer* **torn**, though rejected by W/H 1938-56 I:742-43. See now Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:492 who take PIE *wel-* as source, and discuss at length the cultic and ritual significance of the wolf in the earlier period.

P 1959:1178-79, Watkins 1985:78.

W100. *wulla f *ō* **wool**, only dat sg *-lai* Sk 3.16 / IIIc.8; *wullareis* m *ia* γναφεύς **fuller**, only Mk 9.3.

OI *ull*, OE *wull*, OFris, MLG *wulle*, OHG *wolla* stf **wool**†; OE *wyllen*, OFris *willen*, OS, OHG *wullin* adj **woolen**†; MLG *wüllener* m **weaver of woolens**.

PIE *wl̥-nā* **wool** based on *wel-H-*, used in words for hair, wool, grass: Skt *ū́rṇā*, Av *varəna*; Gk λῆνος, Dor λᾶνος; Lat *lāna* **wool**; Lith *vìlna*, Latvian *viļ̃na* **wool**, OPruss *wilna* **cloak**; Russ *vólna*, Hitt *hulana-/-ni-* **wool** Tischler 1983- I:278-79, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984:578 fn1, and also the Gmc words, for in Gmc reflexes of vocalic resonant + laryngeal are not distinct from simple vocalic resonant; Wel *gwlan* ← PIE *wlənā*, Corn *gluan* **wool**; MIr *olaun* **wool** borrowed from Brythonic. Frisk 1960-72 II:117-18 takes PIE *wl̥-nā* as a verbal noun of *wel-* **tear, pluck**, so that wool is 'what has been plucked', Falk 1919:1; cf Lat *vellō* **pluck** (less likely to *wel-* **turn**, as if from 'curl'; cf Gk εἰλέω **turn, wind**). Cf also Lat *vellus* **fleece** ← **wél-nos* and Arm *gelmn* **fleece** ← **wel-mn̥*; as well as OE *wu/il-mod* **distaff** Pogatscher 1902 BzA 13:14.

P 1959:1139-40.

W101. wulthre, pl *wulthres*, occur several times on a parchment page of the Preface to the Codex Brixianus of Itala which refers to the Go translation of the Bible, F Kauffmann 1900 ZDP 32:305ff and Streitberg, ed 1919-28 I:XLII-XLIII. According to Lietzmann 1919 ZDA 56:266 it has the meaning 'annotation(s)', but not with reference to the marginal glosses of the Codex Argenteus. Friedrichsen 1926:204ff and Metlen 1938 JEGP 37:363 assume such reference: *wulthres* indicates that the Go word has the same mean-

ing as the Gk or Lat text. Identical with **wulþrs* in the sense: 'value of reading', meaning, 'sense of passage', Grienberger 1900:248; see **wulþus**.

W102. wulþus mu δόξα *splendor*; **wulþags* adja παράδοξος, ἔνδοξος *splendid, wonderful* E 5.27; **wulþriza* comp *more valuable*, only nom pl *ni jus mais wulþrizans sijuþ þaim* οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν *are you not more valuable than they?* M 6.26; assumed widely, **wulþrs fi value*, in *ni waiht mis wulþrais* οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει *it makes no difference to me* G 2.6 (also in Lat form **uulthre(s)**), but see Dal 1973 Sprache 19:64-65 who rejects a noun **wulþrs*, taking *wulþrais* as gen sg of the nominalized neuter of an *i*-stem adj (with copious references); her article responds to Bammesberger 1972 Sprache 18:55-57, who preferred the reading *wulþris* in G 2.6 and interpreted it as neutral comparative.

Run *wlþuþewaz* PeN (Thorsberg chape) = *Wulþu-þewaz*, cf ***þius**, Krause 1966 I:53-55, though see also Antonsen 1975:29-30; OI *Ullr the gleaming one* [name of a god] -- orig 'the god of light', J Palmér 1930-31 APS 5:290-91, OE *wuldor* stn *fame*.

PIE *wel- see, wl̥-tu- appearance*: Lat *voltus, vultus facial expression, appearance, form* W/H 1938-56 II:831; according to Vendryès 1921 BSLP 22:[art]24-27 also Wel *gweled see*, OIr *fil there is* from 'behold!' (cf Fr *voici*), *fili poet, seer*; cf ***wlaiton**. Dubiously, Gk βλοσυρός adj of uncertain meaning, though interpreted as modified from 'vulture' by M Leumann 1950:1941-48; cf Frisk 1960-72 I:245-46. Other conjectures cited in F 1939:577.

P 1959:1136-37.

W103. *wunds adj *wounded*, only in *haubiþ wundan brahtedun* ἐκεφαλαίωσαν *they wounded him in the head* Mk 12.4; *ga-wundon* wkvII *wound*, only prpl nom pl m *þana gawondondans* τοῦτον τραυματίσαντες *wounding him* L 20.12; **wundufni fiō* μάστιξ *plague, illness*, only acc pl *-njos* Mk 3.10.

OE, OS *wund*, OHG *wunt wounded*; OI *und*, OE *wund*, OFris *wunde*, OS *wunda*, OHG *wunta* st/wkf *wound*†. Cf also OE *wenn* ← **wanja-* m/f, Du *wenn*, MLG *wene swelling, wen*†.

Etymology uncertain; P 1959:1108 posits PIE *wen- strike, wound*, also *wā- strike, wound*: *wund-* ← zero grade *wn̥-* + *-tó-*, *-tā-*; Arm *vandem destroy*; Wel *ym-wan to battle*, MWel *gweint I bored through*, *gwān point*. Possibly from *wā-*, *wō-*, Gk οὐτάω *wound*, ὠτειλή *wound*, though not according to Frisk 1960-72 II:449-50,1153, who sees no etymology for them nor for ἀάω *harm*, ἄατον *inviolable* and Hsch γατάλαι· οὐλαί *wound* Frisk 1960-72 I:2,291; similarly Chantraine 1968-80:3,840, 1305-06; while recognizing their similarity to the Gk words Fraenkel 1962-65:1275 admits no etymology for Lith *votìs*, Latvian *vãts troublesome wound*.

Z

Z1. zelotes = ζηλωτής *the zealous one* only acc sg *-en* L 6.15, epithet of Simon.

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ALPHABETICAL ORDER IN THE INDEX

Generally, the order of the Latin alphabet is followed in the index. Items with diacritics are listed after the simple item, as are compound items such as Indic *bh, dh,* etc. Further, in detail:

- The following order is used regardless of the language in which the symbol is found:

ß	follows	*s*	ɔ	follows	*o*
ə		*e*	ŋ		*n*
ɜ		*u*	δ̌		*d*
ɓ		*i*	č		*c*
ƕ		*h*	š		*s*
þ		*t*	ʒ		*g*

- Two symbols, ʿ and ʔ, are disregarded in ordering, and the word is alphabetized by the vowel which follows.
- For Greek words in category 5.00 of the index (Hellenic), the standard order of the Greek alphabet is used.
- For Greek words or letters found in all other languages (with the exception of Iranian, see next item), the following order is used:

ς	treated as	*s*	ε	follows	*e*
ϝ		*w*	ω		*o*
θ		*th*			
φ		*ph*			
χ		*kh*			
ψ		*ps*			

- For Greek letters found in category 4.00 (Iranian), the following order is used:

β	follows	*b*	θ	follows	*t*
δ		*d*	χ		*x*
γ		*g*			

- For languages in categories 2.05 (Northern Germanic) and 2.06 (English), the following letters are ordered as below at the end of the alphabet:

å æ ä ø œ ö

Headings. If a language category heading in the index is followed by the name of a language in parentheses, all words in that section are of that language unless indicated otherwise after an individual word.

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ag- A172, A190, T30
ag̑- A107, A190
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5.01 Mycenaean

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7.02 Brythonic

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About the bibliography. The basis of selection for this bibliography was threefold: a prior compilation of records for 500 books with a high likelihood of relevance to a new edition of the dictionary, citations appearing in the third edition, and the further works referred to in this edition.

A policy of recording bibliographic data only from items actually in hand has been observed as rigorously as possible within the requirements of the project. For items of particular rarity we had the benefit of the editor's visits to the great collections of the British Library and the University of Edinburgh. Otherwise, as a last resort when even the University of Texas' own extensive holdings, enhanced by the skill of Mr. Don Arthur the staff Bibliographer for Germanic languages and augmented by Interlibrary service, were not able to meet our needs we have occasionally resorted to the National Union Catalog, the British Museum Catalog, or the *Jahresverzeichnis der an den Deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen erschienenen Schriften.*

The bibliographic principles guiding this compilation and the stylistics employed are derived from those of *The MLA International Bibliography,* especially of the period under the direction of Dr. Harrison T. Meserole. MLA acronyms are employed whenever possible, as is the transliteration of Cyrillic used in the *Bibliography* during the 1970's. Its practice of extensive cross referencing for persons named in a record has been followed, as well as that of inclusion of issue numbers only in instances where they are separately paginated.

Similarly, inclusion of other information of little potential utility was eschewed where feasible, e.g., names of publishers for works dating from before 1900, or, the number of pages in a book. Individual volumes of multi-volume works are distinguished in citations only when they are separately paginated, and series information is included in records only when items in the series can be identified by a specific number.

The sequence in which records for an author are listed is only in part chronological. Primary order corresponds to degree of responsibility involved— sole author, senior author, editor, and honoree— terminating with cross references for other modes of involvement such as junior author or editor, collaborator, contributor, translator, or subject of a review record included here.

Commemorative volumes and other collections by various hands are noted in independent records and their data accessed by cross references when more than two of their components are represented in the bibliography. Otherwise, full publishing information is included in the records for the articles themselves.

Collectors of bibliographical information of the caliber of Dr. Saul Migron who compiled the original 500 records are uncommon, I believe, even among scholars. The bulk of the other some three thousand records here were gathered over a five-year period by a series of students employed under the college work-study program. That our project was underway while that sadly now all but defunct governmental program was functioning fully was among the factors which made a bibliography of this scope possible.

As any such group linked only by a requirement for familiarity with a second language, these students varied widely in aptitude for a task requiring precision and attention to detail. It was our good fortune to have Andrew Libbey as one of the first and longest-staying assistants. His knowledge of German, cooperativeness, and easy leadership ability made him invaluable as crew chief to the ever-fluctuating group for over three years. It has been gratifying from another point of view to see the influence of the project on his successor, the second longest-staying of that series, Deborah Holmes Bryson, who came to us as an undergraduate in French and was inspired to go on to complete a master's degree in Library and Information Science.

Impersonal but equally important in making this compilation possible within a relatively short span of years and in enabling us to avoid many irregularities and even outright errors which would have compromised this bibliography's support to the text and its reliability as a scholarly tool is the computer.

From having had all of these benefits, I can only now appreciate the magnitude of the scholarly work of Sigmund Feist.

H.J.J.H.
May, 1986

(Description of some of the methodology and automated procedures employed in this compilation may be found in *Computers and the Humanities*, 1985, 19,ii:89-95.)

Abbreviations. Because of their diversity abbreviations occurring in titles are not specifically included here. Neither are the standard 2-letter U.S. postal codes for states, nor are short forms for serials, which are to be found on pp. xiii-xvii.

In the following list of abbreviations used in the bibliography, the "etc." has special signification. It expands the referrent of the abbreviation multi-linguistically. For example,

Univ. University, etc.

means that the full form may also be the Dutch *Universiteit*, French *Université*, German *Universität*, Italian *Università*, Latin *Universitatis*, and so on.

Abh.	Abhandlung
Abt.	Abteilung
Afd.	Afdeeling, etc.
akad., acad.	Akademie, academy, etc.
art	article
Assn.	Association
asst.	assistance
Aufl.	Auflage
Bd.	Band
Bul.	Bulletin
Calif.	California
col(s).	column(s)
collab.	collaboration
dept.	department
diss.	dissertation
ed(s).	editor(s), edited, edition(s), etc.
Eng.	English, England
Erg.-H	Ergänzungshefte
et al.	and others
F	Festschrift (any commemorative volume)
fasc.	fascicle
filol.	filologia, etc.
filos.	filosofia, etc.
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
hist.	historische, etc.
hrsg.	herausgegeben
idg.	indogermanischen
Inst.	Institut, etc.
int'l	international
intro.	introduction
jour.	journal
kgl.	königlich, etc.
Lfg.	Lieferung
ling.	linguistic(s), etc.
lit.	literature, etc.
n.f.	neue Folge
orig.	original(ly)
philol.	philology, philological, etc.
philos.	philosophy, philosophical, etc.
p(p).	page(s)
pub'd	published
pub'r	publisher
pub(s).	publication(s)
q.v.	which see
rev(s).	review(s)
rev'd	revised
rpt.	reprint
rpt'd	reprinted
s.n.	pub'r not named
ser.	series
soc.	society, etc.
St.	Saint
sum.	summary
tr.	translator, translated, translation
Univ.	University, etc.
utg.	utgivna, etc.
v., vol.	volume(s)
Vlg.	Verlag
Z.	Zeitschrift

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